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OLD TESTAMENT AND SEMITIC STUDIES

IN MEMORY OF

WILLIAM RAINEY HARPER



# OLD TESTAMENT AND SEMITIC STUDIES

IN MEMORY OF

*William Rainey Harper*

EDITED BY

ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER  
FRANCIS BROWN  
GEORGE FOOT MOORE

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*VOLUME TWO*

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A TEXT-CRITICAL APPARATUS TO THE  
BOOK OF ESTHER

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LEWIS BAYLES PATON



## A TEXT-CRITICAL APPARATUS TO THE BOOK OF ESTHER

LEWIS BAYLES PATON

The Book of Esther in the numerous versions and recensions presents so many striking differences from the Massoretic form of the text that it has seemed to me worth while to gather the variant readings and present them in a complete text-critical apparatus. For this purpose I have made use of the following sources:

- ℵ = Codex Sinaiticus, according to Swete, *The O. T. in Greek*, 1896.
- A = Codex Alexandrinus, according to Swete.
- Ald = The Aldine text of ℞, according to Holmes and Parsons, *Vet. Test. Graec. cum Variis Lectionibus*, III, 1823.
- B = Codex Vaticanus, according to Swete.
- Ba = Baer and Delitzsch, *Quinque Volumina*, 1886.
- Br = The Pentateuch, Five Megilloth and Haptharoth, Brescia, 1492, according to Ginsburg, *Massoretico-Critical O. T.*, 1894.
- B<sup>1</sup> = Bomberg Rabbinic Bible, Venice, 1516-17.
- B<sup>2</sup> = Bomberg Rabbinic Bible with Massora, Venice, IV, 1526, according to Kittel, *Biblia Hebraica*, 1906, and Ginsburg.
- BT = Babylonian Talmud.
- C = Complutensian Polyglot, Alcalá, 1514-17.
- ℞ = The Greek Version as represented by the uncials and the cursives, except L.
- G = Ginsburg, *Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible*, 1894.
- H = The Hesychian recension of ℞, represented in general by codd. 44, 68, 71, 74, 76, 106, 107, 120, 236.
- 𐤀 = The consonantal Hebrew text.
- ℒ = The Latin version of Jerome, or Vulgate.
- Jos = Josephus, *Antiquities*, xi.
- JT = Jerusalem Talmud.
- K = Kennicott, *Vet. Test. Heb. cum Variis Lectionibus*, 1776.

#### 4 TEXT-CRITICAL APPARATUS TO THE BOOK OF ESTHER

- L = The Lucianic recension of  $\mathfrak{L}$ , represented by codd. 19, 93*a*, 108*b*; ed. Lagarde, *Lib. Vet. Test. Can. Graece*, 1883. (Codd. 93 and 108 contain two recensions of Esther: 93*a* and 108*b* that of L; and 93*b* and 108*a* that of O.)
- $\mathfrak{L}$  = The old Latin version (Itala), according to Codex Corbeiensis; ed. Sabatier, *Bib. Sac. Lat. Vers. Ant.*, 1751.
- $\mathfrak{L}^P$  = Old Latin, Codex Pechianus, according to Sabatier.
- M = J. H. Michaelis, *Biblia Hebraica*, 1720.
- $\mathfrak{M}$  = The Massoretic Hebrew text.
- N = Codex Basiliano-Vaticanus (= XI, according to Holmes and Parsons).
- N<sup>1</sup> = The Hagiographa, Naples 1486-87, according to Ginsburg.
- N<sup>2</sup> = Hebrew Bible, Naples 1491-93, according to Ginsburg.
- O = The Origenic recension of  $\mathfrak{L}$ , represented in general by codd. 52, 55, 64, 93*b*, 108*a*, 243, 249, according to Holmes and Parsons, and Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt*, 1875.
- Oc = Occidental MSS or Massoretic authorities.
- Or = Oriental MSS or Massoretic authorities.
- Q = The *Qérè*, or marginal readings of  $\mathfrak{M}$ .
- R = De Rossi, *Variae Lectiones Vet. Test.*, 1786.
- S = Hebrew Bible, Soncino, 1488, according to Ginsburg.
- $\mathfrak{S}$  = The Syriac version.
- $\mathfrak{S}^A$  = The Syriac version in Codex Ambrosianus.
- $\mathfrak{S}^L$  = The Syriac version in the London Polyglot.
- $\mathfrak{S}^M$  = The Syriac version in the Mosul edition.
- $\mathfrak{S}^U$  = The Syriac version in the Urumia edition.
- $\mathfrak{T}^1$  = The First Targum.
- $\mathfrak{T}^2$  = The Second Targum.

The readings of the cursives are all taken from Holmes and Parsons. They are as follows:

- 19 = Rome, Chigi R vi. 38 (cf. Bianchini, *Vindiciae*, 279 ff.; 19 = Lagarde's *h*).
- 44 = Zittau, A 1. 1 = Lagarde's *z* (cf. *Gen. Gr.* 7 ff.).
- 52 = Florence, Laur. Acq. 44.
- 55 = Rome, Vat. Reg. Gr. 1 (cf. Klostermann, *Analecta*, 12).
- 64 = Paris, Nat. Reg. Gr. 2 (cf. Field, i. 5).
- 68 = Venice, St. Mark's, Gr. 5 (cf. Scrivener-Miller, i. 219).
- 71 = Paris, Nat. Reg. Gr. 1.
- 74 = Florence, Laur. Acq. 700 (49).



- 76 = Paris, Nat. Reg. Gr. 4.  
 93 = London, B. M. Reg. i. D. 2 (93a = Lagarde's *m*).  
 106 = Ferrara, Bibl. Comm. Gr. 187 (cf. Lagarde, *Ankündigung*, 27).  
 107 = Ferrara, Bibl. Comm. Gr. 188.  
 108 = Rome, Vat. Gr. 330 (cf. Field i. 5; 108b = Lagarde's *d*).  
 120 = Venice, St. Mark's Gr. 4.  
 236 = Rome, Vat. Gr. 331 (cf. Klostermann, *Analecta*, 78).  
 243 = Venice, St. Mark's Gr., 16 (cf. Field, i. 486).  
 248 = Rome, Vat. Gr. 346 (cf. Nestle, *Marginalia*, p. 58).  
 249 = Rome, Vat. Pius I (cf. Field ii. 2).

Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, Gothic, and Syro-Hexaplar do not exist for Esther, and the Ethiopic, Coptic, and Arabic secondary versions are not accessible in printed editions. The text of the Armenian version of  $\mathfrak{G}$  is so corrupt that it did not seem worth while to secure its variants from one familiar with Armenian.

My method has been to take the *Textus Receptus* of Van der Hooght (1705) as the standard of comparison, and to record deviations from it in MSS, editions, or versions. Variations of accentuation in the Hebrew, which do not affect the interpretation, and which for the most part represent only the notions of particular punctuators or schools of punctuators, such as Baer's  $\text{מִשְׁתָּה}$  for  $\text{מִשְׁתָּה}$ ,  $\text{וַיַּעֲבֹר}$  for  $\text{וַיַּעֲבֹר}$ ,  $\text{וַיַּבְבֵּקֶר}$  for  $\text{וַיַּבְבֵּקֶר}$ , or Ginsburg's insertion of *Raphe* over all quiescent or aspirate letters, it has not seemed worth while to include. In the case of the long passages that are found in  $\mathfrak{GL}$ , but not in  $\mathfrak{H}$ , I have taken Swete's edition of Codex Vaticanus as the standard of comparison. These passages I have inserted in full as additions to  $\mathfrak{H}$ , and have recorded the variants in footnotes. Variants in the versions which represent the same Hebrew word I have not attempted to record; for instance, when  $\mathfrak{G}$  renders  $\text{מִשְׁתָּה}$  by  $\delta\omicron\chi\eta\nu$  and L by  $\pi\omicron\tau\omicron\nu$ . To have recorded all the variants of this sort would have been useless and would have swelled this article to an enormous size.

Title  $\text{אֶסְתֵּר}$ ]  $\text{Εσθηρ } \mathfrak{G}$ :  $\text{Αισθηρ } 93a$ :  $\text{+ βιβλιον εικοστον δευτερον}$   
 44:  $\text{+ ητοι Φρουραι}$  108b later hand | Between the title and 1:1  
 $\mathfrak{GL}$  L add the section A 1-17 (= Vulg. and Eng. 11: 2-12: 6).

## ADDITION A

- 1 ΕΤΟΤΣ δευτέρου<sup>a</sup> βασιλεύοντος Ἀρταξέρξου<sup>b</sup> τοῦ μεγάλου βασι-  
λέως<sup>c</sup> τῇ<sup>d</sup> μᾶ τοῦ<sup>e</sup> Νεισά<sup>f</sup> ἐνύπνιον ἶδεν Μαρδοχαῖος ὁ τοῦ Ἱαεῖρου<sup>g</sup>  
2 τοῦ Σεμείου<sup>h</sup> τοῦ Κεισαίου<sup>i</sup> ἐκ<sup>j</sup> φυλῆς Βενιαμείν,<sup>k</sup> ἄνθρωπος<sup>a</sup> Ἰου-  
δαῖος οἰκῶν<sup>b</sup> ἐν Σούσοις<sup>c</sup> τῇ πόλει,<sup>d</sup> ἄνθρωπος μέγας,<sup>e</sup> θεραπεύων<sup>f</sup> ἐν  
3 τῇ αὐτῇ τοῦ βασιλέως· ἦν δὲ<sup>a</sup> ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἧς<sup>b</sup> ἤχμαλώ-  
τευσεν Ναβουχοδονοσορ<sup>c</sup> βασιλεὺς Βαβυλῶνος ἐξ<sup>d</sup> Ἱερουσαλήμ<sup>e</sup> μετὰ<sup>f</sup>  
4 Ἰεχονίου τοῦ<sup>g</sup> βασιλέως τῆς Ἰουδαίας.<sup>h</sup> καὶ τοῦτο<sup>a</sup> αὐτοῦ<sup>b</sup> τὸ ἐνύπ-  
νιον· καὶ ἰδοὺ φωναί<sup>c</sup> καὶ<sup>d</sup> θόρυβος,<sup>e</sup> βρονταὶ καὶ<sup>f</sup> σεισμός,<sup>g</sup> τάραχος  
5 ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.<sup>a</sup> καὶ ἰδοὺ<sup>b</sup> δύο<sup>c</sup> δράκοντες<sup>d</sup> μεγάλοι<sup>e</sup> ἔτοιμοι<sup>e</sup> προῆλθον<sup>f</sup>  
6 ἀμφότεροι παλαίειν· καὶ ἐγένετο<sup>g</sup> αὐτῶν<sup>h</sup> φωνὴ<sup>i</sup> μεγάλη,<sup>j</sup> καὶ τῇ<sup>a</sup>  
φωνῇ αὐτῶν<sup>b</sup> ἡτοιμάσθη πᾶν ἔθνος εἰς<sup>c</sup> πόλεμον ὥστε<sup>d</sup> πολεμῆσαι  
7 δικαίων<sup>e</sup> ἔθνος.<sup>f</sup> καὶ<sup>g</sup> ἰδοὺ<sup>h</sup> ἡμέρα σκότους καὶ γνόφου,<sup>e</sup> θλίψις<sup>d</sup> καὶ  
8 στενοχωρία,<sup>e</sup> κάκωσις<sup>f</sup> καὶ<sup>g</sup> τάραχος<sup>h</sup> μέγας<sup>i</sup> ἐπὶ<sup>j</sup> τῆς<sup>k</sup> γῆς· καὶ ἑτα-  
ράχθη<sup>a</sup> δίκαιον<sup>b</sup> πᾶν ἔθνος,<sup>c</sup> φοβούμενοι τὰ ἐαυτῶν κακά,<sup>d</sup> καὶ ἡτοι-  
9 μάσθησαν<sup>e</sup> ἀπολέσθαι.<sup>f</sup> καὶ<sup>g</sup> ἐβόησαν<sup>a</sup> πρὸς τὸν<sup>b</sup> θεόν.<sup>c</sup> ἀπὸ δὲ<sup>d</sup> τῆς  
βοῆς<sup>e</sup> αὐτῶν<sup>f</sup> ἐγένετο ὡσανεὶ<sup>g</sup> ἀπὸ<sup>h</sup> μικρᾶς πηγῆς<sup>i</sup> ποταμοῦ<sup>j</sup> μέγας,  
10 ὕδωρ πολὺ.<sup>k</sup> φῶς<sup>a</sup> καὶ<sup>b</sup> ὁ<sup>c</sup> ἥλιος ἀνέτειλεν, καὶ οἱ ταπεινοὶ<sup>d</sup> ὑψώθη-

A: 1-17 93b has under + : C has in cap. xi-xii, Lib. Esth. Apoc.

1 a om 71 | b Ἀσσηνρον L : Ἀσσηριον 19, 108b : Assuero L : Ἀρταξέρξου A | e om N A L 44, 52, 55, 64, 71, 74, 76, 106, 107, 120, 236, 243, 248, 249, C, Ald, Athan. ii. 98 | d om L | e + μῆνος 44, 71, 106, 107 : + μῆνος Ἀδαρ L | f Νισα N\* (-σαν N ?) A, 55 : Νισαν L : Μισα (with corr. N) N : Νεισαν Athan. I. c. : + ος ἐστι Δυστρος Ξανθικος L : qui est Andlicus L | g Ἰαρείον 236 : Ἰαρον 243, 248, C, Ald : Iarim L | h Σεμειον N A L and many cursives : Σεμαιον 19 : Σεμει 248, 249, Athan. I. c. : Σεμει C : Semei L | i Κεισαίου L : Ησαιον 19 : Κησαιον 93a : Εισαίου 108b : qui Cisaei L : om 44, 106, 107 | j τῆς L : εκ τῆς N c. a. A | k Βενιαμιν L

2 a-d om L L | 2a-3b L puts at end of chap. 3 | e μεσσοις A\* vid : μεσσοισις A | e φοβου-  
μενος τον θεον Ισραηλ 71 | 2f-3a om L | f θεραπευτης ων 52, 64, 243, 248, C, Ald (pr και 71)

3 tr aft 3:15 L | b ην 74, 76 | c om 44, 71, 74, 76, 106, 120 : + ο N c. a A N L 249, C, Ald |  
d-e om L | d εν N | f + του 93b | g om 44, 52, 248, C, Ald

4 a + ην L | b αυτο 93a. : ipsius L | c φωνη L, 52, 64, 243, 248, C, Ald | d + κραυγη L | e θορυβου  
A L 52, 64, 243, 248, C, Ald : + και 74, 76 | g συσσεισμος 106 : + και N c. a A L, 44, 52, 64, 74, 76, 106,  
120, 236, 243, 248 C, Ald

5 a om L | b om 106 | c + επι της γης 44, 71, 74, 76, 106, 120, 236 | d om L | e και L : ετοιμως 52 |  
f προσηλθον A L 52 | g εγενοντο A N | h αυτω Ald | i φωναί A : rugna L | j μεγαλαι A : + και εταρασ-  
σετο παντα απο της φωνης της κραυγης ταυτης L

6 a-f om L | a-b om L | c-f om 106 | c-d om L | e-f om L | e δικαιον 52, 108a

7 a-b μαρτυρομενη πασι τοις λαοις L : et dominabantur L | c γνοφους A | d-f om L L | d θλιψεις  
44 | e om A 93b : + και 52, 64, 93b, 243 Ald | g om A 52, 64, 243 Ald | g-h ταραχη πολεμου L : ταραχη  
και πολεμου 93a : et strepitus magnus in his qui sunt L | j-8f om L | k om 236

8 a εταραχθησαν 64 | a-d om L | b-c παν εθνος δικαιον A | b δικαιων 44, 71, 74, 76, 106, 120, 236 |  
e-f timuerunt in perditionem L | f απολεσαι 44, 93b, 106

9 a-c om L | a ανεβοησαμεν L : απεβοησαμεν 93a | b om L 44, 106, 249 | c κυριον L 249 | d-e φωνης  
της κραυγης L | e φωνης 236 | f + και L | g ως αν N : om A L : fons unius et L | h-ι εκ πηγης μικρας  
L | j-k υδωρ πολυ ποταμος μεγας L

10 a so N c. a. L : other codd και φως : φωτος N\* | b om L L N\* 93b, 249 | c om L L 52, 108a |  
d ποταμοι L : humiles L

σαν καὶ κατέφαγον<sup>c</sup> τοὺς ἐνδόξους. <sup>11</sup>καὶ διεγερθεῖς<sup>a</sup> Μαρδοχαίος<sup>b</sup> 11  
 ἑώρακώς<sup>c</sup> τὸ ἐνύπνιον τοῦτο,<sup>d</sup> καὶ<sup>e</sup> τί<sup>f</sup> ὁ θεός<sup>g</sup> βεβούλευται<sup>h</sup> ποιῆσαι,  
 εἶχεν<sup>i</sup> αὐτὸ<sup>j</sup> ἐν τῇ<sup>k</sup> καρδίᾳ,<sup>l</sup> καὶ<sup>m</sup> ἐν παντὶ λόγῳ<sup>n</sup> ἠθέλεν<sup>o</sup> ἐπιγινῶναι<sup>p</sup>  
 αὐτὸ<sup>q</sup> ἕως τῆς<sup>r</sup> νυκτός.<sup>s</sup> <sup>12</sup>καὶ<sup>a</sup> ἡσύχασεν<sup>b</sup> Μαρδοχαίος<sup>c</sup> ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ<sup>d</sup> 12  
 μετὰ Γαβάθα<sup>e</sup> καὶ Θαρρά<sup>f</sup> τῶν δύο εὐνούχων τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν<sup>g</sup>  
 φυλασσόντων τὴν αὐλήν,<sup>h</sup> <sup>13</sup>ἡκουσέν<sup>a</sup> τε<sup>b</sup> αὐτῶν<sup>c</sup> τοὺς λογισμοὺς<sup>d</sup> καὶ<sup>e</sup> 13  
 τὰς μερίμνας<sup>f</sup> αὐτῶν ἐξηραύνησεν,<sup>g</sup> καὶ ἔμαθεν<sup>h</sup> ὅτι<sup>i</sup> ἐτοιμάζουσιν<sup>j</sup>  
 τὰς<sup>k</sup> χεῖρας<sup>l</sup> ἐπιβαλεῖν<sup>m</sup> Ἀρταξέρξη<sup>n</sup> τῷ βασιλεῖ.<sup>o</sup> καὶ<sup>p</sup> ὑπέδειξεν<sup>q</sup>  
 τῷ<sup>r</sup> βασιλεῖ<sup>s</sup> περὶ<sup>t</sup> αὐτῶν. <sup>14</sup>καὶ ἐξήτασεν<sup>a</sup> ὁ<sup>b</sup> βασιλεὺς<sup>c</sup> τοὺς δύο 14  
 εὐνούχους,<sup>d</sup> καὶ ὁμολογήσαντες<sup>e</sup> ἀπήχθησαν,<sup>f</sup> <sup>15</sup>καὶ ἔγραψεν<sup>a</sup> ὁ βασι- 15  
 λεὺς τοὺς<sup>b</sup> λόγους τούτους<sup>c</sup> εἰς<sup>d</sup> μνημόσυνον,<sup>e</sup> καὶ Μαρδοχαίος<sup>f</sup>  
 ἔγραψεν<sup>g</sup> περὶ<sup>h</sup> τῶν λόγων τούτων.<sup>i</sup> <sup>16</sup>καὶ ἐπέταξεν<sup>a</sup> ὁ βασιλεὺς 16  
 Μαρδοχαίῳ<sup>b</sup> θεραπεύειν<sup>c</sup> ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ,<sup>d</sup> καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ<sup>e</sup> δόματα<sup>f</sup> περὶ  
 τούτων.<sup>g</sup> <sup>17</sup>καὶ<sup>a</sup> ἦν<sup>b</sup> Ἀμάν Ἀμαδάθου<sup>c</sup> Βουγαίος<sup>d</sup> ἐνδοξος<sup>e</sup> ἐνώπιον<sup>f</sup> 17  
 τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ἐξήτησεν<sup>g</sup> κακοποιῆσαι<sup>h</sup> τὸν Μαρδοχαίον<sup>i</sup> καὶ<sup>j</sup> τὸν  
 λαὸν αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ<sup>k</sup> τῶν δύο<sup>l</sup> εὐνούχων τοῦ<sup>m</sup> βασιλέως.<sup>n</sup>

10 <sup>e</sup>κατεπιον L: comederent **L**

11 <sup>a</sup>αναστας L: ενεργηεις N: διηγερθη, 44, 71, 74, 76, 106, 120, 236 | <sup>b</sup>+o **N** A and most codd | <sup>c</sup>-d εκ του υπνου αυτου L | <sup>d</sup>+εμεριμνα τι το ευνυπνιον (+αυτου 93a) L: +et dixit **L**: +και ελογισατο εν εαυτω 71, 74, 76, 106, 120 | <sup>e</sup>om 71, 74, 76, 106, 120 | <sup>f</sup>οτι 236: om Ald. | <sup>g</sup>δυνατος L | <sup>h</sup>βουλευεται A 243, 248, C: ετοιμαζει L: βουλεται 93b: βεβουλευεται 236 | <sup>i</sup>-j και το ευνυπνιον αυτου κεκρυμμενον ην L: et erat visum conjunctum **L** | <sup>j</sup>το ευνυπνιον τουτο A | <sup>k</sup>om A | <sup>l</sup>+αυτου L 236 | <sup>n</sup>καιρω L | <sup>m</sup>-n om 93b **L** | <sup>o</sup>ηλθεν 93b: ηθελησεν A 236, 243, 248 C | <sup>p</sup>-r ην αναζητων L | <sup>r</sup>επιγινουαι **N**\* | <sup>r</sup>αυτον **N**: αυτω 52, 120 | <sup>p</sup>-q αυτο επιγινωαι A | <sup>q</sup>+επικρισις διασαφηθησεται αυτω L | <sup>r</sup>om A 74, 76 | <sup>s</sup>ημε-ρας L

12-17 om **L** | 12 <sup>a</sup>-b ης υπνωσε L | <sup>b</sup>+και ελογισατο εν εαυτω τι ο θεος βεβουλευται ποιησαι το ευνυπνιον τουτο 44 | <sup>c</sup>και ην 44: +ο εωρακως το ευνυπνιον τουτο 106 | <sup>d</sup>+του βασιλεως L: ο Ασταου N: Ασταγου 93a: Γαββαθα 93b: Βαθα 120: f Θαρα **N**\*: Θεδευτου L: Θευνδετου 19: Θαρας 93b | <sup>g</sup>-h om L | <sup>h</sup>την πυλην 93b

13 <sup>a</sup>-b και ηκουσε L | <sup>b</sup>δε **N** c. a: γαρ A | <sup>c</sup>-d τους λογισμους αυτων A: τους λογους αυτων L | <sup>e</sup>-g om 44, 106 | <sup>f</sup>διαβολας L: καρδιας 249 | <sup>g</sup>-h om L | <sup>i</sup>ως L | <sup>j</sup>εξηγουντο L | <sup>k</sup>-m τον επιθεσθαι L | <sup>l</sup>+αυτων 44, 71, 74, 76, 106, 120, 236 | <sup>n</sup> Ασσνηρω L | <sup>o</sup>+τον ανελειν αυτον εν δε φρονησας ο Μαρδοχαίος L | <sup>p</sup>om L | <sup>q</sup>απηγγειλε L | <sup>r</sup>-s om L | <sup>s</sup>+Μαρδοχαίος 44, 76, 106, 120, 236: +Μαρδουχαίος 74: +αυτω Μαρδοχαίος 71 | <sup>t</sup>υπερ 93b

14 <sup>a</sup>ητασεν L 44, 71, 74, 76, 106, 120, 236: εξεταξεν 52: εξητασεν (σ over eras). A\* | <sup>b</sup>-c om 52 | <sup>d</sup>+και ευρε τους λογους Μαρδοχαίου L: +αυτου 52, 243 C, Ald | <sup>e</sup>+οι ευνουχοι L | <sup>f</sup>εξηχθησαν **N**\* a. b A: απηχθησαν C

15 <sup>a</sup>+ Ασσνηρος L (Ασνηρω 93a | <sup>b</sup>-c περι των λογων τούτων L | <sup>d</sup>-e om L | <sup>e</sup>+ομοιως 44, 106 | <sup>f</sup>-g εγραφη Μαρδοχαίος L | <sup>g</sup>+εν τω βιβλιω του βασιλεως L | <sup>g</sup>-i om in space 44, 106 | <sup>h</sup>+τον μνημο-νευειν L | <sup>i</sup>om 248 C

16 <sup>a</sup>ενετειλατο L | <sup>b</sup>περι του Μαρδοχαίου L: Μαρδοχαιον 248 C | <sup>c</sup>+αυτον L | <sup>d</sup>+τον βασιλεως και πασαν θυραν επιφανως τηρειν L | <sup>e</sup>Μαρδοχαίω **N** c. a ms A 93b | <sup>f</sup>om L | <sup>g</sup>αυτων **N** c. a A: τουτου N 44, 64, 71, 74, 76, 106, 108a, 120, 243, C, Ald: τουτο 52

17 <sup>a</sup>-b om L | <sup>c</sup>Αμαναδαθου B\*: Ναμαναδαθου B b (ph): Αμαθαδου A 74, 106, 248 (so always): Αμαλαθου 55: Αμαδαθου 93b | <sup>d</sup>τω Βουγαίος 93b: Μακεδονα L | <sup>e</sup>-f κατα προσωπον (προσωπω 93a) L | <sup>g</sup>εζητει ο Αμαν L | <sup>j</sup>+παντα L | <sup>k</sup>+τον λελαληκεναι αυτον τω βασιλει περι L | <sup>l</sup>om L: after ευνουχων Ald. | <sup>m</sup>-n δι οτι ανηρεθησαν L

## CHAPTER I

I, 1 [וִירְדִי] και ἐξήγησε 108a: om 44 Ɔ: + μετα τους λογους τουτους Ɔ L (93b under +: 44, 108a, C om) | [בִּינִי] και εκρατησεν 108a: om 44 | [אֶהְיֶה] Assueri Ɔ: Artaxerxis Ɔ: [אֶסְמֶךָ] Ɔ: Ασσηρον L: Αρταξερξου Ɔ (so Ɔ Ɔ L Ɔ elsewhere): om 44, 108a | [הָאֵל] om K 151, R 899 Ɔ: הָאֵל Ɔ: οὗτος δε 44: του βασιλεως L | [אֶהְיֶה] om K 151, R 899 Ɔ: τον μεγαλον L: + ο βασιλευων 93b under \* | [הַמֶּלֶךְ] om 106 | [מִדְהָר] + χωρας 106 | [וְעַד כּוֹשׁ] so L Ɔ <sup>a. c. mg.</sup>, 93b under \*: om Ɔ | [שָׁבַע] pr super Ɔ: om Ɔ | [וְעֶשְׂרִים] pr Ɔ Ɔ

2 [בִּינִים הָהֵם] om Ɔ Ɔ L | [הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶהְיֶה] om \* Ɔ N 55, 108a | [הַמֶּלֶךְ] om L | [עַל] — מַלְכוּתוֹ om Ɔ (93b has under \*) | [אֲשֶׁר] om Ɔ Ɔ L | [בְּשׁוֹשַׁן הַבִּירָה] om L Ɔ

3 om Ɔ | [בִּשְׁנַת שְׁלוֹשׁ] om L | [לְמַלְכוֹ] και ο βασιλεως L | [מִשְׁחָה] + grande Ɔ Ɔ 44, 74, 76, 120, 236 | [לְכָל] so 93b: om Ɔ L | [שָׂרֵי] τοις φιλοις Ɔ: τοις δουλויς 236: τοις αρχουσι L: τοις φιλοις αυτου 44, 71, 74, 76, 120 | [וְעַבְדֵּי] και τοις λοιποις εθνεσιν Ɔ: om L | [וְיָדִי] — [וְיָדִי] om \* <sup>u</sup> (Ɔ <sup>ALM</sup> have) | [הָאֵל] και τοις ενδοξοις Ɔ: της αυλης (הַיֵּל) L: pr [שָׂרֵי] conj Buhl | [פָּרַס] some codd incorrectly | [הַפְּרָתִים] και τοις αρχουσιν Ɔ: και οι αρχοντες L | [וְשָׂרֵי] των σατραπων Ɔ: om L | [הַמְּדִינֹת] [וְשָׂרֵי] Ɔ: om Ɔ | [לְפָנָיו] και μετα ταυτα Ɔ (93b under +): + [וְעַבְדָּא] Ɔ

4 om Ɔ | [בַּהֲרָאָה] μετα το δειξει αυτοις G: εις το επιδειχθηναι L: εδειξεν αυτοις 44, 71, 76, 106, 120, 236 | [כַּבְּדֵּךְ] [וְיָדִי] Ɔ: om Ɔ (93b has under \*) | [מַלְכוּתוֹ] του βασιλεως L | [יָקָר] so Mas (Baer): [יָקָר] var G C (see Norzi ad loc.): aft. גדולתו Ɔ | [וְאֵת יָקָר] — גדולתו om 44, 106 | [גְּדֻלָּתוֹ] so many edd: גדולתו B<sup>1</sup> C Ba G: om L 52, 64, 243, 248, C, Ald | [יָמִים רַבִּים] om Ɔ L | [שְׁמֹנִים] pr εν B pr επι N L N, 44, 71, 74, 76, 106, 120, 248, Ald, 55, 108a | [וּמֵאָתָה] om 70

5 [וּבְמַלְאָה] Q: om 19 Ɔ | [הַיָּמִים] om 19 Ɔ | [הָאֵל] as L: του γαμου Ɔ (ποτου A <sup>a. c. mg.</sup>, 93b under +: + αυτου 93b): om Ɔ: convivii Ɔ | [הַמֶּלֶךְ] om Ɔ Ɔ 44, 106 | [לְכָל] om Ɔ | [הָעַם] om L Ɔ | [בְּשׁוֹשַׁן] εις Ɔ (εν 44, 93b, 106): [הַבִּירָה] Thebani Ɔ: om Ɔ | [קֵטָן] — לְמִגְדוֹל om Ɔ: to end of vs om Ɔ | [שִׁבְעָה] [גִּנְתָּ] om Ɔ L | [בֵּיתָ] om Ɔ: + συμφοιτου 93b under \*: et nemoris Ɔ: om Ɔ | [הַמֶּלֶךְ] quod regio cultu et manu consitum erat Ɔ: + αγων τα σωτηρια αυτου. ην δε εξεστρωμενα L: + κεκοσμημενη Ɔ: + και ην η αυλη κεκοσμημενη 44, 71, 74, 76, 120, 236: και ην κεκοσμημενη 106: + erant autem strata stragula regis derpina Ɔ: + et pendebant ex omne parte tentoria Ɔ: + [וְהָיָה] Ɔ

6 [הָרָה] large, so Mas: aerii coloris Ɔ: [בְּחֶסֶד] Ɔ: βυσσινους Ɔ | [וְהָיָה] Ɔ: om 44, 106: καρπασινους Ɔ: [וְהָיָה] om Ɔ: + και κοκκινα εμπλεγμα εν ανθεσιν και σκηνη L: + et super organa Ɔ | [אֶהְיֶה] pl. Ɔ Ɔ | [אֶהְיֶה] — [בִּי] om 44, 106, 71 | [וְאֶהְיֶה] om 71: om Ɔ 44, 106 | [גִּלְגִּלִּי]

κυβοῖς E L: om 71 L: + χρυσοῖς καὶ E | כסה | eburneis I: om L | ועבודי | επι  
 στυλοῖς E: καὶ στύλοις L: | حنן | S: columna L: om 71 | שש | eparina  
 (electa) L: + καὶ λιθνοῖς E: + περιχρυσοῖς L: + fulciebantur I: | ומצח  
 S: om 71 | משות | pr καὶ L I S | וכסה | om L: + | עצה | S | בהט | om  
 L S | ושש | om L 71, 106: tr w next E | ודר וסחרת | et pictura varia  
 L: | סממ | S: | حنן | S: quod mira varietate pictura decorebat I:  
 καὶ πιννινον . . . καὶ στρωμναι διαφανεις ποικιλως διηγητισμεναι κυκλω ροδα  
 πεπασμενα E: καὶ κυκλω ροδα L

7 | והשקות | bibebant autem qui invitati erant I: to שונים om L |  
 + [זהב] | καὶ ἀργυρα καὶ ἀνθρακινον κυλικιον προκειμενον απο ταλαντων τρισμυ-  
 ριων G | [שונים—וכלים] om E: | ελλα | L: et aliis atque aliis vasis cibi  
 inferebantur I | [ירין] om I E | [בילכות] om E L: praecipuum I | רב  
 so Mas on II Chron 28:8 (cf. Dan 11:3): om L: + καὶ ἡδus E: + et  
 suave valde L | כיד | on αυτος επινεν E L: on πινει L

8 | והשתיה | et ad jucunditatem bibere L: ponebantur I | כדת  
 pr ou E: om I | [אין אנס] om E L | [יסד] | ηθελησεν . . . καὶ επεταξεν E |  
 [המלך] om L | [על] | praeponens mensis singulos I | [כל רב ביתו] |  
 οικονομοις E: actoribus domui L: de principibus suis I: om L | [כרצון]  
 + αυτου και E

9 | גם | om S | [ושתי] | Αστιν E: Αστι C: αὔτη 55: Ουσασθεν 93b: Ουσαστιν  
 L: Vasthi L I (so subsequently in all these recensions) | [משתה] +  
 μεγαλην πασαις L S: | magnum L | [בית] | pr en E L L S | [המלכות] | βασι-  
 λειοις E: του βασιλεως L | [אשר למלך] om L L: | σπου ο βασιλευς E |  
 [אהשורוש] om L

10 | ביום | pr eγενητο δε L: pr itaque I: pr o S | לב | om E L L | [בין]  
 om E L: et post nimiam potationem incaluisse mero I | [אמר] + o βα-  
 σιλευς L | [למזהומן] | τω Αμαν E: Maosma (Maosinan) L: Μαουμαν 93b:  
 Αζαν 249: Mauman I: | عتصنا ('eunuchs') S: om L | [בזחא] | et Baza-  
 tha I: | حان | S: καὶ Μαζαν E (Bazan A<sup>c. a</sup>: Baζea A: Iaζan 64: Αμαν  
 249: Baζaθα C: Ζαβαθα 93b: Ζαβα(ν) 44, 71, 74, 76, 106, 120, 236: Nabattha  
 (Abathan) L: om L | [הרבונה] | et (H)arbona I: | סכנח | S: καὶ  
 Θαρρα E (Αρβωνα 93b: Χαρβωνα C): et (N)arbona L: om L | [בגתחא] | et  
 Bagatha I: | حان | S: καὶ Βωραζη E (Βαγαθα 93b C): et Thares (Tharas)  
 L: om L | [ואבגתחא] | סכנח | S: καὶ Αβταζα E (Αβγαθα 93a):  
 Achedes (Cedes) L: om L | [זתר] | et Zethar I: et Zathi (Azatai) L: | סכנח  
 S: καὶ Ζαθολθα E (Ζηβαθαθα A: Ζαθολα 249: Ζαραθ 93b: Ζηθυρ C: Ζαθολβα  
 71: Ζαθολα(ι) 44, 106): om L | [וכרס] | סכנח | S: καὶ Θαραβα E (Θα-  
 βαζ A: Βαρσαβα 249: Αχαρβας 93b: Χαραβας C: Αθαραβα 44, 71, 106):  
 T(h)arecta L: om L | [שבעת חסריסים] om L | [המשרתים] om 52, 64,  
 243, 248, C, Ald | [את פני] om E L: | [המלך] | ejus I: αυτου  
 L 44, 106 | [אהשורוש] om I L N 44, 55, 74, 76, 106, 108a, 120, 236



11 את ושתי] om E L | לפני — מלכות] *pros auton βασιλευει αυτην και περιθειναι αυτη το διαδημα* E L: *εις το συνεστηκος συμποσιον εν τω διαδηματι της βασιλειωσ αυτης* L: *coram rege posito super caput ejus diademate* J | להראות] + πασιν A N 44, 55, 64, 71, 74, 76, 106, 108a, 120, 243, 248, 249, L J: *κατα προσωπον* L | העמים] *της στρατιας αυτου* L | והשרים — היא] om L

12 המלכה] om J L | ושתי] om J L 44, 106 | לבוא] *ποιησαι* L | אשר — בדבר] om E L | אשר] om L: + *mandaverat* J: + *جاء* S | ביד הסרסים] *μετα των ευνουχων* E: *cum eis* L: om 44, 106: + *ως δε ηκουσεν ο βασιλευς οτι ηκυρωσεν Ουαστιν την βουλην αυτου* L | המלך] om L | במאד] om E

13 המלך] om E: + *πασι* L | להכמים] *τοis φιλοις αυτου* E L: + *عند* S | ידי העתים] om E L J | ידי — העתים] om L | כי כן] *κατα ταυτα* E: *qui ex* J | דבר] *more* J: *ελαλησεν* E | המלך] *Αστιν* E: + *| עבד* S | לפני] *semp̄er ei aderant* J: *et dixit rex* L: *ποιησατε ουν* E | כל] *et illorum faciebat cuncta consilio* J: *περι* E: *omnibus* L | ידעי] *τουτου* E: *principibus* L

14 והקרב] *pr primi et* J: *pr* *جاء* S: *και προσηλθεν (θον)* E L | אליו] om J | ברשנא] *Charsena* J: *عاشد* S<sup>LU</sup> *عاشد* S<sup>A</sup>: *Αρκεσσιος* E (*Χαρσαν* 93b: *Mardochaeus* L: om L | שתִּר] so N<sup>1</sup> S N<sup>2</sup> Br C B<sup>1</sup> B<sup>2</sup> G: *שֶׁתָּר* Ba: *Sethar* J: *شتر* S: *Σαρσαθιος* E (*Σαρεσθεος* A: *Σαραθιος* 249: *Asatha* 93b): *Soratha* (Soratheas) L: om L | אדמתא] *Admatha* J: *ادمتا* S: *Μαλσησαρ* E: *Ραμαθα* 93b: *Malesar* (Malesath) L: om L | תרשיש] *Tharsis* J: *تارسس* S: *Pabataleus* L: om E L | מֶרֶס] *Mares* J: *مريس* S (S<sup>A</sup>: *مدف*) S: *Eas* L: om E L | מֶרְסָנָא] *Marsana* J: *مرسانا* S: om E L L | ממוכן] *Mamuchan* J: *مموحن* S: *Muchaeas* L: om E L | שבעת] om S E L L | ראי] *tr with* *הישיבים* S: *οι εγγυς* E: *και οι ορωντες* L: *qui pro.ximi* L | הישיבים] *pr* *και* L | ראשנה] *عاشد* S: om L L | במלכות] *post eum* J: *τω βασιλει* E: + *και απηγγειλαν αυτω* E: om L

15 ושתִּי] om J L | מה — המלך] *tr to vs 13 after* *ודן* L | ושתי] om L L | לא עשתה] *μη τελεληκεναι αυτην ποιησαι* L | אהשורוש] om E L L: + *جاء* S: + *dicta erunt* L | ביד הסרסים] om L

16 ממוכן] *Q* (cf vs 14): *Mamuchan* J: *مموحن* S: *Μουχαιος* E: *Bouyaios* L: *Micheus* (Mardochaeus) L | המלך] *αυτου* L: + *جاء* S | והשרים] + *και τους ηγουμενους του βασιλειωσ* 44, 106: *και παντας τους αρχοντας* 64: *και προς τους αρχοντας* 248, C, Ald: *λεγων* L | לבדו] om 64 | עותה] *عاشد* S: *ητιμασεν* A | ושתי] om 44, 106 | כל] om L L | העמים] *και τους ηγουμενους* E: *Περσων και Μηδων* L: om 44, 106: *et gentes* L | במדינות — אשר] om L E L | המלך] om L L | אהשורוש] om L E

17 כי כן] *και γαρ* E: *και* L | יצא] + *جاء* S | דבר המלכה] *η* *αδικια αυτης* L: *eo contumelia regis* L | על כל הנשים] *س: نساء على* S:



αὐτοῖς Ἑ: εἰς πάντας τοὺς λαοὺς L | etiam ab omnibus mulieribus ℣ |  
 להביות — לַפְּנֵי] om Ḥ L | להביות], 𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤍 S: quod contemnat ℣ |  
 ܒܥܠܝܗ] virum suum ℣ | הַמֶּלֶךְ] regina ℣ | אֲחֵירוֹרִשׁ — לַפְּנֵי] om ℣ |  
 בָּאָה] και ως αντειπεν τω βασιλει ως ουν αντειπεν τω βασιλει Αρταξερξης  
 Ἑ: οτι ηκυρωσε το προσταγμα του βασιλεως L: neglexit enim et con-  
 tempsit

18 om L | והיום הזה | exemplo hoc ꝑ: ꝑ: quomodo non ꝑ |  
 |חַמְּרֵיהֶם | parripientes omnes ꝑ: |חַמְּרֵיהֶם | ꝑ: τολμησουσιν (και αυτοι) ομοιως  
 |ατιμασαι | negligent et contumeliam facient ꝑ | שררות | ai τυραννιδες αι  
 |λοιπαι των αρχοντων | ꝑ: |חַמְּרֵיהֶם | ꝑ: some codd incorrectly |חַמְּרֵיהֶם | ꝑ:  
 |וימדי | om ꝑ |חַמְּרֵיהֶם | om ꝑ: ακουσαι τα τω βασιλει λεχθεντα υπ  
 |αυτης | aut quomodo non infamia tradetur adversus regem ꝑ |לכל | ꝑ:  
 |imperia ꝑ: |חַמְּרֵיהֶם | ꝑ: om ꝑ ꝑ |שרי המלך | maritorum ꝑ: |חַמְּרֵיהֶם | ꝑ:  
 |ανδρας αυτων | viris suis L |חַמְּרֵיהֶם | om ꝑ: unde regis justa  
 |est indignatio ꝑ: etiam his qui extra regnum sunt ꝑ

19 [הַמֶּלֶךְ] tibi Ḥ: τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν L: tibi maxime rex Ṭ | טוֹב + και  
ἀρεστον τῷ φρονηματι αὐτον L: + et optimum est sensui tuo Ṭ | יָצָא  
[מִלְפָנָיו] προσταξατω βασιλικον Ḥ: jube Ṭ: om L | וַיֵּכַח — יַעֲבוֹר  
גֵּרָה γραφητω εις πασας τας χωρας και προς παντα τα εθνη και γνωσθητω L | בִּרְתִּי  
κατα τους νομους Ḥ | פֶּרַס וְיָדִי so N 55, 93b, 249 א<sup>c.a.</sup>: Μηδων και Περσων Ḥ | וְלֹא  
אֲשֶׁר לֹא et de malitia Vasthi reginae quomodo abusa sit te Ṭ | יַעֲבוֹר  
תְּבוּא pr מִן הַזֶּה & μηδε εισελθαι ετι Ḥ: ηθετηκνια L: quoniam non introiit  
Ṭ | וְשִׂתִּי — שִׂתִּי & η βασιλισσα Ḥ: om Ṭ | לִפְנֵי — אַחֲרָיו so A, 93b  
under \*, Ṭ: προς αυτον Ḥ: τον λογον του βασιλεως L | מִיֵּמֶה et meliori L

20 מלכותו — ונשמע 20 και φαινεσθω υπακουουσα της φωνης του βασιλεως  
 και ποιησαι αγαθον πασαις ταις βασιλειαις L | פְּתָנָם פְּתָנָם Ba G: פְּתָנָם al:  
 ο λογος A: verbo ℣: hoc ℣ | מִשְׁעָה — הַמִּלֶּךְ om ℣ | אֲשֶׁר | ο s | בְּכָל om  
 כל & | מלכותו om suffix s | כִּי רַבָּה הוּא quoniam verum est ℣: om  
 & L | וְכָל | οὕτως & | יָקָר | και δοξαν L | לְמִגְדֹּל tr w next & L ℣

21 [הדרב] + הָטָה § [בעניי] εν καρδια L [והשירים] + suff. אָהָה §: om L [המלך] ετοιμως L [כדבר] καθά ελαλησεν G L: τον λογον L [במלך] Mamuchan J: مملوح §: Μουχαιος G: Mardochaeus L: τουτον L

22 om L | וישלח + o βασιλεὺς A<sup>c. a. mg.</sup>, 93b und. \*, 1 | ספרים om  
 & מלך | מדינות המלך | *provincias regni sui* 3: την βασιλειαν 6: *regno suo*  
 1 | ומדינה | so A: om 6 5: *gens* 3 | כנתבה | κατα την λεξιν αυτων 6: *se-*  
*cundum interpretationes eorum* 1: *audire et legere poterat* 3: + κατα  
 το γραμμα αυτης 93b under \* | ואל — כלשוננו | so 93b under \*: om 6 1:  
*diversis linguis et litteris* 3 | להיות — בביתו | *esse viros principes ac*  
*maiores in domibus suis* 3: ωστε ειναι φοβον αυτοις εν ταις οικiais αυτων 6:  
*ut esset unusquisque in domum suam* 1 | ועבו — ומדבר | so 93b under \*: om 6:  
*et fuit timor magnus in omni muliere* 1: *et hoc per cunctos*  
*populos divulgari* 3 | כלשון | כל-שונה conj. Buhl

## CHAPTER II

II, 1 אַחַר — אַהשׁוּרוּשׁ om L | אַחַר | και μετα G | כִּשְׁדָּן | εκοπασειν G | אַהשׁוּרוּשׁ | so <sup>c. a. mg.</sup> 93b under \*: om G L | זָכָר | και ουκετι εμνησθη G (και ουκετι under ÷ 93b) εμνησθη γαρ A: και ουτως εστιν του μνημονευειν L: to end of vs om L | וְשֵׁתִי | cf. 1:9: + מַלְאֲכָיו S: + μνημονευων G | וְאֵת | om G | שְׁלֹמֹה S | עֲשֵׂתָהּ | ελαλησεν G: εποιησεν A L | וְאֵת <sup>2</sup> — עֲלֶיהָ | και ως κατεκρινεν αυτην G: Ασσυνηρω τω βασιλει L: οσα αυτη κατεκριθη A | וְאֵת <sup>2</sup> | שְׁלֹמֹה S

2 מִשְׁרֵתָיו | + וְיֹאמְרוּ S | הַמֶּלֶךְ | προς τον βασιλεα A: ejus L | pr o S: om G L L (93b has under \*) | יִבְקְשׁוּ | ζητηθητω G: quærantur L: ζητησωμεν L | לְבִלְכָּן נַעֲרוֹת | om L L | בַּחֲלוֹת | so C: בחולות Ba G: αφθορα G

3 מִלְּבוֹתָיו | om L L | הַמֶּלֶךְ | om L | פְּקִידִים | om L S | מִרְאָה — om L: et adducant eas ad civitatem Susan et tradant eas in domum feminarum L: et perducantur in Susis Thebari in conspectu mulierum L | אֶל — הַבֵּידָה | om L S | אֶל יָד | S: και παραδοθητωσαν G: et tradentur L: και δοθητωσαν προστατεισθαι υπο χειρα L | עַל אֶל | Or mss | הַגָּנָא | so S N<sup>2</sup> Br C B<sup>1</sup> G Ba: הַגָּנָא N<sup>1</sup> B<sup>2</sup> M Norzi: Egei L: S: om G (vs. 8 Gal): Γωγαιον L | הַמֶּלֶךְ | qui est propositus et L: om L S | הַנְּשִׁים | + regiarum L | וְנָתַן | S: om L: + αυταις 44, 71, 74, 76, 106, 120, 236 | תַּמְרִיקָהָן | so Norzi, Mich. N<sup>2</sup> B<sup>2</sup> G: תַּמְרִיקָהָן N<sup>1</sup> S Br C B<sup>1</sup> Ba: om L: + και η λοιπη επιμελεια G: + et cetera ad usus necessaria L

4 וְיִיטֵב — הַמֶּלֶךְ | om L | וְיִעֵשׂ | + ετοιμως L | כֵּן | + ut suggesserant L

5 מִרְדְּכָי | pr και G L S | יְהוּדִי | om L | הַבֵּירָה | Thebari L | מִרְדְּכָי | so B<sup>2</sup> everywhere exc 4:12, see Norzi: מִרְדְּכָי Baer everywhere: Μαρδοχαιος G L: קִישׁ — בֶּן | cf. A:1 | אִישׁ | de stirpe L: S: εκ φυλης G: της φυλης L | יַמִּינִי | Jemini L: Βεν-αμειν(μιν) G L S

6 om L | אֲשֶׁר הַגְּלָה | ex captivitate L | עַם הַגְּלָה | de captivitate L: eo tempore L: om G (93b has under \*) | יְהוּדָה — אֲשֶׁר | om G L (93b has under \*) | הַגְּלָתָהּ | om L | אֲשֶׁר | om L | נַבּוֹכַדְנֶצַּר | Ναβουχοδονο-σορ G L

7 אִמְךָ — הַדָּסָה | τουτω παις θρεπτη G: εκτρεφων πιστως L: illi L | הָיָא אַסְתֵּר | so 93b under \*: και ονομα αυτη Εσθηρ G: την Εσθηρ L: tr to end of vs (Hester) L: quæ altero nomine vocabatur Esther L | בַּת דָּדוֹ | θυγα-τηρ Αμειναδαβ (Αμυναδαβ N A) αδελφον πατρος αυτου G: filia fratris ejus et nutrierat eam Mardochaeus sicuti adoptatam filiam L: filiae fratris sui L | כִּי — וְאֵם | om G L: L has | תֹּאֲרָ | + σφοδρα <sup>c. a. mg.</sup> L: + nimis L L | וְשׁוֹבַת מִרְאָה | so L <sup>c. a. mg.</sup> 93b under \*: om G L | וְבִמְנוֹת | om L | מִרְדְּכָי | so N <sup>c. a. mg.</sup> 93b under \*: om G | לְבַת | eis γυναικα G (eis θυγατερα 93b)

8 ויהי — הגי om L | ודחו | om G L (93b has under \*): *et juxta mandatum illius* I | נערות | Δδδδ S | רבות | + *pulchrae* I | הצבירה | om I | אל יד | pr. *et traderentur* I: Δδ S | הגי | *Egeo* I: + Δδδδ S: Γαι G (Γωγαίου 93b: Γαιη 249 Αγαι C): *Oggeo* L | ותלקח | + א | S | אסתר | το κορασιον L | אל — הנבלך | so L, 93b under \*: om G L: *inter ceteras puellas* I | אל יד הגי | ei I: προς Γαι G (Γαιη 249): επι τον Γωγαίου 93b: και ειδε Βουγαίος ο ευνουχος L (Γωγαίος 93a): *ab Oggeo* L | והגי | om S | שביר הנשים | *ut servaretur in numero feminarum* I: ο φυλασσων το κορασιον L

9 ותיטב — בענינו om L | הנערה | om I L | בענינו | + υπερ πασας τας γυναικας L | ותשא | + Εσθη L L | הסד | + και ελεον L | לפניו | + *et praecepit eunuchō ut* I | תמרוקיה | *mundum muliebrem* I: Δδδδ S: το σμηγμα G: προστατῆσαι αὐτης L: *ad omnes nitores ejus* L | ואת | so B<sup>2</sup> Ba: ואת מנותיה G: om L L | ואת | S | לתת לה | *tas הראיות* S | והנערות | + α | S | והנערות | *tas αβρας* L | לתת | om I L L | לה | om I L | מביית | om I L | והנשים | *et tam ipsam ornaret* I: Δδδδ S: και εχρησατο αυτη G | וישנה — וישנה | om L | לטוב — | *atque excoleret* I: καλως εν τω γυναικωνι G (+ εις αγαθον 93b under \*): *aetatis ipsius in conventu mulierum* L


10 om L | לא | pr o S: pr και G L | אסתר | *quae* I | עניה | S | משה | *de hac re omnino* L | מולדתה |




11 om L | ובכל | om I G (A 93b have) | מירדני | *qui* I | לפני | *in qua electae virgines serrabantur* I | את | S | הנשים | *et scire volens* I: ei L | שאל | S: τι συμβησεται G L | אסתר | *et scire volens* I: ei L | ומה | om G L | בה | some codd (R)


12 om L | ובהגיע | ουτος δε ην G: και οταν η A: *et quando esset* L | נערה | om L: Δδδδ S | ונערה | om S G L | אהשירוש | om I G L (93b has under \*) | לה — | *omnibus quae ad cultum muliebrem pertinebant* I: *tempus puellae* L: om G (93b has under \*): καιρος κορασια A | שנים עשר | *undecimo* L: επι εξ Jos | חדש | + *vertebatur* I: Δδδδ S | וימלאו | om I | בירוקיהן | S: + αλιφομεναι G: + *ut ungerentur* I | וששה — | om L | חדשים | + *aliis* I: Δδδδ S | הנשים | *uterentur* I



13 om L | ובה | om I | הנערה | codd הנער, הנערה Q: om I G L (93b has under \*) | את — | om L | כל | *ad ornatum pertinens* I | לה | + *et ut eis placuerat compositae* I | לבוא | *transibant* I


14 בערב — באה | *et cum introiret mulier ad domum regis* L: tr to vs 16 L' | שבה | *ad diem unum et recurrebat* L: tr to vs 16 L' | שבה | + *atque inde deducebatur* I | אל בית | om L |


[הנשים] om א | שני שִׁבְחָה *Sēbhār*: conj Buhl: om א | אל Var Or: pr quae א | אל — [הפילגשים] om א | יד | אל יד | או א | שִׁשְׁשָׁן some codd, S B: שִׁשְׁשָׁן C Ba G: *Susagazi* א:  S: Γαι Α (*Sasagaz* 93b) | [המלך] om א 44, 106 | [הפילגשים] + *regis* א | [לא תבוא] pr και Α S: *non habebat spado potestatem inducendi* א | [המלך — עוד] om א | כי | אס | ως δε L | [המלך — הפץ] *κατεμανθανεν ο βασιλευς* L: om Α Α (93b has under \*) | [ונקראה בשם] om ו Α Α: *πασας τας παρθενους* L | + *evoluto autem tempore per ordinem* א

15 [ובהגיע תר] *εφανη επιφανεστατη* L: + *introeundi* א | בת — end of vs om L | [אביחיל] so Α: *Abihail* א:  S<sup>A</sup>:  SLM:  S<sup>U</sup>: *Abihel (Chihel)* א: Αμεινadaβ Α (*Αβιχαλ* C) | [דר] *fratris* א א | [לבת — אשר] om Α Α (93b has under \*) | [לבווא] *εν τω εισελθειν* Α: pr ον εμελλεν 44: *introibat* א | [המלך] + *et factum est cum introiret ad regem* א | [דבר] *muliebrem cultum* א | את — כי om Α Α | אשר | ων Α: ων αυτη Α A N 55, 64, 71, 74, 76, 106, 108a, 243, 248, 249, C, Ald: εκ παυτων ων αυτη 44: *ex quibus* א | [הגרי] om Α Α (93b has under \*) | [המלך] om א א Α Α (93b has under \*) | [שמיר הנשים] om א 106: + *haec ei ad ornatum dedit erat enim formosa valde et incredibili pulchritudine* א | [ותהי אסתר] om א | [הן] + *et amabilis* א

16 [ואחשורוש] *αχασωρος* א | [אסתר] om 93b א | [המלך — ותלקה] tr aft 2:9 L | [אסתר] om 93b א | [מלכותו — אל] om L א 44, 106 | [אל בית] to end of vs | om L | [העשירי] *τω δωδεκατω* Α Α (*δεκατω* 93b C) | [הוא הדש] om א | [טבת — טבת] Ba:  S: Αδαρ Α Α: Αδερ 248 (so always): Τηβηθ Α C: Βηθ 93b

17 [ואסתר — ויאהב] *ηρεσεν αυτω σφοδρα* L (tr aft 2:9) | [אסתר] +  S: αυτης 44, 76, 106 | [מכל הנשים] om Α Α Α (93b has under \*) | [והסד] om א Α Α (93b has under \*) | [לפניו] om Α (93b has under \*) | [מכל הבתולות] *super omnes mulieres* א: om L | [ירשם]  S | [ושתי — וימליכה] *το γυναικειον* Α: om א | [בראשה] αυτη Α Α | [מלכות] om Α L: א has, and 93b under \*

18 [ועבדו — ויעבדו] om L | [המלך] om א | [גדול] om Α Α (93b has under \*) | [ועבדו]  S: και ταις δυναμεσιν + *επι ημερας επτα και ψωσεν* Α: + και ηγαγεν ο βασιλευς L | [משתה] *pro conjunctione et nuptiis* א: *τους γαμους* Α Α: τον γαμον L | [אסתר] + *επιφανως* L | [למדינות] *τοις υπο την βασιλειαν αυτου* Α: pr πασαις L 44, 71, 74, 76, 106, א א | [ריתן] | [המלך — ריתן] om Α Α

19 om L | [שניה — ובהקבץ] om Α Α (93b has under \*): + *et congregarentur* א: +  S | [ומידכזי] om ו א | [ישב] here only in book written defectively, Α: *εθεραπευεν* Α: *sedebat* א | [המלך] om Α (93b has under \*)

20 om L | **וְאֵת עֲמִיה** | om G (exc 93b \*) | **מִירְדְּנִי** | + φοβεῖσθαι τον θεον G (under ÷ 93b): + *et timeret Deum omni die* L | **וְאֵת** | *ut* L | **בְּמֵאֲנִי** | *omnia* L | **מִירְדְּנִי** | *ille* I: αυτου G: om L | **אֶחָד** | om G L | **עָלֶיהָ** | *ποιειν* G: *servaret* L | **בְּאַמְנֶהָ** | om G L (exc 93b \*) | **אֶחָד** | + και Εσθηρ ου μετῄλλαξεν την αγωγην αυτης G (93b under ÷)

21 om L | **בֵּימִיִּם — הַמְּבִלָּךְ** | om G: εως της νυκτος και ησυχασεν Μαρδοχαιος εν τη αυλη G (A:11f.): εως της ημερας ης υπνωσε Μαρδοχαιος εν τη αυλη του βασιλεως L (A:11) | **בֵּימִיִּם** | pr o S | **וּמִירְדְּנִי** | om r S | **קֶצֶר** | pr και G S: om L: μετα G (A:12) L (A:12) | **בַּגָּתָן** | *Bagathan* I: **בַּגָּתָן** S: om G (A:12 Γαβαθα): Ασταου L (A:12): Γαββαθαν 93b\*: Βαταθαν 249: Βαγαθως Jos xi § 207 w var: Βαγαθαν N<sup>c.a.mg sup</sup>: *Bartageus* (*Bastageus*) L | **וְתָרַשׁ** | *et Thares* I: **וְתָרַשׁ** S: om G (A:12 και Θαρρα): και Θεδευτον L (A:12): και Θαρας 93b\*: και Θαρραν 249: και Θεοδεστος Jos xi § 207 w var: *Thedestes* L | **וְהַבְּלָךְ** | + *qui janitores erant et in primo palatii* I | **וְהָסָר** | την αυλην G (A:13): *atrium* L: + *οτι προηχθη Μαρδοχαιος* G (93b under ÷): + *ηκουσεν τε αυτων τους λογισμους και τας μεριμνας αυτων εξηρανησεν και εμαθεν* G (A:13): + *και ηκουσε τους λογους αυτων και τας διαβολας αυτων* L (A:13) | **וְיִבְרָשֶׁהוּ** | **וְיִבְרָשֶׁהוּ** Ba | **לְשַׁלַּח יָד** | *αποκτειναι* G L | **וְאֶחָד** | so Oc: **וְאֶחָד** Or: om 44, 106 L: + *του ανελιν αυτον* L (A:13): + *et occidere eum* I

22 om L | **וְיִרְדֵּעַ — לְמִירְדְּנִי** | και υπεδειξεν τω βασιλει περι αυτων G (A:13): *εν δε φρονησας ο Μαρδοχαιος απηγγειλε περι αυτων* L (A:13) | **וְיִרְדֵּעַ** | + αυτον 248 C: + *Mardochaeus* L | **וְיִרְדֵּעַ — מִירְדְּנִי** | om G in A: 13, L in A: 13 | **וְהַמְּבִלָּךְ** | om G L (exc 93b \*) | **וְחֵאֲמִיר** | om G | **אֶחָד** | αυτη G: η βασιλισσα A: *illa* I | **לְבִלְכָן** | + *Αρταξερξη* N<sup>c.a.mg</sup> A, 93b ÷ | **בְּשֵׁם מִירְדְּנִי** | τα της επιβουλης G: *et nomen Mardochaei* L: + *qui ad se rem detulerat* I

23 om L | **וְיִבְרָשֶׁהוּ — וְיִבְרָשֶׁהוּ** | om 44, 106 | **וְיִבְרָשֶׁהוּ** | + ο βασιλευς G | **וְהִדְבֵּר** | τους δυο εννουχας G | **וְיִבְרָשֶׁהוּ** | και ευρε τους λογους Μαρδοχαιου L (A:14): *et invenit sic* L: om G: + *και ομολογησαντες* G (A:14), L (A:14): + *και ομολογησαντες οι εννουχοι* L (A:14) | **וְיִתְלֶן** | απηχθησαν G (A:14), L (A:14) | **עַל עֵץ** | om G L | **וְיִתְחַב** | *mandatum est historiis et traditum* I: **וְיִתְחַב** S: και προσεταξεν ο βασιλευς καταχωρισαι εις μνημοσυνον G: και εγραψεν ο βασιλευς εις μνημοσυνον G (A:14): και εγραψεν Ασυνηρος ο βασιλευς L (A:14): *et scriptum est memoriale* L | **וְיִתְחַב — בְּסֵפֶר** | **וְיִתְחַב** | εν τη βασιλικη βιβλιοθηκη G: τους λογους τουτους G (A:15): *περι των λογων τουτων* L (A:15): *legis* L: + *υπερ της εννοιας Μαρδοχαιου εν εγκωμω* G: + *και επεταξεν (ενετειλατο L) ο βασιλευς (+ περι του L) Μαρδοχαιω (Μαρδοχαιου L) θεραπενειν (+ αυτον L) εν τη αυλη (+ του βασιλεως και πασαν θυραν επιφανως τηρειν L) και εδωκεν αυτω δοματα (om L) περι τουτων* G (A:16) L (A:16)



## CHAPTER III

III, 1 [אָהַר] pt και εγενετο L 𐤀 | גַּדְל — [הַאֲגַנִּי] και ην Αμαν Αμαδαθον Βουγαίος ενδοξος ενωπιον του βασιλεως 𐤄 (A:17): Αμαν Αμαδαθον Μακεδονα κατα προσωπον του βασιλεως L (A:17) | [אַחֲזֵהְךָ] so Ben Asher: [אַחֲזֵהְךָ] Ben Naphtali (Ginsburg) | [הַמִּדְחָא] 𐤁𐤀𐤔𐤁𐤀 𐤄: Αμαδαθον 𐤄 L: Αραμαθαδον A: Αμαθον 19: Αμαδαθον 93d: Αμαθαδον 106: om 𐤀 | [הַאֲגַנִּי] qui erat de stirpe Agag 𐤁: Βουγαίον 𐤄 L: Μακεδονα L (A:17): Γωγαίον 93a: Ουγαίον C: om 44, 106 𐤀 | [וַיִּנְשְׂאָהוּ] om 𐤁 𐤄 | [אָהַר] + ωστε καμπτεσθαι και προσκυνειν αυτω επι την γην παντας L

2 [הַמֶּלֶךְ] om 𐤄 L 𐤀 (exc 93b \*) | [אֲשֶׁר בִּשְׁעָרָיו] om L | [הַמֶּלֶךְ] om 𐤄 L 𐤀 (exc 𐤁<sup>c, a</sup>, 93b \*) | [וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶיִם] om 𐤄 L 𐤀 (exc 93b \*) | [לְהַמְכָּר] αυτω 𐤄 L (Αμαν A 𐤀) | [כִּי] — end of vs | om 106 | [לֹךְ] eis 𐤁: ποιησαι 𐤄: fieri 𐤀: αυτοις ποιησαι 93b: om L | [וַיַּרְדֵּכִי] + solus 𐤁: om 𐤁 L | [וַיִּכְרַע] + αυτω 𐤄 L 𐤀: + επι την γην παντας παντων ουν προσκυνουντων 93a | [וְלֹא] [יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה] om 𐤄 L 𐤀 (exc 93b \*): + και ειδον οι παιδες του βασιλεως οτι ο Μαρδοχαιος ου προσκυνει τον Αμαν L

3 [עַבְדִּי הַמֶּלֶךְ] om 𐤄 𐤀 (exc 93b \*) | [אֲשֶׁר] om 𐤄 L | [בִּשְׁעָרָיו] om L | [לְמַרְדֵּכִי] cui 𐤁: Μαρδοχαιε 248: + Μαρδοχαιε 𐤄 (exc 44, 106: 93b ÷) + dicentes 𐤀 | [בִּמְדַע] + praeter ceteros | [אַתָּה מִצֻּת] om L | [הַמֶּלֶךְ] + και ου προσκυνεις τον Αμαν L: + et non adoras Aman et non respondit eis 𐤀

4 [וַיְהִי] om 𐤄: om 𐤁 𐤄 𐤄 | [וַיְהִי] — [אֲלֵיהֶם] om L | [בְּאִמְנִים] Q Oc: εαλουν 𐤄 [אַלִּי] om 𐤄 𐤀 | [וַיִּנְדֹּךְ] — [בִּמְדַע] om 44, 106 | [וַיִּנְדֹּךְ] και ουκ υπεδειξαν 108a | [לְרֹאשׁ] — [בִּמְדַע] Μαρδοχαιον τοις του βασιλεως λογους αντιτασσομενον 𐤄: quoniam Mardochaeus non obedit regi ut adoret te 𐤀: περι αυτου L: scire cupientes utrum perseveraret in sententia 𐤁 | [כִּי] και 𐤄 L | [וַיְהִי] — [כִּי] tr after vs 3 L: και ειπε Μαρδοχαιος Ιουδαιος ειμι 71: eo quod sit Judaeus 𐤀 | [לָהֶם] + ο Μαρδοχαιος 𐤄 (exc 106: 93b ÷) | [וַיְהִי] + quod cum audisset 𐤁

5 [כִּי — לֹךְ] om L | [בִּמְדַע] om 𐤁 44, 71, 74, 76, 106, 236 | [וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה] om 𐤄 𐤀 (exc 93b \*) | [וַיִּמְלֵא] — [הַמֶּלֶךְ] + [בִּמְדַע] K 76, 117, 166, 188, 218, 249 𐤀<sup>1</sup> 𐤀<sup>2</sup> 𐤄: εθυμωθη σφοδρα 𐤄 𐤀: εθυμωθη τω Μαρδοχαιω και οργη εξεκαυθη εν αυτω L: iratus est valde 𐤁

6a om 𐤄 (exc 93b \*) L | [וַיִּבֹזַע בְּעֵינָיו] 𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀𐤁𐤀 𐤄: et pro nihilo duxit 𐤁: et quaerebat 𐤀 | [וַיִּד] + [וַיִּבֹזַע] 𐤄 | [וַיִּבֹזַע] ut perderet eum 𐤀 | [הַמֶּלֶךְ] om 𐤁 𐤄 L | [לְהַשְׁמִיד] om 𐤄 𐤄 | [אֵת כָּל] — [עַם מְדַע] om L | [כָּל] + nationem 𐤁 | [בְּכָל] om 𐤁 𐤄 𐤀 | [וַיִּשְׁמַד] et Mardochaeum et genus ejus 𐤀: τον Μαρδοχαιον και παντα τον λαον αυτου L: om 𐤁 𐤄

7 [וַיִּשְׁמַד] — [בְּחֹדֶשׁ] om L | [בְּחֹדֶשׁ] om 𐤄 (exc 𐤁<sup>c, a</sup> (ms<sup>g</sup>)) | [וַיִּשְׁמַד] + neomeniae 𐤀 | [חֹדֶשׁ] om 𐤄 𐤀 | [לְבִלְכָּה] της βασιλειας 𐤄: reg-



12 [הַרְאִשׁוֹן] + autos | סָ עֲמַלְסָ om L | הַמִּלֵּךְ] om L | בְּרוֹ — וִיקְרֶאוּ 12  
ο μὲν Νισταν (καὶ) N c.a mg inf, 93b ÷ | יוֹם בְּרוֹ] om G (exc N c.a mg, 93b ÷);  
του μηνος 44, 71, 74, 76, 106, 120, 236: סָ עֲמַלְסָ die I | וִיכְתֹב] om  
I S; λεγων γραφε L: και εγραψαν G: et scripta sunt I | אֲשֶׁר — כָּל om L | כָּל om G I (exc 93b\*) :  
[הַבֵּן] + scribis I | אֵל] + omnes I | הַמִּלֵּךְ] om G (exc 93b\*) | עַל] + כל S G I L | מְדִינָה] τας χωρας L: πολεις

93a | וּבְיַד־נָחָשׁ om G (exc N<sup>c.a</sup>) L (exc 93a): + απο Ινδικης εως της Αιθιοπίας ταις εκατον εικοσι επτα χωραις G L (93b ÷) | וְנָחָשׁ — וְנָחָשׁ om L | וְנָחָשׁ — שָׂרִי om J | עַם וְעַם | חֲמָל S: των εθνων κατα την αυτων λεξιν G: *uniuscuiusque loci gentium secundum interpretationem eorum* L | בְּיַד־נָחָשׁ — כְּלָשָׁרִי om G L | אֶחָד־שָׂרִי so Oc: var Or אֶחָד־שָׂרִי om J G: pr και 93b L | וְנָחָשׁ — הַנִּבְלָךְ om G (exc 93b\*) | וְנָחָשׁ — וְנָחָשׁ Ba G: και σφραγίζουν L | הַנִּבְלָךְ<sup>4</sup> ipsius J: + ου γαρ εστιν ος αποστρεφει την σφραγιδα L

13 וְנָחָשׁ — הָרָצִים | και απεσταλη δια βιβλιαφορων G (βιβλιογραφων 243, 248, C, Ald): και εσπευσε και εδωκεν εις χειρας τρεχοντων ιππεων L (tr aft 3:13b): *et dimissae sunt litterae per librarios* L | נָחָשׁ — הַנִּבְלָךְ om L 44, 106: εις την Αρταξερξου βασιλειαν G L | לְהָרִג וּלְנָחָד om G L L (exc 93b\*) | לְהָרִג pr J S J | וּלְנָחָד om J | נָחָשׁ כָּל | το γενος G L | בְּנֵר — וְנָשִׁים om G L (exc 93b\*): απο αρσενικου εως θηλυκου και διαρπαζειν τα νηπια L | בָּיוֹם — לְבָוִי om L | בְּשִׁלּוֹשָׁה עֶשְׂרִי om G L (exc 93b\*) | שְׁנַיִם עֶשְׂרִי | *undecimo* L: om S | הָוָה om S | הָדָשׁ om S G L (exc 93b\*) | וְשִׁלְלָם | *consequenter* S: και τα υπαρχοντα αυτων G L | לְבָוִי<sup>5</sup> | διαρπασαι G L: + וְשִׁלְלָם | *et* S: + the following section (B:1-7) in G L L

## ADDITION B

<sup>1</sup>Τῆς<sup>a</sup> δὲ ἐπιστολῆς ἐστὶν τὸ ἀντίγραφον τόδε<sup>b</sup> Βασιλεὺς μέγας Ἀρταξέρξης<sup>c</sup> τοῖς<sup>d</sup> ἀπὸ<sup>e</sup> τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἕως<sup>f</sup> τῆς Αἰθιοπίας ἑκατὸν<sup>g</sup> εἴκοσι<sup>h</sup> ἑπτὰ χωρῶν ἄρχουσι<sup>i</sup> καὶ τοπάρχαις<sup>j</sup> ὑποτεταγμένοις<sup>k</sup> τάδε<sup>l</sup> γράφει.<sup>m</sup> <sup>2</sup>πολλῶν ἐπάρξας ἔθνων<sup>n</sup> καὶ πάσης ἐπικρατήσας<sup>b</sup> οἰκουμένης, ἐβουλήθην<sup>c</sup> μὴ<sup>d</sup> τῷ θράσει τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐπαιρόμενος<sup>e</sup> ἐπιεικέστερον<sup>f</sup> δὲ καὶ μετὰ ἡπιότητος<sup>g</sup> αἰεὶ<sup>h</sup> διεξάγων<sup>i</sup> τοὺς<sup>j</sup> τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων<sup>k</sup> ἀκνύματος<sup>l</sup> διὰ παντὸς καταστήσαι<sup>m</sup> βίους,<sup>n</sup> τὴν τε<sup>o</sup> βασιλείαν ἡμερον<sup>p</sup> καὶ πορευτὴν<sup>q</sup> μέχρι<sup>r</sup> περάτων παρεξόμενος<sup>s</sup> ἀναγεώσασθαι τε<sup>t</sup> τὴν<sup>u</sup> ποθουμένην<sup>v</sup> τοῖς<sup>w</sup> πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις εἰρήνην.<sup>x</sup>

B: 1 a-b και υπεγραψε την υποτεταγμενην επιστολην L: *epistola autem scripta est duodecima similitudine cuius est exemplum hoc* L: (και) το αντιγραφον της επιστολης τοδε 44, 106 | c Ασσυριος L: Artaxerxes L | d της 93a | e υπο 19, 108b: in L | f μεχρι 44, 71, 74, 76, 106, 120, 236 | g + και L | h εικοσι και L A 93b | i αρχουσι L: αρχουσων 19, 108b | j σατραπαις L | k om L | l-m *qui vere qui proprie sentiunt quae in nos salutem* L

2 a-om 93a | b + της L | c εβουλευθην 93b: scribo igitur L | d om 93b, 106 | e επαρμενος 108a: tr with f A a | g πραοτητος N<sup>c</sup>: a: πισοτητος A | h om L 249 | i διεξαγειν 93a: διεξαγων 93b | j-k τους υποτεταγμενους 71, 76: om των 74 | l so B A N 93b: most codd B a b ακνυμαντους: αταραχους L: *execrabilis* L | m stratum L | n βιον 71, 76, 248, C: *vitae sed* L | o δε L | p ημερον A N 52, 55, 64, 71, 74, 76, 106, 120, 243, 248, 249, C, Ald | q pertinens L | r αχρι A L 93b: + των 44, 71, 74, 76, 106, 120, 236 | s παρεχομενος L: παρεξομενον 44, 106, 120, 236: παρεξομενων 55 | t om L | u-x την πασιν ανθρωποις ποθουμένην ειρηνην L | y ποθουμένην 44 | w om L: παρα A | x praestans L

<sup>3</sup> πυθομένου<sup>a</sup> δέ μου τῶν συμβούλων πῶς ἂν ἀχθείη τοῦτο ἐπὶ πέρας,<sup>b</sup> **3**  
 σωφροσύνη<sup>c</sup> παρ' ἡμῖν<sup>d</sup> διενέγκας<sup>e</sup> καί<sup>f</sup> ἐν τῇ<sup>g</sup> εὐνοίᾳ ἀπαρallάκτως<sup>h</sup>  
 καὶ βεβαίᾳ πίστει<sup>i</sup> ἀποδεδιγμένους<sup>j</sup> καί<sup>k</sup> δεύτερον<sup>l</sup> τῶν<sup>m</sup> βασιλείων<sup>n</sup>  
 γέρας<sup>o</sup> ἀπενηνεγμένους<sup>p</sup> Ἀμὰν<sup>q</sup> ἐπέδειξεν<sup>a</sup> ἡμῖν,<sup>b</sup> ἐν<sup>c</sup> πάσαις<sup>d</sup> ταῖς **4**  
 κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην φυλαῖς ἀναμεμίχθαι<sup>e</sup> δυσμενῇ<sup>f</sup> λαόν<sup>g</sup> τινα,<sup>h</sup>  
 τοῖς<sup>i</sup> νόμοις ἀντίθετον<sup>j</sup> πρὸς πᾶν ἔθνος, τά τε<sup>k</sup> τῶν βασιλέων<sup>l</sup> παρα-  
 πέμποντας<sup>m</sup> διηνεκῶς προστάγματα,<sup>n</sup> πρὸς<sup>o</sup> τὸ μὴ κατατίθεσθαι<sup>p</sup>  
 τὴν ὑφ' ἡμῶν<sup>q</sup> κατευθυνομένην ἀμέμπτως<sup>r</sup> συναρχίαν.<sup>s</sup> <sup>5</sup> διειληφότες<sup>a</sup> **5**  
 οὖν τόδε<sup>b</sup> τὸ<sup>c</sup> ἔθνος μονώτατον<sup>d</sup> ἐν<sup>e</sup> ἀντιπαραγωγῇ<sup>f</sup> παντὶ<sup>g</sup> διὰ παντὸς  
 ἀνθρώπῳ<sup>h</sup> κείμενον,<sup>i</sup> διαγωγῇ<sup>j</sup> νόμων<sup>k</sup> ξενίζουσιν<sup>l</sup> παραλλάσσον,<sup>m</sup>  
 καὶ δυσνοοῦν<sup>n</sup> τοῖς ἡμετέροις<sup>o</sup> πράγμασιν<sup>p</sup> τὰ χεῖριστα<sup>q</sup> συντελοῦν<sup>r</sup>  
 κακὰ καί<sup>s</sup> πρὸς<sup>t</sup> τὸ μὴ τὴν βασιλείαν εὐσταθείας<sup>u</sup> τυγχάνειν.<sup>v</sup> <sup>6</sup> προσ- **6**  
 τετάχαμεν οὖν<sup>a</sup> τοὺς σημαινομένους ὑμῖν<sup>b</sup> ἐν<sup>c</sup> τοῖς γεγραμμένοις<sup>d</sup>  
 ὑπὸ Ἀμὰν<sup>e</sup> τοῦ<sup>f</sup> τεταγμένου<sup>g</sup> ἐπὶ<sup>h</sup> τῶν πραγμάτων<sup>i</sup> καὶ δευτέρου  
 πατρὸς<sup>j</sup> ἡμῶν,<sup>k</sup> πάντας<sup>l</sup> σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἀπολέσαι<sup>m</sup> ὁλορριζέ<sup>n</sup>  
 ταῖς<sup>o</sup> τῶν ἐχθρῶν<sup>p</sup> μαχαίραις<sup>q</sup> ἄνευ παντὸς<sup>r</sup> οἴκτου<sup>s</sup> καὶ φειδοῦς<sup>t</sup> τῇ<sup>u</sup>  
 τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ τοῦ δωδεκάτου<sup>v</sup> μηνὸς<sup>w</sup> Ἀδὰρ τοῦ<sup>x</sup> ἐνεστῶτος  
 ἔτους,<sup>y</sup> ὅπως<sup>a</sup> οἱ πάλοι καὶ<sup>b</sup> νῦν δυσμενεῖς<sup>c</sup> ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ<sup>d</sup> βιαιῶς<sup>e</sup> **7**

**3** <sup>a</sup> πυνθανομενον L <sup>ε.α</sup> A: πυνθανομενων 19, 93a, 108b: πυνθομενον 71: πυνθομενων 108a: ποθουμενον Ald | <sup>b</sup> + o many codd L | <sup>c</sup> σωφροσυνης o A: σωφροσυνην N: σωφρονην 55 | <sup>d</sup> νμιν A 93b: παρειμι 249 | <sup>e</sup> διενηροχως L: διαπρεφοντας 249: διαπρεφας 52, 55, 64, 243, 248, C: διατρεφας Ald | <sup>f</sup> -ε om L | <sup>h</sup> απαραλλακτω L C: παραλλακτω 19, 108b | <sup>i</sup> πιστις 93a | <sup>j</sup> i-j tr **N** | <sup>l</sup> om L | <sup>k</sup> το L: το δε 93a | <sup>l</sup> δευτερος 44, 71, 74, 76, 106, 120 | <sup>m</sup> -n το βασιλειον 71, 76: των βασιλειων **N** \* A | <sup>m</sup> -o sig-norum ad finem **L** | <sup>o</sup> γηρας 19, 108b: περας 93a | <sup>p</sup> ανενεγκαμενος L

**4** <sup>a</sup> υπεδειξεν L: απεδειξεν C | <sup>b</sup> + παροικον L 93b: + παροικος 19, 108b | <sup>c</sup> -d om **N** \* | <sup>e</sup> αναμεμιχας 19 | <sup>f</sup> -tr 44 | <sup>g</sup> -h tr L | <sup>g</sup> om **L** | <sup>h</sup> + legibus nostris non ambulantes **L** | <sup>i</sup> + μιν L | <sup>j</sup> αντιτυπον **N** A 93b: αντιδικοντα L: αντιδικουν 93a | <sup>k</sup> δε L | <sup>l</sup> βασιλειων 236 | <sup>m</sup> παραπεμποντα L: παραπεμποντες **N** \* | <sup>n</sup> διαταγματα B <sup>b</sup> over eras, **N** A | <sup>k</sup> -n regum autem praetermittentes super-vascie ad res **L** | <sup>o</sup> -s προς το μηδεποτε την βασιλειαν ευσταθειας τυγχανειν L: nam ante propter quod non componerent quod a nobis regitur sine querela **L** | <sup>p</sup> κατατεινεσθαι C | <sup>q</sup> νμων 64 | <sup>r</sup> αμεμπτον 52, 55: αμειγως 108a: αμεμπτως Ald

**5** <sup>a</sup> -f disparsum hoc genus singulare contra eos estote **L** | <sup>b</sup> om L | <sup>c</sup> -d tr L | <sup>g</sup> -m om 93a | <sup>g</sup> -i παντος κειμενον των ανθρωπων L | <sup>g</sup> -s om **L** | <sup>h</sup> ανθρωπων **N** \*: ανου A: ανων 93b | <sup>i</sup> δια των L: δια τον 19 | <sup>k</sup> νομον 19 | <sup>l</sup> ξενιζοντα **N** \*: pr eras 1 let A | <sup>m</sup> παραγωγην L: παραλασσων **N** \*, 44, 106: παραλλαξιν **ε.α A 93b | <sup>n</sup> δυσνοη B <sup>b</sup> (δυσνη), A: δυσνοντος 44, 106 | <sup>o</sup> νμετεροις 93a | <sup>p</sup> προσταγμασι(ν) **ε.α L 71, 76: + αι L 93b: πραγμα **N** \* | <sup>q</sup> αχειριστα 44, 71, 106: + τε C | <sup>r</sup> συντελειν L: συντελουστας 71, 74, 76 | <sup>s</sup> om L **N** \* | <sup>t</sup> -ν προς το μηδεποτε κατατιθεσθαι τη υφ ημων κατευθυνομενη μοναρχια L | <sup>u</sup> most codd ευσταθειας: ευσταθειαν 236 | <sup>v</sup> τυγχανειαν 236****

**6** <sup>a</sup> μιν L: om **ε.α | <sup>b</sup> nobis **L** 52, 93b | <sup>c</sup> -d om **L**: εν τοις γραμμασιν 249: + νμιν 93b | <sup>e</sup> -gr 93a | <sup>f</sup> -k om 71 | <sup>h</sup> νπο 52 | <sup>i</sup> over eras and mg B <sup>a</sup> b (ταγματων B \* ph) | <sup>i</sup> -k patre vestro **L** | <sup>i</sup> -n ολορριζους απολεσαι συν γυναιξι και τεκνοις L | <sup>n</sup> ολοριζει **N** A N 44, 64, 71, 93b, 106, 120, 236, Ald: οδορριζει 55: ολλοριζει 76: ολορριζι 108a, 249: ολορριζους 248 C | <sup>o</sup> om 248 C | <sup>p</sup> εθνων A | <sup>q</sup> μαχαιας A: + qui legibus non parent **L** | <sup>r</sup> om 249 | <sup>s</sup> οικτρον **N** \*: οικον 93a | <sup>t</sup> φιδω **N** \* (φιδους **ε.α) | <sup>u</sup> -y om 71 | <sup>v</sup> -w μηνος του δωδεκατου ουτος ο μην L | <sup>x</sup> -y ος εστι Δυστρος L: + φονευειν παντας τους Ιουδαίους και αρπαζειν τα νηπια L****

**7** <sup>a</sup> ινα L | <sup>b</sup> -c δυσμενεις και νυν L | <sup>d</sup> -e μιας 93b | <sup>e</sup> om L: δικαίως 249

εἰς<sup>1</sup> τὸν ἄδην κατελθόντες<sup>2</sup> εἰς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον<sup>h</sup> εὐσταθῇ<sup>i</sup> καὶ ἀτάραχα<sup>j</sup> παρέχουσιν<sup>k</sup> ἡμῖν διὰ τέλους τὰ πράγματα.<sup>1</sup>

7 f-κ συνελθόντες εἰς τὸν Ἄδην L | hom L | l-εὐσταθησῶσιν καὶ μὴ διὰ τέλους παρεχῶσιν ἡμῖν πράγματα L | jαταραχὸν N\* (χα N.c.a) | kπαρεχουσιν A 74 | lπροσταγματα A: + qui autem celaverit gentes Judaeorum, inhabitabilis, non solum inter homines, sed nec inter aves; et igni sancto comburetur, et substantia ejus in regnum conferetur. Vale L

## CHAPTER III

14 om L 71 | פתשנן הכתב | *summa epistolarum haec fuit* J: τα δε αντιγραφα των επιστολων G: om L | להנתן | להנתן Ba G: ut scirent J: εξετιθετο G: et imperatum est L | דת | om J S G L (exc 93b\*) | בכל | om כל G: omnibus L | בדינה -- העניים | om L | ובדינה | om G (exc 93b\*) | גלוי | om J | גלוי S: και προσεταγη G | עתידים | so N<sup>1</sup> S Br C B<sup>1</sup>: עתדים Ba G | הוזה | statutum L

15 העצים -- המלך | om L | יצא -- העצים | om G L (exc 93b\*) | והופים בדבר | εσπευδετο δε το πραγμα G L (γραμμα 52, 64) | המלך | om G L (exc 93b\*) | והדת נתנה | om G (exc 93b\*) | בשנן | בשנן some codd and edd: + et convivium fecerunt omnes gentes L | הבירה | om J G L (exc 93b\*) | לשחות -- והמלך | om L: Aman autem cum introisset regiam cum amicis luxuriabatur L | לשחות | S | אסף | tr aft 4:1 L: om L (cf. 4:3): et cunctis Judaeis qui in urbe erant fletibus J | שנן | so B<sup>2</sup>: שנן Ba G: om J G (exc 93b\*): + επι τοις γεγενημενοις L | : + Et invocabant Judaei Deum patrum suorum, et dicebant: Domine Deus, tu solus Deus in coelo sursum, et non est alius Deus praeter te. Si enim fecissemus legem tuam et praecepta, habitassemus forsitan cum pace omne tempus vitae nostrae: nunc autem, quoniam non fecimus praecepta tua, supervenit in nos omnis tribulatio ista. Justus es, et tranquilluss, et excelsus, Domine, et omnes viae tuae judicia. Et nunc Deus non des filios tuos in captivitatem, neque uxores nostras in violationem, neque in perditionem: qui factus es nobis propitius ab Aegypto, et usque nunc, miserere principali tuae, parce, et non des haereditatem nostram in infaniam, ut hostes dominantur nostri. Et in Susis, in civitate proxima regi, propositum erat exemplum, et cognita erant scripta (followed by A: 3, q. v.) L

## CHAPTER IV

IV, 1 ובדדי | et hic L | כל | om G L | אשר נעשה | scripta quae erant in epistola L: + 3:15, 4:3 in part q. v. L | ויקרע | περιελετο L | מרדכי | om J G L: + ελθων εις τον οικον αυτου L | שן | + και κατεπασατο G L J (exc 71: 93b +) | ואפר | + super caput ejus L: και σφοδωθεις L: om 71 | ובירה -- ויצא | om L | ויצא | J | בתוך | δια της πλατειας G: per totam plateam L | ויזעק | + εν συστοις τη πολει 93b + | זעקה | et vociferans

ℒ: om 71 | גדולה] om ℒ 71 | ומירה] om ℒ: ostendens amaritudinem amimi sui et hoc ejulatu ℒ: + ab aula virili usque ad portam muliebre[m clamans: gens perit nihil mali faciens ℒ: + αἰρεται εθνὸς μηδὲν ἡδικηκός ℒ

2 ויבוא] et sedit ℒ | ער] in ℒ | לפני] om ℒ: atrio ℒ | שער] תהן αυλην L: aulae ℒ: της πολεως 93b: της αυλης A | המלך] την έξω L: muliebris ℒ: om 93b: + και εσθη ℒ L | אך] + ولب S | שער] תהן αυλην ℒ: πυλην N<sup>c.a mg</sup> 93b: om L | המלך] om ℒ: της πολεως 93b: τα βασιλεια L | שק] + και σποδον ℒ (93b ÷)

3 tr to 4:1 L: tr to 3:15 end ℒ | מדינה] πολει L: om ℒ | ומדינה] oppidis ℒ: om ℒ ℒ S (exc N<sup>c.a (mg)</sup>, 93b\*) | מגיע — ומדינה] om L | מקום] ac locis ℒ | דבר] τα γραμματα ℒ: exemplum epistolae ℒ (το προσταγμα N<sup>c.a (mg)</sup>) | המלך] om ℒ (exc N<sup>c.a mg</sup>, 93b\*) | ורחו] crudele ℒ: om ℒ ℒ | אבל] pr και ℒ L: + et luctus ℒ: τραft ומספד ℒ: + εγενετο 44: + εγενετο 74, 76, 106, 236: + και πικρον L | ליהודים] + omnes ℒ L | וצום — לרבים] om L ℒ | וצום] om ℒ (exc 93b\*) | ורבי] κρανη ℒ (κλαυθμος 93b\*) | ומספד] + ην και A: + και 44, 74, 76, 106, 120, 236, C | יצע] pro strato utentibus ℒ | לרבים] εαντοις ℒ

4 ותבואנה — וסריסה] και εκαλεσεν ευνουχον ενα και απεστειλε προς Εσθηρ L: et audivit Hester regina vocem Mardochoaei fratris sui Hebraica voce lingua ℒ | ותבואנה] ותבואנה Q Oc: سجدت S | נעיות] om ℒ | וסריסה] om ℒ | ויגידו] ביאד] om L ℒ | המלכה מאד] quod audiens ℒ: ακουσασα το γεγονος ℒ | ותשלח] + και ειπεν η βασιλισσα περιελεσθε τον σακκον L: et missit spadonem, qui praesto erat in conspectu ipsius, dicens; vade, exi celerius hinc, et auferes vestimenta quae est indutus, et indue illum vestimenta alia ℒ | בנדים] om ℒ (exc 93b\*) | את מרדכי] eum ℒ | מעליו] + και εισαγαγετε αυτον L: + et veni ad me, ut sciam quid vult frater meus, quoniam vocem fratris mei audio, magnam vocem tribulationis et planctus, et plorationis, et angustiae, et necessitatis, et exiit spado et dixit ei ℒ | ולא קבל] et noluit Mardochoeus deponere saccum et omnem humilationem suam ℒ

5 om L ℒ | להתף] להתף var Oc: Athach ℒ: سحطت + 27 S: Αχραθαιον ℒ: Αχραθειον A: Εγχαρδαιον 44: Αθακ 93b (so always): Εγχαρθαιον 106: Αθαχ C (so always) | המלך] aft אשר ℒ: αυτης ℒ: om 249 | לדעת] + ut iret ℒ | לפנינה] om 71 | העמיד] + ut iret ℒ | אשר] + ab eo ℒ: + αυτη ℒ (93b ÷): + αυτον N<sup>c.a</sup> A N 71, 74, 76, 120, 236, 249 | ביה זה] το ακριβες ℒ: ÷ το ακριβες \* τι τουτο 93b: om 71 | ועל] זה] om ℒ ℒ (exc 93b\*) | זה] om ℒ

6 om ℒ ℒ L (exc 93b\*): N<sup>c.a mg</sup> has εις την πλατειαν της πολεως η εστιν κατα προσωπον της πυλης της πολεως: A has επι την πλατειαν προς τη (τη A\* τα sup ras A<sup>a</sup>) βασιλεια | המלך] palatii ℒ

7 om L | קרהו — ויגיד] om ℒ | כל] om ℒ (exc N<sup>c.a mg</sup>, 93b\*) | ואח — end of vs] simul de decem millibus talentorum quae dedit Aman pretium





παρα παντας L | אִישׁ וְאַשְׁהָ | homo omnis gentis L: om L | אֵל<sup>2</sup> —  
הַפְּנִימִית om L | הַפְּנִימִית so A L: την εσωτεραν G אַחַת — לַחֲמִיטָה  
absque ulla cunctatione statim interficiatur J: ουκ εστιν αυτω σωτηρια  
G L: θανατου ενοχος εστιαι L (aft הַזֶּהָב | לֵךְ) om G L L (exc N<sup>c, a</sup>, 93b) |  
הַמֶּלֶךְ om L | שְׂרָבִיט + αυτου L | הַזֶּהָב + pro signo clementiae J |  
וְהָיָה om L | לְבוֹא om L | הַמֶּלֶךְ αυτου L | שְׁלוֹשִׁים | 3 | יוֹם  
+ igitur quomodo ad regem intrare potero J: + et quomodo introibo  
ad regem et exiit L + και πως εισελουσμαι νυν ακλητος ουστα L: + και  
απελθων 71

12 om L | רִיגִידִךְ | سبب S: και απηγγειλεν G: + Αχραθαιος G (Αρχα-  
θαιος A: cf. 4:5): + spado L | לְמַרְדֳּכַי illi L: + παντας G (93b +) |  
אֶחָד — אַחֵר om J: ταυτα 71: verba ipsius + et iratus est Mar-  
dochaeus L

13 אֲרִיאֲמִיר | και απεστειλε L | בִּיהַרְבִּי om J L: + προς Αχραθαιον (Αχθρα-  
θαιον N) πορευθητι και G (93b +) (om προς Αχραθαιον A 71: αυτω 44, 106):  
+ προς αυτην L: + spadoni intra L | לְהַשִּׁיב rursum J: ειπον G L: και  
ειπεν L | אֵל αυτη G L L | אַחֵר + dicens J: om L L 44, 71, 74, 76,  
106, 236 | אֵל — end of vs] om L | לְהַמְלִיט salva fiat L: + tantum J:  
+ אֲנִי S: + μονη G L | בֵּית הַמֶּלֶךְ pr 97 S: εν τη βασιλεια G L:  
+ אֲנִי S | הַיְּהוּדִים + quoniam uxor regis sum L

14 כִּי ως οτι G: οτι A, 44, 71, 74, 76, 106, 120, 236: om S L | הַחֲרָשׁ  
om G L L (exc N<sup>c, a me</sup>, 93b\*) | תַּחֲרִישִׁי παρακουσης G: υπεριδης L: non  
praemiseris L | בַּעַת הַזֶּהָה του εθνους σου + του μη βοηθσαι αυτοις αλλ L |  
רָחָה | 3 | S: om J: βοηθεια G L: βοηθος L | וְהַצִּלָּה και σκεπη G: et  
defensor L: και σωτηρια L | יַעֲמִיד pr ουκ 106 | לְיְהוּדִים | לְיְהוּדִים G:  
αυτοις L (εν αυτοις 93a) | מִיָּנִיקוֹם אַחֵר per occasionem aliam J: αλλοθεν  
G L: ο θεος L | כְּזֹאת + ο — אֲנִי S | לְבִלְכֹת + ut in tali tempore  
parareris J: + ut gentem tuam liberes. Et introiit spado, et renuntia-  
vit verba Mardochoaei Hester reginae L: + και απελθων ανηγγειλεν αυτη 71

15 וְחֲאֲמִיר | και (εξ)απεστειλεν G L | אַחֵר η βασιλισσα L | לְהַשִּׁיב  
rursum J: τον ηκοντα προς αυτην G (om προς αυτην A): denuo cum misis-  
set qui ad eam venerat L: om L | אֵל מַרְדֳּכַי a Mardochoeo + domine  
frater, si tibi videtur introibo, licet moriar L: + haec verba J: om L:  
+ λεγουσα G L

16 לֵךְ om L L | כְּנוֹס — הַיְּהוּדִים παραγγειλατε θεραπειαν L: prae-  
dica igitur sanitatem L | כָּל om G (exc N<sup>c, a</sup>, 93b\* | μοι παντας | הַנְּמִצָּאִים  
3 | S: om G L L | בְּשׁוֹרֶךְ + عَمَل S: om L L | וְצוּמִי — יוֹרֵם και δεη-  
θητε του θεου εκτενωσ L: et annuntia jejunium; et dicito presbyteris ut  
faciant jejunium, lactantes autem separent nocte a matribus suis,  
boves et pecora non pascantur quibus diebus L | וְצוּמִי et orate J |  
וְאֵל om J 57 codd R, N<sup>1</sup> T<sup>1</sup> J | גַּם | 72 codd R, T<sup>1</sup> J S S G L: om

ל | אֲנִי | ποιήσομεν L | כֵּן | om L G (exc N<sup>c. a</sup>, 93b\*) | וְכֵן | om J S: και  
 τότε G L: και L | נָשָׂר — כָּדָר | παρα τον νομον G: ακλητος L: + non vocata  
 J: om L | וְנָשָׂר — אֲבָדָר | εαν και απολεσθαι με η (δεη) G: ει δεοι και  
 αποθανειν με L: habens in manu animam meam + exiit spado et dixit  
 verba ejus L: tradensque me morti et periculo J

17 וַיַּעֲבֵר | om יַעֲבֵר L | וַיַּעֲבֵר — end of vs] *praedicavit sanitatem:*  
*sponsi autem de thalamis exierunt, et sponsae de pascuis suis; presby-*  
*teri autem et anus exierunt ad deprecandum: boves et pecora prae-*  
*cepit, ut tribus diebus et tribus noctibus non pascerentur. Omnes*  
*autem acceperunt cinerem, et invocabant excelsum Dominum, ut propi-*  
*lius illorum fieret humilitati. Mardocheus vero conscidit vestimenta*  
*sua, et substravit cilicium, et cecidit super faciem suam in terram, et*  
*presbyteri populi a mane usque ad vesperam* L: και εποησεν ουτως L |  
 כָּבֵל | om B R 486 J S G (exc N<sup>c. a mg. inf.</sup> 93b) | נָחַר | + the following  
 passage (C: 1-30) in G L L

## ADDITION C

- <sup>1</sup><sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup>καὶ<sup>a</sup> ἐδέηθ<sup>b</sup> Κυρίου, μνημονεύον πάντα<sup>c</sup> τὰ ἔργα Κυρίου,<sup>d</sup> <sup>2</sup>καὶ  
 εἶπεν<sup>a</sup> Κύριε,<sup>b</sup> κύριε<sup>c</sup> βασιλεῦ<sup>d</sup> πάντων<sup>c</sup> κρατῶν,<sup>f</sup> ὅτι ἐν<sup>g</sup> ἐξουσίᾳ σου  
 τὸ<sup>h</sup> πᾶν ἐστιν,<sup>i</sup> καὶ<sup>j</sup> οὐκ ἔστιν<sup>k</sup> ὁ<sup>l</sup> ἀντιδοξῶν<sup>m</sup> σοι ἐν<sup>n</sup> τῷ θέλειν σε  
 3 σῶσαι τὸν<sup>o</sup> Ἰσραήλ. <sup>3</sup>ὅτι σὺ ἐποίησας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ  
 4 πᾶν<sup>a</sup> θαυμαζόμενον ἐν τῇ ὑπ' οὐρανόν,<sup>b</sup> <sup>4</sup>καὶ<sup>a</sup> κύριος<sup>b</sup> εἶ<sup>c</sup> πάντων,  
 5 καὶ<sup>d</sup> οὐκ ἔστιν ὃς ἀντιτάξεται<sup>e</sup> σοι τῷ κυρίῳ.<sup>f</sup> <sup>5</sup>σὺ<sup>a</sup> πάντα<sup>b</sup> γινώσκεις,<sup>c</sup>  
 σὺ<sup>d</sup> οἶδας, Κύριε,<sup>e</sup> ὅτι<sup>f</sup> οὐκ ἐν ὕβρει οὐδὲ<sup>g</sup> ἐν ὑπερηφανίᾳ<sup>h</sup> οὐδὲ ἐν  
 φιλοδοξίᾳ ἐποίησα τοῦτο,<sup>i</sup> τὸ<sup>j</sup> μὴ προσκυνεῖν τὸν ὑπερήφανον<sup>k</sup> Ἀμάν.<sup>l</sup>  
 6 <sup>6</sup>ὅτι<sup>a</sup> ἠυδόκουν<sup>b</sup> φιλεῖν<sup>c</sup> πέλματα<sup>d</sup> ποδῶν αὐτοῦ<sup>e</sup> πρὸς<sup>f</sup> σωτηρίαν<sup>g</sup>  
 7 Ἰσραήλ, ἡ<sup>i</sup> ἀλλὰ ἐποίησα τοῦτο<sup>a</sup> ἵνα μὴ<sup>b</sup> θῶ δόξαν ἀνθρώπου<sup>c</sup> ὑπεράνω  
 δόξης θεοῦ.<sup>d</sup> καὶ οὐ<sup>e</sup> προσκυνήσω οὐδένα<sup>f</sup> πλὴν σοῦ τοῦ<sup>g</sup> κυρίου<sup>h</sup>

C: 1 a-d om 71 L | b + του L 44: pr Μαρδοχαιος N<sup>c. a</sup> | c-d αυτου τα εργα L | d αυτου 44: του  
 κυριου 93b N<sup>c. a</sup>

2 a et dixerunt L | b-f δεσποτα παντοκρατωρ L: Deus Abraham et Deus Isaac et Deus Jacob,  
 benedictus es L | c θε A: om 71 | d-f βασιλευς παντοκρατωρ C, Ald | e-f παντοκρατωρ (op) N N<sup>c. a</sup>  
 44, 52, 64, 71, 74, 76, 106, 108a, 120, 236, 243, 248, 249 | g-5c om L | g + τη L | h-i εστι τα παντα L | g-8b  
 om 71 | h τουτο Ald | j-k om 93b | l ος L | m αντιταζεται L | n-3c om 93a | o + οικον L

3 a-b om 106 | a + το L

4 a om A: + σν L | b-c κυριευεις L | d-f om L | e αντιτασεται N\*

5 a + γαρ L | b παντων 55, 93b | c γινωσκεις A: + και το γενος Ισραηλ L: + και 249 | d om 44,  
 74, 76, 106, 120, 236 | e-f και ουκ οτι L | e κυριος Ald | f-l om L | g-h om L | i om L | j του L: om 74,  
 76, 106, 120, 249 | k απεριεμνητον L

6 a-e quoniam non mihi placet plantas pedum Aman adorare L | a επει L | b ευδοκουν  
 N A L 44, 74, 106, 108b, 120, 236, 248, 249, C | c φιλησαι L: om 93a | d τα πελματα των L: το πελμα  
 των 93a | f-ε ενεκεν του L

7 a om L: + non ita L | b-d μηδενα προταξω της δοξης σου δεσποτα | c ανθρωπω N<sup>c. a</sup> 52:  
 ανθρωπων N\* | d + μου N<sup>c. a</sup> A 93b L | e-f μηδενα προσκυνησω L | f ουθενα A | g om C | h κυριε



μου,<sup>1</sup> καὶ οὐ ποιήσω αὐτὰ<sup>1</sup> ἐν ὑπερφηφάνίᾳ.<sup>k</sup> <sup>8</sup> καὶ νῦν, Κύριε ὁ<sup>a</sup> θεὸς 8  
ὁ βασιλεὺς<sup>b</sup> ὁ θεός<sup>c</sup> Ἀβραάμ,<sup>d</sup> φέισαι<sup>e</sup> τοῦ λαοῦ<sup>f</sup> σου, ὅτι ἐπιβλέ-  
πουσιν<sup>g</sup> ἡμῖν εἰς καταφθορὰν καὶ ἐπεθύμησαν<sup>h</sup> ἀπολέσαι<sup>i</sup> τὴν ἐξ  
ἀρχῆς κληρονομίαν σου. <sup>9</sup> μὴ<sup>a</sup> ὑπερίδῃς τὴν μερίδα σου ἥν<sup>b</sup> σεαυτῷ<sup>c</sup> 9  
ἐλυτρώσω ἐκ γῆς<sup>d</sup> Αἰγύπτου. <sup>10</sup> ἐπάκουσον τῆς δεήσεώς μου<sup>a</sup> καὶ 10  
ἰλάσθητι τῷ<sup>b</sup> κλήρῳ<sup>c</sup> σου, καὶ<sup>d</sup> στρέψον<sup>e</sup> τὸ πένθος ἡμῶν<sup>f</sup> εἰς εὐω-  
χίαν,<sup>g</sup> ἵνα ζῶντες ὑμνωμέν<sup>h</sup> σου<sup>i</sup> τὸ ὄνομα,<sup>j</sup> Κύριε,<sup>k</sup> καὶ μὴ ἀφανίσῃς  
στόμα<sup>l</sup> αἰνούντων<sup>m</sup> σοι.<sup>n</sup> <sup>11</sup> καὶ<sup>a</sup> πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ ἐκέκραξαν<sup>b</sup> ἐξ ἰσχύος 11  
αὐτῶν, ὅτι<sup>c</sup> θάνατος<sup>d</sup> αὐτῶν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτῶν.<sup>e</sup> <sup>12</sup> Καὶ Ἐσθῆρ ἡ<sup>a</sup> 12  
βασίλισσα<sup>b</sup> κατέφυγεν<sup>c</sup> ἐπὶ<sup>d</sup> τὸν<sup>e</sup> κύριον ἐν ἀγῶνι<sup>f</sup> θανάτου κατει-  
λημμένη,<sup>g</sup> <sup>13</sup> καὶ<sup>a</sup> ἀφελομένη<sup>b</sup> τὰ ἱμάτια τῆς δόξης αὐτῆς<sup>c</sup> ἐνεδύσατο 13  
ἱμάτια<sup>d</sup> στενοχωρίας<sup>e</sup> καὶ<sup>f</sup> πένθους,<sup>g</sup> καὶ<sup>h</sup> ἀντὶ τῶν<sup>i</sup> ὑπερφηφάνων  
ἡδυσμάτων<sup>j</sup> σποδοῦ καὶ<sup>k</sup> κοπριῶν<sup>l</sup> ἐπλησεν<sup>m</sup> τὴν κεφαλὴν.<sup>n</sup> καὶ<sup>o</sup> τὸ  
σῶμα<sup>p</sup> ἐταπεινώσεν σφόδρα,<sup>q</sup> καὶ<sup>r</sup> πάντα τόπον<sup>s</sup> κόσμου<sup>t</sup> ἀγαλλιά-  
ματος αὐτῆς<sup>u</sup> ἐπλησεν<sup>v</sup> στρεπτῶν τριχῶν αὐτῆς.<sup>w</sup> <sup>14</sup> καὶ<sup>a</sup> ἐδεῖτο<sup>b</sup> 14  
Κυρίου θεοῦ<sup>c</sup> Ἰσραὴλ<sup>d</sup> καὶ<sup>e</sup> εἶπεν<sup>f</sup> Κύριε<sup>g</sup> μου,<sup>h</sup> ὁ<sup>i</sup> βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν,<sup>j</sup>  
σὺ εἰ μόνος.<sup>k</sup> Βοήθησόν μοι τῇ μόνῃ<sup>l</sup> καὶ<sup>m</sup> μὴ<sup>n</sup> ἐχούσῃ βοηθὸν εἰ<sup>o</sup>  
μὴ σέ,<sup>p</sup> <sup>15</sup> ὅτι<sup>a</sup> κίνδυνός μου ἐν<sup>b</sup> χειρί μου. <sup>16</sup> ἐγὼ ἤκουσα<sup>c</sup> ἐκ<sup>b</sup> γενετῆς<sup>c</sup> 15  
16

C: αληθινον L | i om L: Deus **L** | i αυτο L 248 C: om 93a | kπειρασμω L: + ουδε εν φιλοδοξια 93b: + nec in intemperatone, Domine. Appare Domine, cognoscere Domine **L**

8 a-b om N L 44, 55, 106: o βασιλευς **N**: βασιλευ **N** c. a A | c διαθεμενος προς L | c-d om 52, 64, 248, C, Ald: + et Deus Isaac et Deus Jacob **L** | e + parce **L** | f δουλου 108a | g επιτεθεινται L | h επιθυμουνσιν L | i απολεσθαι A 108a, 248, C: αφανισαι και εξαραι L

9 a-10k om 71 | b την 93b | c om L | d της 74, 76

10 a ημων L | b-c της κληρονομιας L: τη κληρονομια 93a | d om 52, 64, 243, Ald | e στρεψαι 44 | f ημιν 93b | g ενφροσυνην L: + nostram **L** | h ημνησμεν L | i σε L: aft i A N 55, 76, 93b | l-k om L | l το στομα A: το αιμα **N** \* | m ημνουτων L | n σε L: σου 106: + κυριε some codd

11 a-e om L | a-c et omnis populus supervixit in fortitudine sua cum esset **L** | b εξεκρα-  
ξεν 108a: εκραξαν 249: εκραξεν **N**: εκεκραξεν A et al | c-d om 55 | c + o A | c-e om 44, 106

12 a-b om 44-106 | c-g om **L** | d-e προς 236 | f αγωνια 71, 74, 76, 93a, 106, 120, 236 | g om 71

13 a om 71 | b αφειλατο L: περιελομενη Orig. iii, 598 | c αφ εαυτης + και παν σημειον επι-  
φανειας αυτης και L: + et **L** | d om L | e στενοχωριαν L: sordide **L** | g πενθος L | f-g om **L** | h-aft  
w **L** | h-j om 44, 106 | i om L | j + και 44 | k-l om **L** | l κοπρου L: κοπρων 108a | m κοπριας 249 | m ενε-  
πλησε codd | n + αυτης **N** AL | o-w om 236 | o-q om 106 | p + αυτης **N** A L | r-u και παν σημειον κοσ-  
μου αυτης και αγαλλιαματος L: et abstulit omne aurum a se **L** | s om 249 | t κοσμου 249: om 52,  
64, 243, 248, C, Ald: + του 71, 74, 76, 120: aft u A s | v-w τερπνων τριχων επλησε ταπεινωσεως L: et  
substravit sibi cilicium **L** | v επλησεν **N**: επληρωσεν A s

14 a-d et cedit super terram cum ancillis suis, a mane usque ad vesperam **L** | b δεδηθη  
τον L 71 | c-d om L 71 | e-f λεγουσα 71 | g-k Deus Abraham et Deus Isaac et Deus Jacob, bene-  
dictus es **L** | g Κυριος 76 | h o θεος μου A 108a: o θεος 44, 71, 74, 106, 120, 236: om L | i-k om 71,  
108a | k + βοηθος L | l ταπεινη L | m τη 93b | n ουκ L | o-p πλην σου L: + Domine **L**

15 a-22 j om 71 | 15 om 108a | b + τη A L

16 a ηκουσα L | b-f κε του πρς μου A: πατρικης μου βιβλου L: του πατρος μου 93b: in libris  
paternis meis Domine **L** | c γενεας 108a | d-e εκ φυλης **N** | g-23c **L** has the following: quoniam  
Noe in aqua diluvii conservasti. Ego audivi in libris paternis meis Domine, quoniam tu  
Abraham in trecentis et decem octo viris, novem reges tradidisti. Ego audivi in libris paternis  
meis Domine, quoniam tu Jonam de ventre ceti liberasti. Ego audivi in libris paternis meis



νοούντων αὐτῶ·<sup>25</sup> ἡμᾶς<sup>a</sup> δὲ ῥύσαι<sup>b</sup> ἐν<sup>c</sup> χειρί σου,<sup>d</sup> καὶ βοήθησόν **25**  
μοι· τῇ<sup>f</sup> μόνῃ καὶ μὴ ἐχούσῃ<sup>g</sup> εἰ μὴ σέ, Κύριε.<sup>h</sup> πάντων<sup>i</sup> γινώσιν  
ἔχεις,<sup>j</sup> <sup>26</sup> καὶ οἶδας ὅτι ἐμίσησα<sup>a</sup> δόξαν ἀνόμων,<sup>b</sup> καί<sup>c</sup> βδελύσσομαι **26**  
κοίτην<sup>d</sup> ἀπεριτμήτων<sup>e</sup> καί<sup>f</sup> παντὸς ἀλλοτρίου.<sup>g</sup> <sup>27</sup> σὺ<sup>a</sup> οἶδας τὴν<sup>b</sup> **27**  
ἀνάγκην μου,<sup>c</sup> ὅτι βδελύσσομαι τὸ σημεῖον τῆς ὑπερηφανίας μου<sup>d</sup> ὃ  
ἐστίν ἐπὶ τῆς<sup>e</sup> κεφαλῆς μου<sup>f</sup> ἐν ἡμέραις<sup>g</sup> ὀπτασίας μου·<sup>h</sup> βδελύσσο-  
μαι<sup>i</sup> αὐτὸ ὡς ῥάκος καταμηνίων,<sup>j</sup> καί<sup>k</sup> οὐ φορῶ αὐτὸ ἐν ἡμέραις<sup>l</sup>  
ῥήσυχίας μου.<sup>m</sup> <sup>28</sup> καί<sup>a</sup> οὐκ ἔφαγεν<sup>b</sup> ἡ<sup>c</sup> δούλη<sup>d</sup> σου<sup>e</sup> τράπεζαν<sup>f</sup> **28**  
Ἀμάν,<sup>g</sup> καί<sup>h</sup> οὐκ ἐδόξασα<sup>i</sup> συμπόσιον<sup>j</sup> βασιλέως,<sup>k</sup> οὐδὲ<sup>l</sup> ἔπιον οἶνον<sup>m</sup>  
σπονδῶν·<sup>n</sup> <sup>29</sup> καί<sup>a</sup> οὐκ ἠψφράνθη<sup>b</sup> ἡ<sup>c</sup> δούλη σου<sup>d</sup> ἀφ' ἡμέρας<sup>e</sup> μετα- **29**  
βολῆς μου<sup>g</sup> μέχρι<sup>h</sup> νῦν<sup>i</sup> πλὴν<sup>j</sup> ἐπὶ<sup>k</sup> σοί,<sup>l</sup> Κύριε<sup>m</sup> ὁ θεὸς Ἀβραάμ.<sup>n</sup>  
<sup>30</sup> ὁ<sup>a</sup> θεὸς ὁ<sup>b</sup> ἰσχύων<sup>c</sup> ἐπὶ πάντας, εἰσάκουσον φωνὴν<sup>d</sup> ἀπηλπισμένων<sup>e</sup> **30**  
καί<sup>f</sup> ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς ἐκ χειρὸς τῶν πονηρευομένων,<sup>g</sup> καί<sup>h</sup> ῥύσαί<sup>i</sup> με<sup>j</sup> ἐκ<sup>k</sup>  
τοῦ φόβου μου.<sup>l</sup>

**24** g αυτων 19, 93a

**25** a-d om **L** | b ρυσον 19 | c + τη **L** | d + τη κραταια **L** | e ημιν 93a | f-h om **L** | g + βοηθον A 44, 74, 76, 106, 120, 236, 249: + βοηθειαν N: + ετερον βοηθον 248, C | h + οτι συν **L** | i παντοκρατορ 108a, 249 | j-i om **L**

**26** a-c om **L**: aft e **L** | b ανομου **L** | d-27i om A | e απεριτμητον **L** | f-g om **L** | g αλλογενοους **L**

**27** aft vs. 29 **L** | a + Κυριε **L** | b-d quoniam ex quo vestimentum hoc **L** | b-c om 44, 106 | d om A **L** | e om 52 | f + και ου φορω αυτο ει μη **L** | f-h om **L** | g ημερα A **L** | i pr και **L** | j καταμηνιων **N** 74, 120, 236: καταμηνιων 44, 106: αποκαθημενης **L** | k-m om **L** | l-m die bona **L** | l ημερα 249

**28** a-e Deus tu nosti quoniam non manducavi **L** | b εφαγον 108a, 236 | c-d Αμαν | e + επι των **L** | f τραπεζων αυτων **L** | g αμα **L**: execrationum **L** | h-n om 44, 106 | i εδοξαμην 120 | j-k βασιλεως συμποσια **L** | j σδσσυμποσιον 120 | l και ουκ **L** | m-n σπονδης οινον **L**

**29** a-g tu nosti quoniam a via conversationis meae non sum laetata **L** | b ευφρανθη **N** A **L** 64, 74, 120, 236, 248, 249, C, Ald: ηψφρανθην 93a, 41, 106: εφρανον 108b: ευφρανον 19 | c-d om 44, 106 | e ef **L** Ald: εν 52 | f ημεραις **L** | g om **N**\* (**N** c. a has) | h-i om **L** N **L**: αχρι νυν 44, 71, 74, 76, 106, 120: μεχρι του νυν 52, 64, C, Ald: αχρι του νυν 249 | j ει μη **L** | k-l om 44, 106 | l + Κυριε 74, 76, 120 | m-n δεσποτα **L**: Κυριε Κυριε Αβρααμ 236 | Domine **L**

**30** a-e om 44, 106 **L** | a-c και νυν δυνατος ων **L** | b om 52, C | d φωνης **N** c. a A **L** 71, 74, 76, 120, 248, C | e αφηλπισμενων **N**: απελπισμενων 52, 64, 19 | f om 44, 106 | g + ef ημας **L** | h-l om **L** | i εξελου **L** | j + Κυριε **L** | k + χειρος **L** | l σου 44, 71, 106: + transfer luctum nostrum in laetitiam, dolores autem nostros in hilaritatem: surgentes autem supra partem tuam Deus palam facito, aperi Domine; cognoscere Domine **L**

## CHAPTER V, AND ADDITION D

V: 1 (=D: 1) וְיָרִי om וְיָרִי **3** **S** | וְיָרִי<sup>a</sup> | + ὡς επανυστο προσευχο-  
μενη (+ Εσθηρ **L**) εξεδυστο τα ιματια της θεραπειας **3** **L** **L** (93b ÷): + et  
lavavit corpus suum aqua et unxit se unctione **L** | וְיָרִי<sup>b</sup> | και περι-  
εβαλετο **3** **L** | וְיָרִי<sup>c</sup> | + vestimentis **3**: om **3**: + וְיָרִי<sup>d</sup> **S**: τα ιματια **L**:  
vestimento **L** | וְיָרִי<sup>e</sup> | την δοξην αυτης **3**: της δοξης **L**: gloriae suae + et  
ornata est ornamentis **L**: + the following passage (D: 2-6) in **3** **L** **L**  
(93b under ÷)

- 2 <sup>2</sup>καὶ<sup>a</sup> γεννηθεῖσα<sup>b</sup> ἐπιφανής,<sup>c</sup> ἐπικαλεσαμένη τὸν<sup>d</sup> πάντων ἐπόπτην<sup>e</sup>  
 3 θεόν<sup>f</sup> καὶ<sup>g</sup> σωτήρα,<sup>h</sup> παρέλαβεν<sup>i</sup> τὰς<sup>j</sup> δύο ἄβρας,<sup>k</sup> <sup>3</sup>καὶ τῇ μὲν μιᾷ  
 4 ἐπηρείδeto<sup>a</sup> ὡς τρυφερευομένη, <sup>4</sup>ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα ἐπηκολούθει κουφίζουσα<sup>a</sup>  
 5 τὴν<sup>b</sup> ἔνδυσιν<sup>c</sup> αὐτῆς· <sup>5</sup>καὶ αὐτὴ ἐρυθρίωσα<sup>a</sup> ἄκμῃ<sup>b</sup> κάλλους αὐτῆς,  
 καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς ἰλαρὸν<sup>c</sup> ὡς προσφιλές,<sup>d</sup> ἡ δὲ καρδιά αὐτῆς  
 6 ἀπεστενωμένη<sup>e</sup> ἀπὸ<sup>f</sup> τοῦ φόβου.<sup>g</sup> <sup>6</sup>καὶ εἰσελθοῦσα πάσας<sup>a</sup> τὰς θύρας

2 a-k om 93a | a-c et facta est praecipua **L** | b γεννηθῆ **N**\*: γενομένη **L** | c περιφανής 44: επιφανείς 19, 106: + και **L** 76 | d των 52 | e γνωστην **L** | f-**g** και σωτηρα θεον **L**: om 71 | f om 243, 248, C | g-h om **L** | h σωτερα 52 | i παραλαβετο **N**: παραλαβε μεθ εαυτης **L**: pr kai 71 | i om **N** A **L** | k + αυτης 44, 71, 74, 76, 120: αυρας αυτης 106

3 a επεριδeto B a ? b N 71, 76, 106, 108a: επεριδeto A

4 a επικουφίζουσα **L**: κουφισα **N**\* | b-c το ενδυμα **L**

5 a ερυθριουσα **N**: + εν **N** c. a **L**: + ως **N**\* | b + του 108a | c om **L**: + αυτης **N** | d + oculi autem gratissimi **L**: προφιλεις **N**\* | e απεστενωμενη 52, 93a: αποστενωμενη 106 | f-g om **L** | g + et formidans a domino in terrore mortis, quoniam mors erat ante oculos ejus **L**

6 a om **L**: απασας 108a

1 (= D: 6) וַתֵּצֵא **Q**: κατεστη **Q**: εστη **L** | וַתֵּצֵא — הַמֶּלֶךְ<sup>2</sup> om **L** | בַּחֲצֵר — הַפְּנִימִית om **Q** **L** | נָכַח] ενωπιον **Q** **L**: κατενωπιον 93b **N** c. a | בֵּית] om **Q** **L** | הַמֶּלֶךְ] et ille **Q**: και αυτος **Q**: et invenit Artaxerxes regem **L**: ου αυτος 93b | מַלְכוּתוֹ] om מַלְכוּת **Q** 19: gloriae suae **L** | בֵּית — הַבֵּית] om **Q** **L** **L** | הַמֶּלֶךְ — בֵּבֵית] om **S**: + the following (D: 6-7) in **Q** **L** **L**

- 6 <sup>6</sup>καὶ πᾶσαν<sup>b</sup> στολήν<sup>c</sup> τῆς<sup>d</sup> ἐπιφανείας<sup>e</sup> αὐτοῦ<sup>f</sup> ἐνεεδέδκει,<sup>g</sup> ὅλος<sup>h</sup> ἡ  
 διὰ χρυσοῦ<sup>i</sup> καὶ<sup>j</sup> λίθων<sup>k</sup> πολυτελών,<sup>l</sup> καὶ<sup>m</sup> ἦν<sup>n</sup> φοβερὸς<sup>o</sup> σφόδρα.<sup>p</sup>  
 7 <sup>7</sup>καὶ ἄρας<sup>a</sup> τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πεπυρωμένον<sup>b</sup> δόξῃ<sup>c</sup> ἐν<sup>d</sup> ἄκμῃ θυμοῦ<sup>e</sup>

6 b-h om 106 | b την A: + την **N** c. a | a-g et ipse erat vestitus purpura **L** | d om **L** | e επιφανίας **N** A | f om **L** | g ενδουκει B\* (ενεδουκει B?): ενεδουκει **N** c. a A: ενεδιδουκει N: ενεδουσαι 55: ενεδουκη 93b | h-i om **L** | h ολος 19, 52, 93b | i χρυσος **L**: χρυσω A: χρυσιου 249 | j-l et omni lapide pretioso **L** | k λιθοι **L** | l πολυτελεις επ αυτω **L** | m-p et aurea virga in manu ejus **L** | n om **L** | o φοβερως 52

7 a om **N**\* (**N** c. a mg has): ηρεν A | a-c et respiciens oculis suis **L** | b + εν **L**: πεπληρωμενη **N**\*: πεπυρωμενος **N** c. a | c δοξει 19: + ως ταυρος **L** + sicut taurus **L** | d om 44, 106 | e + αυτου **L** **L**

2 (= D: 7) וַיְהִי om יְהִי **Q** **S**: om **Q** **L** **L** | וַיֵּצֵא<sup>2</sup>] so Ben Asher (Ginsburg): בְּרִאֲוֹת Ben Naphtali B<sup>2</sup>: εβλεψεν **Q** **L**: ενεβλεψεν **L** (aft D: 7<sup>c</sup>): om **N**\* A | הַמֶּלֶךְ] om **Q** **L** **L** | אֶחָד אֶחָד om **Q**: αυτη **L**: eam **L** | הַמֶּלֶךְ — בַּחֲצֵר] om **Q** **L** **L** | בַּחֲצֵר] om **Q**: + et iratus est ei: et cogitabat perdere eam rex, et erat ambiguus clamans, et dixit: Quis ausus est introire in aulam non vocatus? **L**: + the following (D: 7) in **Q** **L** **L**

καὶ<sup>f</sup> ἔπεσεν<sup>g</sup> ἡ βασίλισσα καὶ μετέβαλεν<sup>h</sup> τὸ χρώμα<sup>i</sup> αὐτῆς ἐν 7  
ἐκλύσει, καὶ κατεπέκνυσεν<sup>j</sup> ἐπὶ<sup>k</sup> τὴν<sup>l</sup> κεφαλὴν<sup>m</sup> τῆς ἄβρας τῆς προ-  
πορευομένης<sup>n</sup>

7 f + *timens* L | g εφοβηθῇ L | h μετεβαλετο N | i σωμα N : προσωπον L | j ἐπεκύνσεν A L : κατε-  
βλεψεν 44, 71, 74, 76, 106, 120 : κατεκύνσεν 52, 64, 108a, 243, C, Ald : επεκαλυσεν 93b | k-m om 55 |  
l-m της κεφαλῆς A | n προσπορευομένης N : + αὐτῇ 44, 74, 106, 120 : + αὐτῆς N c. a A 71, 76, 93b :  
πορευομένης Ald

2 (= D: 7) רַחֵם — רַחֵם] καὶ μετέβαλεν ο θεος το πνευμα του βασιλεως 8  
εις πραντητα G: καὶ μετεβαλεν ο θεος το πνευμα του βασιλεως καὶ μετεθηκε τον 9  
θυμον αυτου εις πραοτητα L: *Deus autem iram convertit in miserationem*  
*et furorem ipsius in tranquillitatem* L: + the following (D: 8-11) in 10  
G L L 11

<sup>a</sup> καὶ ἀγωνιάσας<sup>a</sup> ἀνεπήδησεν<sup>b</sup> ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου<sup>c</sup> αὐτοῦ,<sup>d</sup> καὶ ἀνέλα- 8  
βεν<sup>e</sup> αὐτὴν ἐπὶ<sup>f</sup> τὰς ἀγκάλας αὐτοῦ<sup>g</sup> μέχρις<sup>h</sup> οὗ κατέστη,<sup>i</sup> καὶ παρε- 9  
κάλει<sup>j</sup> αὐτὴν<sup>k</sup> λόγοις<sup>l</sup> εἰρηνικοῖς<sup>m</sup> <sup>a</sup>καὶ<sup>a</sup> εἶπεν αὐτῇ<sup>b</sup> Τί<sup>c</sup> ἐστίν, 9  
Ἐσθήρ;<sup>d</sup> ἐγὼ ὁ<sup>e</sup> ἀδελφός σου, θάρσει,<sup>f</sup> <sup>10</sup>οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνῃς· ὅτι κοινὸν<sup>a</sup> 10  
τὸ πρόσταγμα<sup>b</sup> ἡμῶν ἐστίν·<sup>c</sup> <sup>11</sup>πρόσελθε<sup>a</sup> 11

8 a om 108a: + ο βασιλεὺς L | b κατεπήδησεν L : επηδησεν 93b | c sedile L | d om A 248, C |  
e ανεβαλεν A | f-g sub alis suis L | h-l om L | i παρεκαλεσεν L | k αυτη 93b | l-m om L

9 a-b om 106 | b om L | c-d *Hester regina + soror mea Hester es et consors regni* L | e om  
76: εἰμι L | f θαρρεῖ 74, 76

10 a + ἐστὶ L | b πρᾶγμα L | c om L

11 a καὶ οὐ πρὸς σε ἡ ἀπειλή, ἰδὸν το σκηπτρον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ σου L: *non adversus te. Ecce*  
*sceptrum in manu mea est* L

2 (= D: 12) שָׁרַח] καὶ *apas* G L L | רָחַם] om I G L L | רַחֵם] 8  
*contra eam* I: om G L L | רָחַם] om L | אֶשֶׁר בְּיָדוֹ] om G L: *et ex-*  
*tendit in manu ipsius* L | רַחֵם אֶתְּרַב רַחֵם] *quae accedens* I: om G L L |  
שָׁרַח] *osculata est* I: רָחַם S: επεθηκεν G L: om L | שָׁרַח רַחֵם] 8  
ἐπὶ τον τραχηλον αυτης G L: om L: + רָחַם S: + the following (D: 12-16)  
in G L L

<sup>12</sup>καὶ ἡσπάσατο αὐτὴν<sup>a</sup> καὶ εἶπεν Δάλησόν μοι. <sup>13</sup>καὶ εἶπεν<sup>a</sup> 12  
αὐτῷ<sup>b</sup> Εἰδὼν σε, κύριε,<sup>c</sup> ὡς ἄγγελον θεοῦ, καὶ ἐταράχθη<sup>d</sup> ἡ καρδιά 13  
μου ἀπὸ<sup>e</sup> φόβου<sup>f</sup> τῆς δόξης σου.<sup>g</sup> <sup>14</sup>ὅτι<sup>a</sup> θαυμαστὸς εἶ,<sup>b</sup> κύριε,<sup>c</sup> καὶ<sup>d</sup> 14  
τὸ πρόσωπόν σου<sup>e</sup> χαρίτων<sup>f</sup> μεστόν.<sup>g</sup> <sup>15</sup>ἐν<sup>a</sup> δὲ τῷ διαλέγεσθαι 15  
αὐτὴν<sup>b</sup> ἔπεσεν ἀπὸ ἐκλύσεως.<sup>c</sup> <sup>16</sup>καὶ<sup>a</sup> ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐταράσσετο,<sup>b</sup> καὶ 16  
πᾶσα ἡ θεραπεία<sup>c</sup> αὐτοῦ<sup>d</sup> παρεκάλει<sup>e</sup> αὐτὴν

12 a την Εσθηρ A

13 ειπον N\* (-πεν N c. a) | b om N: + *Hester* L | c om L | d εταχη L | e + του 52, 64, 108a,  
243, 248, 249, C, Ald | f om A L | g του θυμου σου L

14 a-b om L | c + μου 249 | d + επι L | e αυτης | f χαριτος 93b | g μετρον ιδρωτος L

15 a-c om L | b αυτη 93b: + *cum rege* L | c + αυτης N A N 44, 52, 55, 71, 74, 76, 106, 120, 243,  
248, 249, C, Ald: εκδυσεως 93b

16 baft a L | c curia L | d + και L | e παρακαλουν L: παρακαλει Ald





δαιον ⑤ | בשער | εν τη αυλη ⑤ | המלך — בימיו | om ⑤ (exc ④ c. a. mg sup, 93b under \*) | המלך | palatii ③ | בימיו | de loco sessionis suae ③ | על | המלך | מרדכי | om ⑤ (exc ④ c. a. mg, 93b under \*: A has Αμαν)

10 וירחצק | om ⑤ L ① (exc ④ c. a. mg, 93b under \*) | והבן | om ⑤ (exc ④ c. a. mg, 93b under \*) | ברחן | + tristis ① | וירשלה | om ⑤ ① L (exc ④ c. a. mg, 93b under \*) | ירחא | + ad se ③ | אהביו | τους φίλους ⑤ (+ αυτον L ①): + και τους υιους αυτον L | זרש | Zares ③: زرش ⑤: Ζωσαραν ⑤ L: Σωσαραν A: Ζαρασαν (Γαζασαν, Γαζαγαν) Jos. xi, § 245: Zosarra (Gozarra) ①: Ζωραν 93b

11 om L | והבן | om ③ ⑤ (exc ④ c. a.) ① | את כבוד | om ⑤ (exc 93b) | ררב בנין | om ⑤ ① (exc ④ c. a. mg, 93b under \*) | ואח — end of vs | om ① | את כל | om ⑤ | כל | δοξαν ⑤: παντα 93b | גדלן | αυτω περιεθηκεν ⑤: om ③ | את אשר | om ③ ⑤ | על השרים | om ⑤ | על | כל K 117, 252, R 379, ① ② ③ | ועבדי | عبيد ⑤: عبيد ⑤ | ועבדי המלך | και ηγεισθαι της βασι-  
λειας ⑤ | המלך | suos ③

12 והאמר הבן | και εκανχατο λεγων L: et gloriabatur dicens ① | והבן | om ③ | אח | post haec ③: ως L: om ⑤ ① | אסתר | om ⑤ L ① (④ c. a. A 93b have) | המלכה | rex ①: om ⑤ | עם — עשתה | om ① | עם | ei μη L | אל — עשתה | εν επισημω ημερα αυτης L: om ⑤ | אשר עשתה | om ③ ⑤ (exc ④ c. a.): αυτης 74, 76 | כי אם אותי | και εμε μονον L | וגם | והמלך — regina autem nullius mentionem fecit, nisi mei: et ego sum necessarius tuus inter omnes amicos ejus, sedile autem meum supra omnes, et ab omnibus adoratur ① | גם | om ⑤ L | ליה עם המלך | om ⑤ L (exc ④ c. a. mg, 93b under \*)

13 וכל | om ⑤ L (① has) | לי — זה | τουτο δε λυπει με μονον L | יושב | om ⑤ L ①: εν παντι χρονω οταν ④ c. a. mg, 93b under \* | בשער | εν τη αυλη ⑤ L: om ① | המלך | om ⑤ (exc ④ c. a., 93b under \*) ①: + και μη προσκυνει με L: + non adorantem me ①

14 זרש | cf. 5: 10: Gossara ① (Pech.) | וכל | om כל ⑤ L ① (exc ④ c. a., 93b under \*): ceteri ③ | אהביו | οι φίλοι (+ αυτον ④ c. a., 93b under \*): om L: + εκ γενους Ιουδαιων εστιν· επει συγκεχωρηκε σε ο βασιλευς αφανισαι τους Ιουδαιους, και εδωκαν σοι οι θεοι εις εκδικησιν αυτων ημεραν ολεθριον L | יעשר | κοπητω σοι ⑤ L ① (om σοι A 44, 71, 74, 76, 106, 236) | גבה | om ⑤ L ① (exc ④ c. a. mg) | אמה | pedum ①: + και κεισθω L | בבקר | למלך — tr aft עליו L | אמר למלך | om ①: + αυτω L | ויתלו | ut appendatur ③: και κρεμασθητω ⑤ ①: και κρεμασον L | את מרדכי | αυτον L | עליו | επι τον ξυλον ⑤ L: in eo ① | והבן — רבא | והבן | עם | προς L | אל המשתה | om L | שמח | και ευφραινον ⑤ (om και L) | הדבר | om L | לפני | some codd ⑤ | והבן | ei ③: + לפני | ויעש העץ | και εποιησεν ουτως L





*regem et cogitabat* 11 | [ההיצוניה] *interius* 3 | [למלך] + *et juberet* 3 | [לו] — על | om L | [לו] om 6 (exc 11<sup>c. a. mg</sup>, 93b under \*): + *et non eum permisit Dominus loqui* 11

5 [ואמר] — [בהצר] om L | [אלי] om 3 6 (exc 11<sup>c. a. mg</sup>, 93b under \*) | [הנה] om 3 11 | [עמד בהצר] om 11

6 [ורבוא הין] om 11 6 (exc 11<sup>c. a. mg</sup> 93b) | [הין] om 3 L | [לו המלך] | [מנן] [מיה] | [המלך] R 593: ο βασιλεως τω Αμαν 6 11 | [המלך] om 3 | [לעשות] | [לעשות] 6: ποιησω 6: ποιησομεν L: *flet* 11 | [באיש] + τω τον βασιλεα τιμωντι L: + *qui regem honorificat* 11 | [אשר] — [ביקרו] om 11 | [המלך] 2 | [למי] 6: [בבלבו] + *et reputans* 3: λεγων L: *cum cogitatione sua* 11 | [אשר] — [יקר] — [יהפך] | *habet rex necessarium* 11

7 [הין] om 3 11 6 (exc 11<sup>c. a.</sup> 44, 71, 74, 76, 106, 120, 236, 93b) | [אל המלך] *domine rex* 11: om 3 L 44, 106 | [איש] | [אשר] — [ביקרו] om 11

8 [יביאן] ενεκατωσαν οι παιδες του βασιλεως 6 (ενεκατω A): ληφθητω L: *accipiat* 11 | [מלכות] βυσσινην 6 | [אשר] — [המלך] 1 | om 3 L 11 | [בו] om 6 (exc 11<sup>c. a. mg</sup>, 93b under \*) | [המלך] + *et corona aurea* 11 | [וסוס] *et imponi super equum; et equo regali vehatur* 11: και ιππος βασιλικος L | [אשר] — [המלך] 2 | om 11: *qui de sella regis est* 3 | [עליו] om L 6 (exc 11<sup>c. a. mg</sup>, 93b under \*) | [אשר] — [בראשו] om L 6 (exc 11<sup>c. a. mg</sup>, 93b under \*): *indutus quae supra dixi* 11: *et accipere regium diadema super caput suum* 3

9 [ונתון] και λαβητω ταυτα L: om נתון 11 | [יד] — [הלבוש] om 11 L 6 (exc 11<sup>c. a. mg</sup>, 93b under \*) | [הלבוש] om 3 | [איש] *primus* 3: ενι 6: εις L: *unus* 11 | [הפיתמים] — [הסוס] om 11 | [ביקרו] — [הלבשו] om 3 | [אשר] — [ביקרו] om L 44, 106 | [הסוס] — [על הסוס] | *et incedens* 3 | [בהרוב] | [העיר] | [העיר] 6: δια της πλατειας 6: *in tota* 11: και περιελθeto L | [וקראן] | [קשר] 6: κηρυσσετω 6 (κηρυσσετωσαν 11<sup>c. a.</sup>) κηρυσσων L: *praedicet* 11 | [לפניו] λεγων 6: *et dicat* 3 | [לאיש] παντι ανθρωπω G: *omni + honorificanti regem* 11: τω τον βασιλεα τιμωντι L | [אשר] — [ביקרו] om 11

10 [להין] ei 3: om 44, 71, 106 | [הסוס] — [מהר] om 6 (exc 11<sup>c. a. mg inf</sup>, 93b under \*) | [הסוס] — [קה] om 11 | [את הסוס] pr סגן 6: *calos* 6: *bene* 11 | [ועשה] om 1 6 11 | [כן] *sicut dixisti* 11 | [היהודי] om 11 | [בשער] | [היהודי] 6: εν τη αυλη 6 11: ον δοξαζει 106 | [בשער] 249: ον ειπεν A | [המלך] *palatii* 3: om L 6 (exc A 106) | [דבר] + [אשר] — [דבר] om L: + ως δε εγνο Αμαν οτι ουκ ην αυτος ο δοξαζομενος, αλλ οτι Μαρδοχαιος, συνετριβη η καρδια αυτου σφοδρα, και μετεβαλε το πνευμα αυτου εν εκλυσει. L: + *et doluit Aman in his verbis, et accepit Aman omnia haec et dedit Mardochoae, et dixit ei, Surge serve Dei, et esto honorificatus* 11

11 [הסוס] pr סוס S: + εντρεπομενος τον Μαρδοχαιον καθ' οτι εκεινε τη ημερα εκεκρικει ανασκολοπισαι αυτον. και ειπε τω Μαρδοχαιω Περιελον τον σακκον. και εταραχθη Μαρδοχαιος ως αποθνησκων, και απεδυσατο μετ' οδωνης τον σακκον L | [וילבש את מרדכי] και ενεδυσατο τα ιματια δοξης + και εδοκει Μαρδοχαιος τερας θεωρειν, και η καρδια αυτου προς τον κυριον. και εξιστατο εν αφασια. και εσπενσεν Αμαν L | [וירכיבהו] סאגא S + סוס K 118, 202; R 486: + equo praececedebat J: + επι τον ιππον G L: + εφιππον L | [ברהוב] [העיר] και εξηγαγεν Αμαν τον ιππον εξω + και προσηγαγεν αυτον εξω L: pr και διηλθεν G L | [לפניו] λεγων G L: om J L | [לאיש] παντι ανθρωπω G L: τω ανδρι τω τον βασιλεια τιμωντι L, 93b ÷ | [ביקרו] + et ibat Aman in infamiam sibi, et Mardochaeus honorificatus valde; et Deus confregit cor Aman L

12 [וישב] aft אבל L | [אל שער המלך] eis τον οικον αυτου L: eis την αυλην G (+ του βασιλευς N<sup>c. a. mg.</sup>, 93b under \*, L) | [המלך] palatii J | [והפך ראש] | κατω κεφαλην G (κατακεκαλυμμενος (την) κεφαλην N<sup>c. a.</sup>, 93b \*): et percusso corde L: om L

13 [וירש] misit et narravit L | [המן] om J L | [לזרש] cf. 5:10: om L | [ולכל אחביו] om S L: om כל J G L | [כל] om G (exc 93b) | [לו] om L: Αμαν N | [הכנניו] + quos habebat in consilio J: [וסמכמו] S: οι φιλοι G L (+ αυτου N<sup>c. a.</sup>, 93b under \*) | [וזרש] om [זרש] J L L G (exc N<sup>a. c. mg.</sup>, 93b under \*) | [אשתו] η γυνη G (+ αυτου N<sup>c. a. mg.</sup>, 93b under \*) | [מירדכי] — om L | [אשר] — end of vs | αφ' οτε λαλεις περι αυτου κακα, προσπορευεται σοι τα κακα. ησυχασε L | [אשר] om G L | [לו כי] [לך] S: αυτον αμυνασθαι G L | [נפול תפול] om L | [נפול] N<sup>1</sup> a few codd: [לפניו] S | [לפניו] om G L L + οτι θεος ζων μετ' αυτου G (93b ÷): + οτι ο θεος εν αυτοις L: + quia jam propheta est L

14 [ועני] [חכמה] S: om J L L G (exc N<sup>c. a. mg.</sup>, 249, 93b under \*) | [ורייסי] [חכמה] S: τις L | [המלך] reginae L: om L G (exc N<sup>c. a. mg.</sup>, 93b under \*, 71, 74, 76, 106, 120, 236, 249) | [הגניו] παρην L | [להביא] om S L L G (exc N<sup>c. a. mg.</sup>, 93b under \*) | [המן] eum J L | [אשר] — [אסתר] και οντως ελαρωθη L | [אסתר] regina J: + η βασιλισσα 71, 74, 76, 120, 236

## CHAPTER VII

VII, 1 [לשחות] και πορευθεις ανεπεσε εν ωρα L | [לשחות] [לחם] S: ad coenam L | [עם] [לחם] S | [אסתר] om J L L G (exc N<sup>c. a. mg.</sup>, 93b under \*) | [המלכה] eo L: αυτων L

2 [וראמר] pr factum est L: [לאסתר] ei J: + reginam L: om A | [גם] — [במשחה] ως δε προηγεν η προποσις L | [גם] om L G (exc N<sup>c. a.</sup>, 93b under \*) | [ביום] om 44 L | [השני] om S | [במשחה] postquam incaluerat J: ? for ב S: in bona propinatione L | [היין] om L L G (exc N<sup>c. a.</sup>, 93b under \*): + τι εστιν και G (τι εστι σοι και 71, 74, 76, 106, 120: τι εσται σοι και 44: 93b om) | [שאלתך] ο κινδυνος L | [אסתר] — [לך] om S L L | [המלכה] om J 44, 106 | [ותנתך] om G (exc N<sup>c. a. mg.</sup>, 93b under \*) | [ומה] om

מה ש[ בקשר ] relatio ℒ [ הזלכות ] + mei ℑ S G L ℒ [ וחי ] + **لحم**  
 S: + σοι G: + tibi ℒ: om L: + και ηγωνιασεν Εσθηρ εν τω απαγγελλειν,  
 οτι ο αντιδικος εν οφθαλμοις αυτης, και ο θεος εδωκεν αυτη θαρσος εν τω αυτην  
 επικαλεισθαι αυτον L

3 [וַתֵּן] om L 44, 106 | [אֶחָדִי] illa 3: om 6 (exc 8<sup>c.a.mg sup</sup>, 93b under \*) | [הַמַּלְכָּה] om 3 L 1 6 (exc 8<sup>c.a.mg sup</sup>, 93b under \*) | [וַתֵּאֲמֶר] om 3: + τω βασιλει 71, 74, 76, 120 | [בְּעִנְיָךְ הִן בִּמְצֹאתִי הִן] δοκει L: ευρον χαριν ενωπιον 6 [הַמֶּלֶךְ] pr του κυριου μου 44, 74, 76, 120, 236' | [טוֹב — וְאִם] και αγαθη η κρισις εν καρδια αυτου L: et si videtur animae tuae 1: om 6 (exc 8<sup>c.a.mg</sup>, 93b under \*) | [לִי] om 3 L 1 6 (exc 8<sup>c.a.</sup>, 93b under \*) | [נִפְשִׁי] — end of vs] desiderium meum, neque aurum, neque argentum ego peto 1 | [נִפְשִׁי] om 1 6 (exc 8<sup>c.a.mg</sup>, 93b under \*): ο λαος μου L | [וְעַמִּי] και ο λογος μου 6 (a few codd λαος): και το εθνος L | [בְּבִקְשָׁתִי] της ψυχης μου L

4 [לְהַשְׁמִיד] S: eis apwleian G L: om L [לְהַרְגַּ] S: eis δου-  
 και διαρπαγην G L: om L A 44, 71, 106 [וְלֹאֲבֹד] και δουλειαν G L: eis δου-  
 λωσιν L [וְאֵלֶּךְ] utinam I: + בְּנִלְבָּב S: ημεις και τα τεκνα ημων G: και τα  
 νηπια αυτων L: et filii nostri L [לְעִבְדִּים] om L S: eis διαρπαγην L: in  
 captivitatem L [וְלִשְׁפָחוֹת] om L S: om L L [וּמִכִּרְנוֹ] + esset tolerabile  
 malum et gemens I: om L L G (ex c. a m s, 93b under \*) [הַחֲרָשׁוֹת] και  
 παρηκουστα G: και παρθενους 52: και παργκας 64, Ald: και παροικουστα 106: και  
 παρηκουσας 108a, 243, 248, 249, C: και ουκ ηβελον απαγγελαι + ινα μη λυπησω  
 τον κυριον μου L: om L [כִּי — הַמֶּלֶךְ] nunc autem hostis nostris est  
 ejus crudelitas redundat in regem I: ου γαρ αξιος ο διαβολος της αυλης  
 τον βασιλεως G: et non est dignum regiae regis L: εγενετο γαρ μεταπεσειν  
 τον ανθρωπον τον κακοποιησαντα ημης L: [וְהָיָה כְּעֶלְפָּא בְּהִי חֲלָלָא] S:  
 [בְּזִק] so B<sup>2</sup>: בִּזְק Ba G

5 [וַיֹּאמֶר] και ἐθνωθή L | [אֶחָדָיו] om L 1 6 (exc N c. a. mg, 93b under \*) | [וַיֹּאמֶר] om 1 6 (exc N c. a. mg, 93b under \*) | [לְאַחֵר הַמִּלְכָּה] om 3 L 6 (exc N c. a. mg, 93b under \*) | [אִי זֶה הוּא] et cuius potentiae 3: om L 1 6 (exc N c. a. mg, 93b under \*) | [לְעֲשׂוֹת כֵּן] ταπεινωσαι το σημειον της βασιλειας μου ωστε παρελθειν τον φοβον σου; + ως δε ειδεν η βασιλισσα οτι δεινον εφανη τω βασιλει και μισοπονηρει, ειπεν Μη οργιζου, κυριε· ικανον γαρ οτι ετυχον του ιλασμου σου· ευωχον, βασιλεν· αυριον δε ποιησω κατα το ρημα σου. και ωμοσεν ο βασιλευς του απαγγειλαι αυτην αυτω τον υπερηφανευσαμενον του ποιησαι τουτο, και μετα ορκου υπεσχετο ποιησαι αυτη ο αν βουληται L

6 וְהָאֵם וְהָאֵם וְהָאֵם L | אִשׁ בַּר | ο ψευδης οντοσι L | [וְהָאֵם] + noster I: regis I: ο φιλος σου L: om G (exc N<sup>c</sup> a<sup>1</sup>ug, 93b\*) | [וְהָאֵם] quod ille audiens I: Aman autem audiens verba I | וְהָאֵם — end of vs] om L | [וְהָאֵם] ille I | נִבְּעָת | so N<sup>1</sup> S N<sup>2</sup> Br C B<sup>1</sup> B<sup>2</sup> G: נִבְּעָת Ba: + illico I | מַלְכָּה — וְהָאֵם vultum regis ac reginae ferrē non sustinens I: et cecidit vultus suus I



## CHAPTER VIII

VIII, 1 ביום — [היהודיים] om L | [אֶשְׁרוּשׁ] om 44, 71, 106 | [המלכה] om G (exc 93b under \*) | [המֶלֶךְ — צִיר] om L | [היהודיים] Q: om G (exc N c. a. m. g., 93b under \*) | [המֶלֶךְ — וּמִיָּדָי] και εκαλεσεν ο βασιλευς τον Μαρδοχαιον (tr aft 8<sup>2</sup> לְמִיָּדָי) L: και Μαρδοχαιος προσεληθη υπο του βασιλεως G | [לָהּ — כִּי] om L | [הַגִּידָה אֶסְתֵּר] cognouerat rex L: + τω βασιλει 44, 71, 74, 76, 106, 236 | [מִה הוּא לָהּ] οτι ενουκειωται αυτη G (+ Μαρδοχαιος 44, 71, 74, 76, 106, 120, 236): quod Mardochaeus erat de genere reginae L: quod esset patruus suus J

2 [טבעהו] + מעל ידו K 18, 95; R 42, 405: + απο της χειρος αυτου  
L | [מוהמן] — אשר om L | [העביר] + rex L | [מוהמן] + και εσφραγισθη  
εν αυτω ο βιος αυτου. και ειπεν ο βασιλευς τη Εσθηρ Και Μαρδοχαιον εβουλευ-  
σατο κρεμασαι τον σωσαντα με εκ χειρος των εινονχω; ουκ ηδει οτι πατρων  
αυτου γενος εστιν η Εσθηρ; L | [ויתנה למורדי] om L | [ותשם — בורדי]  
κα χαρισατο αυτω L | [הבן] suam F: + και ειπεν αυτω τι θελεις; και ποιησω  
σοι L

3 om L 106 | אסתר] om  $\mathfrak{L}$   $\mathfrak{G}$  (exc  $\mathfrak{C}^a$ , 93b under \*, 71, 74, 76, 120, 236)  
 [המלך] eum  $\mathfrak{I}$  [ותבך]  $\mathfrak{L}$   $\mathfrak{G}$ : καὶ ἡλιον  $\mathfrak{G}$ : [מִהִשְׁבָּחוֹ — ותבך] om  
 $\mathfrak{L}$  [ותחדיך] om  $\mathfrak{G}$  (exc  $\mathfrak{C}^a$ ,  $\mathfrak{m}^x$ , 93b under \*) [האנני] om  $\mathfrak{G}$  (exc 93b  
 under \*) | [מִהִשְׁבָּחוֹ] + pessimas  $\mathfrak{I}$ : om  $\mathfrak{G}$  (exc 93b under \*) | אשר השב  
 [על] de quo impetraverat Aman adversus genus  $\mathfrak{L}$ : + συμπασσι 93b ÷

4 om L | וְיוֹשֵׁט | + manu 3 | הַמִּלֵּךְ<sup>1</sup> | ille ex more 3 | לְאַחֲרֵי | om  
3 44 | שִׁבְרָתָּ | שִׁבְרָתָּ | Ba: שִׁבְרָתָּ | Var Or (Ginsburg) N<sup>1</sup> S | הַזֶּהָב | +  
quo signum clementiae monstrabatur 3: + η γν εν χειρι αυτου 93b under  
÷ | וְתַסֵּם | לָהּ | מִסֵּמָה | 8 | אַחֲרֵי | illa 3: om 106 | הַמִּלֵּךְ<sup>2</sup> | eum 3

5 [ותאמר] και ειπε(ν) & L 11: + אחר K 117 &: + Μαρδοχαιος L: +  
 regi 11: אם — יכתב om L [ה'המלך] σοι &: κυρω μου τω βασιλει 44, 74,  
 76, 106, 120, 236: domino meo 11: [לפניו] — ואם tr aft [ה'המלך] § אם  
 om אם & (exc 44, 106, 108a, 93b) [לפניו] om &: ενωπιον σου A c. a. mg A  
 44, 249, 108a, 93b under \*: εν οφθαλμοις σου N: in conspectu tuo 11: in  
 oculis ejus 11: [בעניו] — וכשר om & 11 (exc A c. a. mg 249, 93b under \*)  
 [ה'המלך] ei 11: [וטובה אני בעניו] om 11 § [יכתב] obsecro ut novis  
 epistolis 11: [לחשוב] S: πεμφθητω &: mittantur a te litterae 11: [להשיב]  
 αποστραφηται &: αποστρεψαι A: οπως ανελης L [ה'הספיים] την επιστολην  
 L [בהשבת] veteres 11: pr o S: τα απεσταλμενα &: om L 11: [האנגי — בן]  
 om 11 L 11 & (exc A c. a. mg, 93b under \*): [אשר] — end of vs] om L  
 [להרוג] perire 11: [את] + כל many codd (KR) § C<sup>1</sup> C<sup>2</sup> 11: [היהודים]  
 eos 11: [בכל מדינות המלך] εν τη βασιλεια σου &: in regia tua in nomine  
 tuo 11

6 om L 106 | אשר ימצא | om G L (exc 93b \*): *et interfectionem*  
 7 | ימצא | תמצא K 245 R 196, *Sēbhār* in some codd | מולדתו — ואינקה





10 [אֶשְׁרוּשׁ — ויכתב] om L | [وكتبه] S: *εγραφή δε* G L: *και εγραφή* A, 71, 74, 76, 236 | [בשם] *δια* G L | [אֶשְׁרוּשׁ] so Oc: *אֶשְׁרוּשׁ* Or N<sup>1</sup> S Br B<sup>1</sup> | [ויהתם] S: *και εσφραγισθη* G L: *και εσφραγισατο* L | [המלך<sup>2</sup>] *του βασιλεως* L: *αυτου* G L | [וישלח] — end of vs] om L | [וישלח] *και εξαπεστειλαν* G: (*εξαπεστειλεν* N<sup>c.a</sup> A) | [ספרים] om L | [בד] *δια* G L | [הרצים] *βιβλιαφορων* G: *librarios currentes* L | [בכוסים] S: om G | [רנבי] — *qui per omnes provincias discurrentes veteres litteras novis nuntiis praevenirent* J: om G L: *τοις επιβαταις των αρματων οι μεγαστανες υιοι των Παμαχειμ* 93b under \* | [האחשתרנים] om S

11 [אשר<sup>1</sup> — המלך] om L: [وكتبه] S: *ως επεταξεν* G L | [ליהודים] *αυτοις* G L: *το εθνος αυτου* L | [אשר] om G L L | [בכל עיר ועיר] *εν παση (τη) πολει* G: *κατα χωρας εκαστον αυτων* L: om L: [وكتبه] S: *et in unum praeciperent congregari* J: *χρησθαι τοις νομοις αυτων* G L | *εορταζειν τω θεω* L | [ולעמד] — end of vs] om L | [ולעמד על] *βοηθησαι τε αυτοις* G: *και μενειν* L | [להשמיד] — end of vs] om L | *להשמיד* — *ולאחד* — *και χρησθαι ως βουλονται* G (+ *αφανιζειν και φονευειν ως βουλονται και απολανειν* 93b under \*) | [וליהרג] om J many codd K R, B<sup>2</sup> | [ולאבד] om J | [אח כל] — *τοις αντιδικοις αυτων* G (+ *πασαν δυναμιν λαου και χωρας τους θλιβοντας αυτους* N<sup>c.a.mg</sup>, 93b under \*): *omnes* J: [אחם] S *הצרים אתם* *και τοις αντικειμενοις αυτων* G | [טב] — *לבזו* | pr o S: om G (exc N<sup>c.a.mg</sup>, 93b under \*) | [ונשים] + *et universis domibus* J | *לבזו* + *et constituta est* J

12 [אֶשְׁרוּשׁ — ביום] om L | [ביום אחד] om L: om J B J | *τη βασιλεια* G | [המלך] om J G L | [אֶשְׁרוּשׁ] om J: + *η δε επιστολη ην απεστειλεν ο Μαρδοχαιος ην εχουσα ταυτα: Αμαν απεστειλεν νυμν γραμματα εχοντα ουτως Εθνος Ιουδαιων απειθες σπουδασατε ταχεως αναπεμψαι μοι εις απωλειαν. εγω δε ο Μαρδοχαιος μνηνω νυμν τον ταυτα εργασαμενον προς ταις Σουσων πυλαις κεκρεμασθαι και τον οικον αυτου διακεχειρισθαι. ουτος γαρ εβουλετο αποκτενιαι ημας* L | [בשלושה] *quarta* L | [שנים עשר] om L | [יהדש] om J S G L L | [אדר] + the following passage (E: 1-24) in G L L (L inserts after 8:7):

## ADDITION E

- 1 <sup>1\*</sup>Ων<sup>a</sup> ἐστίν<sup>b</sup> αντίγραφον τῆς<sup>c</sup> ἐπιστολῆς τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα<sup>d</sup> Βασιλεὺς μέγας Ἀρταξέρξης<sup>e</sup> τοῖς<sup>f</sup> ἀπὸ τῆς<sup>g</sup> Ἰουδικῆς ἕως<sup>h</sup> τῆς<sup>i</sup> Αἰθιοπίας ἑκατόν<sup>j</sup> εἴκοσι<sup>k</sup> ἑπτὰ σατραπείαις<sup>l</sup> χωρῶν ἄρχουσι<sup>m</sup> καὶ<sup>n</sup> τοῖς

E: 1 a-d και εγραψε την υποτεταγμενην επιστολην L: η δε επιστολη τοιαυτη 44, 106 | a om N\* | b + το 71, 74, 76, 120 | c om N\* | d υποτεταγμενα 76: γεγραμμενα 248, Ald: + και 19 | e Ασσυριος L | f τους 106 | g om 108a | h om N: μεχρι 249 | i om 52 | j + και L | k + και A L | l σατραπαις N\* C, Ald: και σατραπαις (tr aft m) L: satrapis L: + ιδιων N\* | m αρχουσι N | n + σατραπαις N c.a.mg A: om L



- 2 τὰ ἡμέτερα φρονουσι<sup>ο</sup> χαίρειν.<sup>ρ</sup> <sup>2</sup> πολλοὶ τῇ<sup>α</sup> πλείστη τῶν εὐεργε-  
 τούντων χρηστότητι<sup>β</sup> πυκνότερον<sup>ς</sup> τιμώμενοι<sup>δ</sup> μεῖζον<sup>ε</sup> ἐφρόνησαν.<sup>†</sup>  
 3 <sup>3</sup> καὶ<sup>α</sup> οὐ μόνον τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους ἡμῖν ζητοῦσι<sup>β</sup> κακοποιεῖν, τόν τε<sup>ς</sup>  
 κόρον<sup>δ</sup> οὐ δυνάμενοι φέρειν καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν<sup>ε</sup> εὐεργέταις ἐπιχειροῦσι<sup>†</sup>  
 4 μηχανᾶσθαι.<sup>ς</sup> <sup>4</sup> καὶ<sup>α</sup> τὴν εὐχαριστίαν οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
 ἀνταναιροῦντες,<sup>β</sup> ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἀπειραγάντων<sup>ς</sup> κόμπους<sup>δ</sup> ἐπαρ-  
 θέντες,<sup>ε</sup> τοῦ<sup>†</sup> τὰς<sup>ς</sup> πάντα κατοπτεύοντος<sup>h</sup> ἀεὶ θεοῦ<sup>ι</sup> μισοπύονρον<sup>ι</sup> ὑπο-  
 5 λαμβάνουσιν<sup>κ</sup> ἐκφεύξεσθαι<sup>1</sup> δίκην.<sup>m</sup> <sup>5</sup> πολλάκις δὲ<sup>α</sup> καὶ πολλοὺς<sup>β</sup>  
 τῶν<sup>ς</sup> ἐπ' ἐξουσίαις<sup>δ</sup> τεταγμένων<sup>ε</sup> τῶν πιστευθέντων<sup>†</sup> χειρίζειν<sup>ς</sup> φίλων<sup>h</sup>  
 τὰ<sup>ι</sup> πράγματα<sup>ι</sup> παραμυθία<sup>κ</sup> μετόχους<sup>1</sup> αἱμάτων<sup>m</sup> ἀθῶνων<sup>n</sup> καταστή-  
 6 σασα<sup>ο</sup> περιέβαλε<sup>ρ</sup> συμφοραῖς ἀνηκέστοις,<sup>q</sup> <sup>6</sup> τῷ τῆς κακοηθείας<sup>α</sup>  
 ψευδεῖ<sup>β</sup> παραλογισμῷ<sup>ς</sup> παραλογισαμένων<sup>δ</sup> τὴν<sup>ε</sup> τῶν ἐπικρατούντων  
 7 ἀκέραιον εὐγνωμοσύνην.<sup>†</sup> <sup>7</sup> σκοπεῖν δὲ<sup>α</sup> ἔξεστιν,<sup>β</sup> οὐ<sup>ς</sup> τοσοῦτον<sup>δ</sup> ἐκ  
 τῶν παλαιότερων<sup>ς</sup> ὥς<sup>†</sup> παρεδώκαμεν<sup>ς</sup> ἱστοριῶν, ὅσα<sup>h</sup> ἐστίν<sup>ι</sup> παρὰ<sup>ι</sup>  
 πόδας<sup>κ</sup> ὑμᾶς<sup>1</sup> ἐκζητούντας<sup>m</sup> ἀνοσίως<sup>n</sup> συντετελεσμένα<sup>ο</sup> τῇ τῶν<sup>ρ</sup>  
 8 ἀνάξια<sup>q</sup> δυναστευόντων<sup>r</sup> λοιμότητι,<sup>ς</sup> <sup>8</sup> καὶ<sup>α</sup> προσέχειν εἰς<sup>β</sup> τὰ<sup>ς</sup> μετὰ<sup>δ</sup>  
 ταῦτα,<sup>ε</sup> εἰς<sup>†</sup> τὸ<sup>ς</sup> τὴν βασιλείαν ἀτάραχον τοῖς<sup>h</sup> πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις μετ'  
 9 εἰρήνης παρεξόμεθα,<sup>ι</sup> <sup>9</sup> χρώμενοι<sup>α</sup> ταῖς<sup>β</sup> μεταβολαῖς,<sup>ς</sup> τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν<sup>δ</sup>  
 ὄψιν ἐρχόμενα διακρίνοντας<sup>ε</sup> ἀεὶ<sup>†</sup> μετ'<sup>ς</sup> ἐπιεικεστέρως<sup>h</sup> ἀπαντήσεως.<sup>ι</sup>

1 n-o om L | ο φρονουσιν N A | p habete L

2 a-b abunde humanitate eorum L | c-d qui eos honorificant L | e-f male sperantes L |  
 † φρόνησαντες L

3 a om L L | β ζητούνσιν A: αιτούνσιν N\* | c δε L 44, 71, 74, 76, 108, 120 | d finem L | e αυτων  
 93a | f επιχειροῦσιν N A 93a: επιχαιρουσι 108a: audent L | g μηχανησασθαι 249: + κακα L L

4 a + κατα N A | b αναιρουντες N: a | c υπεραγαθων 52: απειρωπαθων 93a: avi-  
 dorum L | d κολποις 249: praesumptionibus L | e παρελθοντες L: inflammati L | f-ε το του L |  
 h-ι δυναστευοντος δικαιοκριτου L | i-m malignitatem concipientes, putant se evadere L | k-ι εκφυ-  
 γειν διελιφθotes L | k + τινες 44, 71, 74, 76, 106, 120, 236: διαλαμβανουσιν 93b N: c b A | l-εφευξεσθαι  
 N\*: εκφευξασθαι 44, 52, 93b, 106: + την L

5 a-c om L | b om 52 | b-c πολλοστων 74, 76 | d εξουσιων L | e τεταγμενοι L: + τα L: + και 44,  
 71, 74, 76 | f-ε πιστευομενων L | g aft j L 44, 71, 76, 236 | h om 44, 71, 76 | i om L | j προσταγματα 52:  
 γραμματα 249 | k παραμυθα 55: om L | l-n αιτιους αθων αιματων L | l μετενους N\*: μεταγνοσα A:  
 μεταιτιους 93b | m μετα των A | n aft o 249 | o καταστησας N A: καταστησαντες L | p περιεβαλον L |  
 p-q circumdederunt calamitatibus intolerabilibus L

6 a κακοποιας L: αληθειας A: κακοπιστειας 93a: + τροπω N: c a mg 93b | b + δε N\* | c om  
 A L L | d παραλογισαμενος N A: παραλογισαμενοι L | e om 93b | f-γνωμοσυνην A: συγγνωμοσυνην  
 74, 76: επιγνωσιν N\*

7 a om 108a | b-εστιν L | c-d om L | e-f om L | e παλαιωτερον A | f om N\*: ων N | g παραδεδο-  
 μενων ημιν L: παραδεδοκαμεν N: c a | h-ι και οσον το L | h οσον N | i + τους 44, 71, 106 | k μερος N\*:  
 πολλας 19, 108b | l-υμιν N\*: ημων 44: om L | m εκζητουν N\*: θεωρουντες L: εκζητουντες 93b | n αξιως  
 L | o om L | p om 93b | q om L: αξια N: c a 93b: αναξιος C, 248: αξιας N\*: αξιο A | r δυναστευ-  
 ομενων 93b | s-ωμοτητι L: λυμοτητι A: λιμοτητι 52, Ald: ωμοιοτητι 93b | q-s digna dominantium  
 pestilentia L

8 a om L 236 | b oσα 52 | c το N\* 71, 74, 76, 249 | d-ε μετ επειτα L: μετ αυτα 93b | f-γκαι N: c a  
 L: το N: c b: ωστε 52, 64, 243, 248, C, Ald | h-ι παρεχειν πασι τοις εθνεσι μετ ειρηνης L

9 a ου χρωμενοι N: c a A L 249 L | b δε 52: τε 243, 248, C, Ald | c διαβολαις L: varietatibus L |  
 dom 44, 71, 74, 76, 106, 120 | e-η μετ επιεικειας διεξαγοντες L | f dei N\* | g μετα N A | i-αγακτικως  
 N\*: om L | e-i cum clementissima occurrione L

- 10 <sup>10</sup> ὥς<sup>a</sup> γὰρ<sup>b</sup> Ἀμὰν<sup>c</sup> Ἀμαδάθου<sup>d</sup> Μακεδὼν<sup>e</sup> ταῖς ἀληθείαις<sup>f</sup> ἀλλότριος<sup>g</sup>  
τοῦ τῶν Περσῶν αἵματος<sup>h</sup> καὶ<sup>i</sup> πολὺν διεστηκὼς<sup>j</sup> τῆς ἡμετέρας χρηστό-  
11 τητος, ἐπιξενωθείς<sup>k</sup> ἡμῖν<sup>l</sup> <sup>11</sup> ἔτυχεν ἧς<sup>a</sup> ἔχομεν<sup>b</sup> πρὸς πᾶν ἔθνος  
φιλανθρωπίας<sup>c</sup> ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὥστε<sup>d</sup> ἀναγορεύεσθαι<sup>e</sup> ἡμῶν<sup>f</sup> πατέρα<sup>g</sup>  
καὶ προσκυνούμενον<sup>h</sup> ὑπὸ πάντων<sup>i</sup> τὸ δεύτερον<sup>j</sup> τοῦ βασιλικοῦ<sup>k</sup> θρόνου<sup>l</sup>  
12 πρόσωπον<sup>m</sup> διατελεῖν<sup>n</sup> <sup>12</sup> οὐκ ἐνέγκας<sup>a</sup> δὲ τὴν ὑπερφανίαν ἐπετή-  
13 δευσεν<sup>b</sup> τῆς ἀρχῆς στερεῖσαι<sup>c</sup> ἡμᾶς<sup>d</sup> καὶ<sup>e</sup> τοῦ πνεύματος,<sup>f</sup> <sup>13</sup> τὸν τε<sup>a</sup>  
ἡμέτερον<sup>b</sup> σωτήρα<sup>c</sup> καὶ<sup>d</sup> διὰ παντὸς<sup>e</sup> εὐεργέτην<sup>f</sup> Μαρδοχαῖον καὶ τὴν  
ἄμεμπτον<sup>g</sup> τῆς<sup>h</sup> βασιλείας<sup>i</sup> κοινωνὸν<sup>j</sup> Ἐσθῆρ σὺν παντὶ<sup>k</sup> τῷ<sup>l</sup> τούτων<sup>m</sup>  
ἔθνει πολυπλόκοις<sup>n</sup> μεθόδων<sup>o</sup> παραλογισμοῖς<sup>p</sup> αἰτησάμενος<sup>q</sup> εἰς<sup>r</sup> ἄπω-  
14 λίαν· <sup>14</sup> διὰ<sup>a</sup> γὰρ τῶν<sup>b</sup> τρόπων<sup>c</sup> τούτων<sup>d</sup> ᾧ<sup>e</sup>θη<sup>f</sup> λαβὼν<sup>g</sup> ἡμᾶς<sup>h</sup> ἐρή-  
μους<sup>i</sup> τὴν<sup>j</sup> τῶν<sup>k</sup> Περσῶν ἐπικράτησιν<sup>l</sup> εἰς<sup>m</sup> τοὺς Μακεδόνας<sup>n</sup> μεταῶν<sup>o</sup>.<sup>m</sup>  
15 <sup>15</sup> ἡμεῖς<sup>a</sup> δὲ<sup>b</sup> τοὺς<sup>c</sup> ὑπὸ τοῦ τρισαλιτηρίου<sup>d</sup> παραδεδομένους<sup>e</sup> εἰς<sup>f</sup> ἀφα-  
νισμόν<sup>g</sup> Ἰουδαίους<sup>h</sup> εὐρίσκομεν<sup>i</sup> οὐ<sup>j</sup> κακούργους<sup>k</sup> ὄντας,<sup>l</sup> δικαιοτάτοις<sup>m</sup>  
16 δὲ<sup>n</sup> πολιτευομένους<sup>o</sup> νόμοις,<sup>p</sup> <sup>16</sup> ὄντας<sup>a</sup> δὲ<sup>b</sup> υἱοὺς<sup>c</sup> τοῦ ὑψίστου<sup>d</sup> μεγί-  
στου<sup>e</sup> ζῶντος<sup>f</sup> θεοῦ<sup>g</sup> τοῦ<sup>h</sup> κατευθύνοντος<sup>i</sup> ἡμῖν<sup>j</sup> τε<sup>k</sup> καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις<sup>l</sup>  
17 ἡμῶν<sup>m</sup> τὴν βασιλείαν<sup>n</sup> ἐν<sup>o</sup> τῇ καλλίστῃ διαθέσει.<sup>p</sup> <sup>17</sup> καλῶς οὖν  
ποιήσετε<sup>a</sup> μὴ προσχρησάμενοι<sup>b</sup> τοῖς<sup>c</sup> ὑπὸ Ἀμὰν<sup>d</sup> Ἀμαδάθου<sup>e</sup> ἀπο-

10 a-b επιξενωθείς γὰρ ἡμῖν L | c Ἀμμαν 19: om 249 | d Ἀμαθου A: o μαδαθου 93a: Ἀμαθαδου 236 (always) | d-e om 44, 71, 106 | e Βουγαίος L | f ανομίας 19, 108b | g aft h 93b | h φρονήματος L | i om 19, 44, 71, 74, 76, 106, 120, 236 | j διεστως L: begin. λα Ν\* (improb λα Ν<sup>1</sup>) ferens L | k-l om L | k ξενωθείς C

11 a-b της εξ ημων L | a-ως N | c-d φιλανθρωπίας ὥστε 44, 71, 76, 106, 120 | c φιλανθρωπιαν 236, C | d-ως A: τε 52 | e αναπορευεσθαι Ν\*: αναγορευεσθαι L: αγορευεσθαι C: om L | f-ε tr L | h προσκυνουμενος A: προσκυνεσθαι L | i omnibus subditis nobis L: + και 44, 71, 74, 76, 106, 120, 236 | j δευτερον 108b | k βασιλικων L: βασιλειων 19, 108b | l θρονων L | m om L | j-n et secundum habens seilicet L

12 a ενεγκων L | b επετηδευσε Ν: επιτηδευσεν A: επετελευσε 52: ενετηδευσε 93b: ausus est L: + ημας L | c-d om L: tr A | c στερεσαι Ν\* | d υμας Ν\* | e-f om 71 | e om A | f + μετασθησαι L

13 a δε L | b-f om 44, 106 | g σωτηραν Ν\*: om 71 | d om L | e παντων 52, 243, 248, 249, C, Ald: om 71 | f om L | g invocabilem L | h-i τουτου L: aft j 52 | i βασιλειως Ν\* | j κοινωνων 52: κοινωνην 93a: om 44 | k-l tr L | m ejus L | n πολυτροποις 93a: πολυπλοκων 249 | o μεθοδεις L: μεθοδοις 17, 19, 108b, 249 | p om L 71 L | q διατησάμενος L: στησάμενος 93a

14 a-j om 93a | b-d τουτων των τροπων L: τον τροπον τουτον 44, 106 | d om A | e ηθη Ν\*: ωθηει A: ηρθη 93b | f λαβειν Ν: a A | g τας A | h + εξαλλοτριωσιν L | i-m om 71 | i της L: + τε Ν: a A 93b: τη 249 | j om A | k επικρατησει 249: επικρατειας L: + εως L | l Μακαιδονας Ν: Μακεδωνας 93a | m αγαγειν L: μεταλλαξαι 44, 74, 76, 106, 120, 236: μεταγαγειν 93b, 108a: μεταταξαι C

15 a-b om L | c + ουν L | d + et imprio L | e-υμιν L | g Jυιαισεorum L | h ευρισκομενος N: qui inveniuntur L | i-j tr A | i μη L: om N | j-k tr L | k + αλλα 44, 71, 74, 76, 106, 120, 236 | l αναγκαιοτατους Ν\* | m om 44, 71, 74, 76, 106, 120, 236 | n-o tr 93a | n πολιτευομενοις 93a | o om 44

16 a-ειους οντας 44, 106: filii L | a-17a om 71 | a-ον 93a | b + και L | c-ειους Ν\*: aft d 249 | d-f μονου L | d-e om 44, 106 | d om τον A | e-f om L: tr 76 | e pr του 93b | f οντος 93b | g + και αληθινου L | h om 93b | i κατευθυνοντας Ν\*: κατευθυναντος L 74, 120, 236 | j ημας Ν\* | k-l om L: et posteris L | k om 106 | m αγιαν Ν\*: + μεχρι του νυν L | n-o sicut voluntis L

17 a ποιησθε Ν: ποιησατε A L 52, 108: ποιησετε 93a: ποιετε 243, 248, C, Ald: | b προσεχοντες L: om 249 | c-f τοις προαπεσταλμενοις υμιν υπο Αμαν L | d Μαν A: του Αμαν N | e Αμαθαδου A 52: om L 44, 71, 106, L

- 18 σταλείσιν<sup>α</sup> γράμμασιν,<sup>β</sup> 18 διὰ τὰ<sup>α</sup> αὐτὸν<sup>β</sup> τὸν<sup>γ</sup> ταῦτα<sup>δ</sup> ἐξεργασάμενον<sup>ε</sup>  
πρὸς ταῖς Σούσων<sup>ς</sup> πύλαις ἐσταυρῶσθαι<sup>ς</sup> σὺν<sup>η</sup> τῇ<sup>ι</sup> πανοικίᾳ,<sup>ι</sup> τὴν  
καταξίαν<sup>κ</sup> τοῦ τὰ<sup>λ</sup> πάντα ἐπικρατοῦντος<sup>μ</sup> θεοῦ<sup>ν</sup> διὰ τάχους ἀπο-  
19 δόντος<sup>ο</sup> αὐτῷ<sup>π</sup> κρίσιν·<sup>ρ</sup> 19 τὸ<sup>α</sup> δὲ<sup>β</sup> ἀντίγραφον τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ταύτης<sup>ς</sup>  
ἐκθέντες<sup>ς</sup> ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ μετὰ<sup>ς</sup> παρρησίας,<sup>ς</sup> ἔβαν<sup>ς</sup> τοὺς<sup>ς</sup> Ἰουδαίους<sup>ι</sup>  
20 χρῆσθαι<sup>ι</sup> τοῖς ἑαυτῶν<sup>κ</sup> νομίμοις,<sup>λ</sup> 20 καὶ<sup>α</sup> συνεπισχεῖν<sup>β</sup> αὐτοῖς<sup>ς</sup> ὅπως  
τοὺς<sup>ς</sup> ἐν καιρῷ θλίψεως ἐπιθεμένους<sup>ς</sup> αὐτοῖς<sup>ς</sup> ἀμύνονται<sup>ς</sup> τῇ<sup>η</sup> τρισκαί-  
21 δεκάτῃ<sup>ι</sup> τοῦ<sup>ι</sup> δωδεκάτου<sup>κ</sup> μηνός<sup>λ</sup>· Ἀδὰρ τῇ<sup>μ</sup> αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ·<sup>ν</sup> 21 ταύτην<sup>α</sup>  
γὰρ<sup>β</sup> ὁ<sup>ς</sup> πάντα<sup>δ</sup> δυναστεύων θεὸς<sup>ς</sup> ἀντ<sup>ς</sup> ὀλεθρίας<sup>ς</sup> τοῦ ἐκλεκτοῦ  
22 γένους<sup>ς</sup> ἔποίησεν αὐτοῖς<sup>ι</sup> εὐφροσύνην·<sup>ι</sup> 22 καὶ ὑμεῖς<sup>α</sup> οὖν<sup>β</sup> ἐν ταῖς  
ἐπωνύμοις ὑμῶν<sup>ς</sup> ἑορταῖς<sup>ς</sup> ἐπίσημον ἡμέραν<sup>ς</sup> μετὰ πάσης εὐωχίας  
23 ἄγετε,<sup>ς</sup> 23 ὅπως<sup>α</sup> καὶ<sup>β</sup> νῦν καὶ<sup>ς</sup> μετὰ<sup>δ</sup> ταῦτα<sup>ς</sup> σωτηρίας<sup>ς</sup> ἡμῖν<sup>ς</sup> καὶ<sup>ς</sup> τοῖς<sup>ι</sup>  
εὐνοοῦσιν<sup>ι</sup> Πέρσαις, τοῖς<sup>κ</sup> δὲ ἡμῖν ἐπιβουλεύουσιν<sup>ι</sup> μνημόσυνον<sup>μ</sup> τῆς  
24 ἀπωλείας·<sup>ν</sup> 24 πᾶσα<sup>α</sup> δὲ<sup>β</sup> πόλις<sup>ς</sup> καὶ<sup>ς</sup> χώρα<sup>ς</sup> τὸ<sup>ς</sup> σύνολον<sup>ς</sup> ἥτις<sup>ς</sup> κατὰ  
ταῦτα μὴ<sup>ι</sup> ποιήσῃ<sup>ι</sup> δόρατι καὶ πυρὶ καταναλωθήσεται<sup>κ</sup> μετ<sup>ς</sup> ὀργῆς·<sup>λ</sup>  
οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώποις ἄβατος, ἀλλὰ καὶ θηρίοις καὶ πετεινοῖς εἰς<sup>μ</sup> τὸν  
ἅπαντα χρόνον<sup>ν</sup> ἔχτιστος<sup>ο</sup> κατασταθήσεται·<sup>π</sup>

17 <sup>†</sup> αποστολή  $\mathbb{N}^*$  | γραμμασι A

18 α-ε διαταξα σταυρωθηται αυτον εν Σουσους 71 | α+ και L: τουτο 108a, 249 | b om 108a | e om  
 \* A 249, 108b | δ τα τοιαυτα L | εβραισαμενον L: ειρημενον 19, 108b | f Σουσους N | h-q om 71 |  
 h-q αποδεωκτος αντω L | i om N | j παρεις 76 | k + διην | l om \* 52, 248 | m κατοπενητος L |  
 n om L | o απολονται 55; αποδοται 106; αποδοτες 243 | p-q αι κριτοι + εκθεθηθω L |

19 a-b δε το L | e-d om L | δεκτενεντος **N**\*: εκτενεντες A: exponens **L** | e-f om L **L** | g-j χρῆσθαι  
 τοις Ιουδαιοις L: *permitte omnes Iudaeos uti* **L** | h-i τοις Ιουδαιοις 74 | j χρῆσασθαι 52, 64, 243,  
 248, C, Ald | κ αυτων 249 | νομοις **N** A L 52, 64, 93b, 243, 248, 249, C, Ald

20 &-et confortiari cum omnibus L | ἐπισχεῖν L | dom 44 | ἐπιτεμενους 52 | dom 8\* L |  
 ἐμινυνωται A\*: ἀμυνσθαι N: ἀμυνονται 19, 93a, 105b: + ἐκρίθη δε υπο των κατα την βασιλειαν  
 Ιουδαϊων αγειν L | h-ιτη τεσσαρακαδεκατη L | dom 236 | om L 44, 74, 76, 106, 120, 236: + του  
 120 | I-α εστιν L | m-n-ka τη(ν) πεντεκαδεκατη(ν) εωρτασε L: om 44, 106


21 ἀ-εν αυταις ο παντοκρατωρ L | α ταυτη N\* A; ταυτα 236 | b om N\* | c + τα many codd: +  
 ει A | c-d απαντα Ald | f-h om L | g ολεθρειας N: ολετριάς 52 | ολεθριαν 71 | i + σωτηριαν και L: + εις  
 71, 74, 76, 93b, 106, 120, 236, N c. a mg | j σωφροσυνην 19, 108b

22 om L | <sup>a</sup> ημῖς N\*: υμῖς N<sup>c. s</sup> | <sup>b</sup> οὐ A | <sup>c</sup> ἡμῶν 74, 76: om A | <sup>d</sup> om A | <sup>e</sup> ἡμερας N\*

23 a-bom L | com L | d-emet avta 52 | fσωριαν L: + η many oddd + εσται 74 | g-ημεν L  
c.e.b: ημιν και \*74, 76, 106, 120: μεν μωι και Α: ημιν 52: + εν 108a | i-om L | j-εν ποιους L  
ευνοουσιν c.b.A: ανους 52: συνουσι 55: ευνοουσι 108a: ευνοουν Ald | k-των δε επιβουλευσαν-  
των L: των δε τουτοις επιβουλευσαντων Α: τοις δε των επιβουλευειν αυτοις πολυμωντων 44, 71, 74, 106,  
120, 236: τοις δε των επιβουλευειν πολυμων 76: τοις δε ημιν επιβουλευεσσι 108a | m-ημωσυνας 108a |  
n+ ποιησετε 108a

24 α η L | β δ ε η 44, 106 | ε + και L | δ η L: om 93a | ε χωρας **Σ**\* | ε-om L 249 | η ημεις 93b | ι ου  
93a | ι ποιησαι L | κ + και **Σ** c. a | λ + και L C | μ-η om A | μ-ο om L | ο εχιστος **Σ**\*: εσχιστος **Σ** c. a:  
αισχιστος A 93b: + τε C | παντα σταθησεται **Σ**\*: εκταθησεται L

## CHAPTER VIII

VIII, 13 om L א | פתשגן |  S | הכתב | om G (exc N <sup>c.s.</sup>, 93b under \*) | להנחן | εκτιθεσθωσαν G: εκτιθεσθω N εκτεθεισθω A | דת | om S G (exc 93b under \*) | מדינה | τη βασιλεια G | מדינה | om S G (exc

93b under \*) | גלוי | om J: ספס: οφθαλμοφανως G | לכל העמים | om J G | ולהיות | + παντας G | היהודים | היהודיים | Q | עתידים | עתידים | om J | להנצח | om J | ליום הזה | Q | πολεμῆσαι G

14 | הרצים — המלך | om L | הרצים | pr o s: οι μὲν οὖν ἵππεις G | רנבי | om J G L (exc N<sup>c. a. mg.</sup>, 93b under \*): pr | תפס | om S | יצאו | om L | מבהלים | s: festinanter L | ורחופים | perferentes J: Δυσχερῶς s: ἐπιτελεῖν G: και διωκομενοι επιτελεῖν N<sup>c. a. mg.</sup>, 93b under \* | בדבר | nuncia J: τα λεγομενα G: praecepta L | המלך | om J s | והדת — end of vs | om 44, 106, 107, 236 | והדת | + regis J: ספס: s: exemplum epistolae L | נתנה | s: | הבריה | om J G (exc N<sup>c. a.</sup>, 93b under \*): civitate regis L: περιεχον ταδε L (here L inserts 8: 8-13)

15 | יצא | + de palatio et J | מלפני המלך | om L G L (exc N<sup>c. a. mg.</sup>, 93b under \*) | תכלת והר | om L L G (exc N<sup>c. a. mg.</sup>, 93b under \*) | והר | J: et aereis J: αερην N<sup>c. a.</sup>, 93b | ועשרת | om L (exc 93a) | גדולה | om J S G L | ותכריך | et amictus J | בוץ | serico pallio J: et byssinum L | ואגבן | om L: om J G L | והעיר שושן | ιδοντες δε οι εν Σουσοις G L L | ושביקה | om L L G (exc N<sup>c. a. mg.</sup>): + οτι A

16 | אוריה | om 44, 106, 107 | ושביקה | ποτος L | קathon L: τω κυριω θεω 19: κυριω τω θεω 108b: om L G (exc N<sup>c. a.</sup>, 93b under \*) | ויקר | om L L G (exc N<sup>c. a.</sup>, 93b under \*)

17 | טוב — ובכל | om L | ובכל | om G (exc 108a): om J s | ומדינה | om S L G (exc 93b under \*) | ובכל<sup>2</sup> | om G L | עיר | om L | ועיר | om S L G (exc 93b under \*) | מקום — end of vs | om 71 | מקום — טוב | om 44, 106, 107 | מקום — המלך | om A N 52, 74, 76, 243 | מקום | om G L | חבר | om 248, C, Ald | המלך ודתו | om L G (exc N<sup>c. a. mg.</sup>, 93b under \*) | ודתו | om J | בניע | + ου αν εξετθη το εκθεμα G (exc N): + το εκθεμα 248, C, Ald | וששון | om L | טוב — ליהודים | om L | ליהודים | epulae J: + o s | ויום טוב | και ευφροσυννη G: και αγαλλιασις 74, 76, 120, 236: om 249 | בעמי הארץ | alterius gentis J: των εθνων G: των Ιουδαιων L: + περιεμενοντο και G L (περιεμενοντο N<sup>c. a.</sup> A<sup>a</sup> L 74, 76, 106, 107, 120) | מתייהדים | eorum religioni et caeremoniis jungerentur J: s: om — end of vs L | כי נפל | dia G (και dia N<sup>c. a.</sup>): propter L | פחד | + grandis J: timorem qui factus erat adversus inimicos L | עליהם | cunctos J: om L G (exc 93b under \*)

## CHAPTER IX

IX, 1 om L L | הוא | quem vocari ante jam diximus J | חדש | om J s G | יום בו | om s: του μηνος G | להעשות — אשר | quando cunctis Judaeis interfectio parabatur J | אשר | om G | הגיע | + וגא | דבר | s | ודתו להעשות | τα γραμματα τα γραφεντα υπο G: τα γραμματα 44, 106, 107 | om G (exc N<sup>c. a. mg.</sup>, 93b under \*) | ביום — שברו | om s | ביום אשר | et





Φαρδαθα 243, 249, Ald: Φοραδαθα C | אַרְד־יָן | זָלָה S: Βαρσα B: Βαρελ  
 N A: Βαρεα many codd: τους ετερους 71: om L | אַרְד־יָן | זָלָה S<sup>A</sup>: זָלָה?  
 S<sup>L M U</sup>: Σαρβαχα G: Σαρβακα some codd: Σαρμαχα 76: Σαρμακα 120: Σαρα-  
 βαχα 236: Αριδαθα 93b, C: om L 71

9 om L 71, 106 | פִּרְמֵסְתָּהּ | פִּרְמֵסְתָּהּ (both פ and ת small) G:  
 Phermesta I: פִּרְמֵסְתָּהּ S<sup>A</sup>: פִּרְמֵסְתָּהּ S<sup>L M U</sup>: Μαρμασιμα G: Μαρμασιμ N 55,  
 64, 243, 248, Ald: Μαρμασιμνα A: Μαρμασιαν N: Σαρμασιν 74: Σαρμασιμ 76:  
 Μαρμασαιμα L: Σαρμασιμ 120: Σαρμασιμ 236: Φαρμοσθα 93b: Φαρμασθα  
 C | אַרְיִסִי | יָסֵד S: Αρσαιον G (tr with next): Αρσειον N: Αρισαι 93b, C:  
 om L | אַרְד־יָן | זָלָה S: Ρουφαιον G: Ρουφανον A: Αρουφαιον N 55, 64, 74,  
 76, 108a, 120, 236, 243, 248, Ald: Αριδαι 93b, C: om L | יִרְזָה | large י,  
 small י; so 18: Jezatha I: זָה S: Ζαβονθαιον G: Ζαβονδεθαι N: Ζαβου-  
 γαθα A: Ζαβονθαιων N 55, 64, 243, 248, Ald: Ζαφονδαιων 52: Ζαβονθαθων  
 108a: Ιζαθονθ L: Βαιζαθα C: Οναιζαθα 93b

10 om L | עֲשֵׂה | pr extra I: pr και L 44, 106, C | בֶּן הַמִּדְחָה | om  
 I S: + Agagitae I: + אַגָּגִיתַי S: + (του) Βουγαίου G L: + και Βουγαίου 44,  
 106: + Βουδεον N\* | צַר | τους εχθρους 249 | הַיְהוּדִים | + quorum ista  
 sunt nomina I | הֵרֵגוּ | pr quos cum I: om L G (exc N<sup>c.a</sup> A, 93b under \*) |  
 וַיִּבְבְּזוּ — יָדָם | και διηρπασαν G: και διηρπασαν παντα τα αυτων L: και ου  
 διηρπασαν C: και εν τοις σκολοις ουκ απεκτειναν τας χειρας αυτων 93b under \*:  
 om 106

11 om L L | בְּיוֹם הַהוּא | om 106 | הַבִּירָה | om I G (exc N<sup>c.a</sup>, 93b  
 under \*) | לִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ | om 52, 93b

12 om L | הַמֶּלֶךְ | qui I | לְאַחֲרָי | om I | הַמִּלְכָּה | om L G (exc  
 N<sup>c.a mg</sup>, 93b under \*) | בְּשׁוֹשֵׁן הַבִּירָה | om L | הַיְהוּדִים | απωλεσαν  
 οι Ιουδαιοι G: πως σοι οι ενταυθα (ενταυθα η 19, 108b) L | וַיֹּאבֵד | om L G  
 (exc N<sup>c.a mg</sup>, 93b under \*) | הַמֶּשׁ — הַמֶּן | om L | וְהָתָּה — וְהָתָּה | om G (exc  
 N<sup>c.a mg</sup>, 93b under \*) | בְּשֵׂאֵר מִדִּינֹת | εν δε τη περιχωρω (χωρα A) G:  
 και οι εν τη περιχωρω L | הַמֶּלֶךְ | om I S L G (exc 93b under \*) | מִדָּה עֲשׂוֹ |  
 quantam putas eos exercere caedem I: πως οiei εχρησαντο (κεχρηται N<sup>c.a</sup>  
 A) G: κεχρηται L: + και ειπεν ο βασιλευς προς Εσθηρ 44 | וְיִבְרָה | om I 54  
 codd K R, I S | וְיִבְרָה — end of vs | om L (cf. 8: 2 end) | שְׂאֵלְתָּךְ | αξιωσι +  
 ετι G: postulas + ultra I | וַיִּנְתֵּן | נָחַם S: και εσται G: om I | לָךְ | om  
 I | וְיִבְרָה<sup>2</sup> — end of vs | om G (exc 93b under \*) | עָרָה | om I S | וְחָעֵשׁ |  
 ut fieri jubeam I: נָחַם S

13 om L | טוֹב — אֵם | om S L: τω βασιλει G: αυτω 44: εαν τω βασιλει  
 φανη 93b under \* | גַּם | om S G L | אֲשֶׁר בְּשׁוֹשֵׁן | om S G (exc 93b under \*):  
 ους εαν θελωσιν L | לְעֵשׂוֹת | χρησηθαι G: ανελειν L | מִדָּת הַיּוֹם |  
 S: ωσαντως G: και διαρπαζειν L | וְהָתָּה — וְהָתָּה | om L (cf. 8: 7 end) | עַל הָעֵץ |  
 om G (exc N<sup>c.a</sup>, 93b under \*)

14 om L 106 | וַיֹּאבֵד | και επετρεψεν G: και συνεχωρησεν L: επεστρεψεν  
 N\* | הַמֶּלֶךְ | -- end of vs | om L | הַמֶּלֶךְ | om G (exc 93b under \*) | וְהָתָּה |

και εξεθηκε(ν) ⑤ | דת | τοις Ιουδαιois ⑥: + τη τεσσαρεσκαideκατη του Αδαρ και απεκτειναν ανδρας τριακοσιους 236 | בשושן | της πολεως ⑥: om ①\* | ואת | עשרת | τα σωματα ⑥: om ①\* | תלו | κρεμνισαι ⑥: + על הדקן | K 147, 180; R 443, §, 249

15 om L ① | היהודיים | היהודים Q | אשר | om ③ ⑥ | בשושן | om 71 | גם ביום | om ⑥ (exc 93b under \*) | איש — ביום | tr aft דת vs 14, 236 | [לחדש] | עס עס ⑤: om ⑥ (exc ①\* ①<sup>c.a</sup>, 93b under \*) | [אדר] | om ⑤ ①\* | [בשושן] | om ⑥ (exc ①<sup>c.a</sup> mg, 93b under \*): + οι Ιουδαιοι ①<sup>c.a</sup> mg, 93b under ÷ | [ידם — ובבזה] | και ουδεν (ουθεν A) διηρπασαν ⑥: και ουθεν διηρπασεν 93b under ÷: + και ουκ εξετειναν τας χειρας αυτων εις διαρπαγην 93b under \*

16 om ① | [ומאביהם — ושאר] | om L | [שאר] | om ③ | אשר | [במדינות] | om 44, 106: οι εν τη βασιλεια ⑥: παν εν τη βασιλεια 248 | [במדינות] | [בבל] | 15 codd K R, ③ | [המלך] | om ⑥: Αρταξερξον 71, 74, 76, 236 | [נקהל] | om ③ | [ועמד] | και εαντοις εβοηθουν | [על נפשם] | om ⑥ (exc ①<sup>c.a</sup>, 93b under \*) | [ונוה] | [והקם] conj G: [והקם] or [קום] conj Buhl | [והרוג] | ⑤: ⑤: απωλεσαν γαρ ⑥: και απωλεσαν L | [בשניהם] | ⑤ for ב ⑤: αυτων ⑥: δυνατων ①\*: om L | [המשה ושבעים אלם] | μυριους πεντακισχιλιους ⑥: μυριαδας επτα και εκατον ανδρας L | [ידם — ובבזה] | και ουδεν διηρπασαν (①<sup>c.a</sup> mg, 93b under \* = ①): om L A

17-19 om L ① | [ביום — ביום] | om 71 | [ביום] | om ⑤ ⑥ | שלושה | [שלושה] | ⑤ ⑥ | [ביום] | [ביום] | om ⑤ | [אדר] | + primus apud omnes interfectionis fuit ③: om ①\* | [ונוה] | ⑤: om A | [בו] | ⑤: om A | [עס עס] | ⑤: ⑤: του αυτου μηνος ⑤: [ועשה] | [ועשו] Q in some codd G, ③ ⑤ ⑥ | [אתו] | + esse solemnem ut in eo omni tempore deinceps vacarent epulis ③ | [משחה] | αναπανσεως μετα χαρας ⑥: αναπανσεως 71 | [ושמחה] | om 71

18 om K 76, 107, 111, § L ① 106 | [והיהודיים] | [והיהודים] Q: hi ③ | [נקהל] | + τη πολει ⑥ (exc ①\*): + urbe caedem exercuerant ③ | [בשושן] | in caede versati sunt ③ | [בשלושה עשר בו] | om ⑥ (exc ①<sup>c.a</sup> mg, 93b under \*): + μηνος Αδαρ 93b under ÷ | [ובארבעה — end of vs] | om 71 | [בו] | om ⑥ (exc ①<sup>c.a</sup> mg, 93b under \*): του Αδαρ 74, 76 | [ונוה] | και ουκ ανεπανσαντο B 55, 74, 76: ανεπανσαντο ①<sup>c.b</sup> A N 93b C: και ανεπανσαντο other codd | [בו] | om ⑥ | [ועשו] | K 176, Q: et idcirco constituerunt ③: γγον δε ⑥ | [אתו] | om ⑥: + solemnem ③ | [משחה] | μετα χαρας ⑥

19 om L ① | [על כן] | hi vero ③ | [הפזים] | [הפרוזים] Q: om ③ | [עס עס] | ⑤: om ⑥ (exc ①<sup>c.a</sup>, 93b under \*) | [בשרי הפרוזות] | in oppidis non muratis ac villis ③: εν παση χωρα τη εξω ⑥ | [את יום] | ⑤: om ⑥ (exc 93b under \*) | [לחדש] | om ⑤ ⑥ (exc 93b under \*) | [ומשלח] | some codd N<sup>1</sup> | [לרעהו] | + οι δε κατοικουτες εν ταις μητροπολεσιν και την πεντεκαideκατην του Αδαρ (+ ημεραν ① A) ευφροσυνην (-ης ① A) αγαθην αγονσιν εξαποστελλον-τες μεριδας και τοις πλησιον B ① A N 52, 55, 64, 74, 76, 108a, 236, 248, C, Ald (with slight variations in the different codd)



[וישלה ספרים] את כל הדברים [את הדברים] K 244, R 486, 3 | *et litteris comprehensa misit* 3: *eis βιβλιον και εξαπεστειλε(ν)* L 3 L | כל | om 3 3 L L | בכל | om כל 3 L L | [בדינות המלך] *τη βασιλεια* 3 L L | [אחשורוש] om 3: *Αρταξερξου* 3 L: *Ξερξου* 19, 108b

21 [עליהם] om 3 L: *pro festis* 3 + *solemni honore* 3: + *τας ημερας ταντας αγαθας* 3: + *τας ημερας ταντας εις υμνους και ευφροσυνας αντι οδυνων και πενθους* L | [להיות עשים] om L | את יום | om L 3 L 3 (exc 93b under \*): ס 3 | [לחדש] om 3 L 3 L 3 (exc 3<sup>c.a.mg</sup>, 93b under \*) | [אדר] om 3 A L: του Αγαρ 3 \* | [יום] om 3 L 3 L 3 (exc 93b under \*) | [המנשה עשר] 3 3 3 3 | [מן עמל] om 3 L: [מן עמל] om 3 L: *3: revertente semper anno* 3

22 [וישמהה — כימים] om L | כימים K 158, R 378, 11: *εν γαρ ταυταις ταις ημεραις* 3: *in diebus* 3 | אשר | om 3 (exc 3<sup>c.a</sup> A) | [נחר] *erraverunt* 3 | בהם | om 3 (exc 3<sup>c.a.mg</sup>, 93b under \*): *et servati sunt* 3 | [נחפך] om 3 | אשר | om 3 | *secundum mensem* 3 | [החדש] om 3 | *scriptus est* 3: *εγραφη* 3 A | להם | om 3: + *ος ην Αδαρ* 3 (93b under +, A om) | [מינון — טוב] om 3 93b | טוב — ומאבל | om 106, 249 | אותם | *ολον αγαθας* 3: *αυτας* A: *ολας αγαθας* 44, 106: *ο λαος αγαθας* 76: *ολον εις αγαθας* 68, 243, C, Ald | [שמהה] om 106 | [שמהה] *γαμων* 3 L | [שמהה] om 106 | [ומשלוח] *var: εξαποστελλοντας* 3: *και απεστειλε* L: *mittere* 3 | [מנות] *dona et partes* 3 | איש | *sacerdotibus* 3: om L | [לרעהו] *τοις φιλοις* 3: *et amicis* 3: om L | [ומתנות] om L 3 L 3 (exc 93b under \*) | [לאבינים] + *et orphanis et viduis* 3

23 [והיהודים] + [וקבלו וקבלו] 29 codd K R, 3<sup>1</sup> 3<sup>2</sup> 3 3 3 L | [לעשות — את] om L 3 (exc 93b under \*): *et posuerunt in commemoratione* 3 | ואת — end of vs 25 om L | [בירחי] om 3 | עליהם | אליהם 19 codd K, 26 codd R: om K 236, 3

24 om L 3 | [כי] *πως* 3: *οπως* 3 A: *περι* 44, 106: 3 | [המדתא] 3 | *Αμαδαθον* 3: *Αμαθαδον* 3\*: *Αμαθαδον* A: + *ο Εβουναγιο* 3<sup>c.a.mg</sup>: 3<sup>av</sup>: 3<sup>l</sup>: om 44, 71, 106 | [האמני] 3: (o) *Μακεδων* 3: *Γωγαιος* 93b: om 44, 71, 108a | [ציר כל היהודים] om 3 | [ציר] + *et adversarius* 3 | כל | om K 95, 170, R 266, 547, 3 | [השב] *επολεμει* 3: *ος επολεμει* 44, 106: *πολεμει* 108a | [על היהודים] *αυτους* 3: *αυτοις* 74, 76, 249, Ald: *τους Ιουδαιους* A 93b: + *malum* 3 | [לאברים] om 3 | [והפיל והפיל] N<sup>1</sup> C: *καθως εθετο* 3: *και ως εθετο* 3<sup>c.a</sup> A 93b | [והפיל] — vs 25 ראשו | om 106 | [פור] *phur* 3: 3: 3: *ψηφισμα* 3: om 71 | [הוא הנורל] *quod nostra lingua vertitur in sortem* 3: *και κληρον* 3: *και εβαλε(ν) φουρ ο εστιν κληρος* 3<sup>c.a</sup>, 93b under \* | [להנים] om 3 | [ולאבדם] om 3 3

25 om L 3 | [ובבאהה — הספר] om 71 | [ובבאהה] so Oc: *ובבאהה* (Raphé) Or (Ginsburg): *et postea ingressa est Esther* 3: 3: 3: *και ως εισηλθεν* 3 | [המלך] + *obsecrans ut conatus ejus* 3 | עם | [הספר] *litteris regis irriti fierent* 3: 3: 3: *λεγων κρεμασαι τον*



32 om L 71, 106 | [יְהוֹמָמָה] και λογω: λογω N\* A: qui vocatur I | קים + קים [הַאֵלֶּה] §: et omnia quae libri hujus I: εστησεν (+ αυτα 74. 76) εις τον αιωνα G [וְהִיסְטוֹרִיָּה] historia continentur I: και εγραφη εις μνημοσυνον G: + literal version of vs 30 אֵמֶת to end of vs 32, 93b under \*

X, 1 om **י** | **ורשם** | **εγραψεν δε** **Θ**: **εγραψεν γαρ** **A**: και **εγραψεν** **L**: **fecit** **Ɔ** | **ורשם** | so **Oc**: **אשר יורש** **Q** **Oc**: **אשר יורש** **Kēthibh** **Or** **N<sup>1</sup> S C**: om **Θ L** (exc **N<sup>c</sup>** a mg inf, 93b under \*) | **בם** | **tributarias** **Ɔ**: **τελη** **Ⲗ A** 93b (under \*): **τα τελη** **L**: om **Θ** | **על** | **omnem** **Ɔ**: + **כל** **Σ**: **επι την βασιλειαν** (under **επι την βασιλειαν** under + 93b): **επι την βασιλειαν** **αυτου** **44**: om **L** | **אין** | + **cunctas** **Ɔ**: om **Ⲗ** **Θ L**

3 [הַיְהוּדִי] om G L 11 (exc N<sup>c. a mg</sup>, 93b under \*) | [מִשְׁנֶה] + | om S: διεδεχετο G L: *suscipiebat* 11 | [לְבִיךָ] τον βασιλευ G L | [אֶתְהוֹרֹשׁ] Αρταξερξην G: Ξερξην L: + *in die illa* 11 | [וַיְהוּדִי] + | om S: + ην G L L | [לְהַיְהוּדִים] εν τη βασιλεια G L 11: 𐤀 for 𐤁 S | [אֶתְהוֹרֹשׁ — אֶתְהוֹרֹשׁ] om S | [וַיְהוּדִי] και δεδοξασμενος G: και φιλονυμενος L: *et magnificatus* 11 | [אֶתְהוֹרֹשׁ] υπο των Ιουδαιων (Βασιλεων 71) και φιλονυμενος G (om και φιλ. 44, 106, 249): υπο παντων των Ιουδαιων L: *a Judeais et ex ducatu* 11 | [דָּרֶשׁ] (δι)ηγειτο G: και ηγετο L: *praeerat* 11 | [טָרַב] την αγωγην G: om L 11 | [לְעַמּוֹ — שְׁלֹחַם] om G L: αυτων και δοξαν περιετθει L | [וַיְהוּדִי] τω εθνη αυτου G L 11: + the following passage (F: 1–11) in G L 11 (93b under +):

## ADDITION F

- 1 <sup>1</sup>Καὶ εἶπεν<sup>a</sup> Μαρδοχαῖος<sup>b</sup> Παρὰ τοῦ<sup>c</sup> θεοῦ<sup>d</sup> ἐγένετο ταῦτα.  
2 <sup>2</sup>ἐμνήσθη<sup>a</sup> γὰρ<sup>b</sup> περὶ<sup>c</sup> τοῦ ἐνυπνίου<sup>d</sup> οὗ εἶδον<sup>e</sup> περὶ<sup>f</sup> τῶν λόγων τού-  
3 των<sup>g</sup> οὐδὲ<sup>h</sup> γὰρ<sup>i</sup> παρήλθεν<sup>j</sup> ἀπ'<sup>k</sup> αὐτῶν<sup>l</sup> λόγος.<sup>m</sup> <sup>3</sup>ἡ μικρά<sup>a</sup> πηγὴ  
<sup>4</sup>ἡ<sup>b</sup> ἐγένετο ποταμός, καὶ ἦν φῶς καὶ ἥλιος καὶ ὕδωρ πολὺ.<sup>c</sup> Ἐσθήρ  
<sup>5</sup>ἐστίν<sup>d</sup> ὁ<sup>e</sup> ποταμός, ἦν ἐγάμησεν<sup>f</sup> ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ<sup>g</sup> ἐποίησεν<sup>h</sup> βασι-  
<sup>6</sup>λισσαν.<sup>i</sup> <sup>4</sup>οἱ<sup>a</sup> δὲ<sup>b</sup> δύο<sup>c</sup> δράκοντες, ἐγὼ εἰμι<sup>d</sup> καὶ Ἀμάν.<sup>e</sup> <sup>5</sup>τὰ<sup>a</sup> δὲ<sup>b</sup>  
<sup>7</sup>ἔθνη, τὰ ἐπισυναχθέντα<sup>c</sup> ἀπολέσαι τὸ<sup>d</sup> ὄνομα<sup>e</sup> τῶν<sup>f</sup> Ἰουδαίων.<sup>g</sup> <sup>6</sup>τὸ<sup>a</sup>  
<sup>8</sup>δὲ ἔθνος τὸ ἐμόν, οὗτός ἐστιν<sup>b</sup> Ἰσραὴλ οἱ βοήσαντες πρὸς τὸν θεὸν  
<sup>9</sup>καὶ σωθέντες.<sup>c</sup> καὶ<sup>d</sup> ἔσωσεν Κύριος<sup>e</sup> τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐρρύσατο<sup>f</sup>  
<sup>10</sup>Κύριος<sup>g</sup> ἡμᾶς<sup>h</sup> ἐκ πάντων τῶν κακῶν τούτων.<sup>i</sup> καὶ<sup>j</sup> ἐποίησεν<sup>k</sup> ὁ θεὸς  
<sup>11</sup>τὰ σημεῖα καὶ<sup>l</sup> τὰ<sup>m</sup> τέρατα<sup>n</sup> τὰ<sup>o</sup> μεγάλα<sup>p</sup> αἱ<sup>q</sup> οὐ γέγονεν ἐν<sup>r</sup> τοῖς  
<sup>12</sup>ἔθνεσιν.<sup>s</sup> <sup>7</sup>διὰ<sup>a</sup> τοῦτο<sup>b</sup> ἐποίησεν<sup>c</sup> κλήρους δύο, ἕνα<sup>d</sup> τῷ λαῷ<sup>e</sup> τοῦ<sup>f</sup>  
<sup>13</sup>θεοῦ<sup>g</sup> καὶ ἕνα πᾶσι<sup>h</sup> τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.<sup>i</sup> <sup>8</sup>καὶ<sup>a</sup> ἦλθον<sup>b</sup> οἱ δύο κλήροι οὗτοι<sup>c</sup>  
<sup>14</sup>εἰς ὥραν<sup>d</sup> καὶ<sup>e</sup> καιρὸν<sup>f</sup> καὶ εἰς<sup>g</sup> ἡμέραν<sup>h</sup> κρίσεως<sup>i</sup> ἐνώπιον<sup>j</sup> τοῦ θεοῦ<sup>k</sup>  
<sup>15</sup>καὶ<sup>l</sup> πᾶσι τοῖς<sup>m</sup> ἔθνεσιν.<sup>n</sup> <sup>9</sup>καὶ ἐμνήσθη ὁ<sup>a</sup> θεὸς<sup>b</sup> τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ,<sup>c</sup> καὶ  
<sup>16</sup>ἔδικαίωσεν<sup>d</sup> τὴν κληρονομίαν ἑαυτοῦ.<sup>e</sup> <sup>10</sup>καὶ ἔσονται αὐτοῖς<sup>a</sup> αἱ ἡμέ-  
<sup>17</sup>ραι αὐταὶ ἐν<sup>b</sup> μηνί<sup>c</sup> Ἀδάρ,<sup>d</sup> τῇ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ καὶ<sup>e</sup> τῇ<sup>f</sup> πεντε-  
<sup>18</sup>καίδεκάτῃ<sup>g</sup> τοῦ αὐτοῦ<sup>h</sup> μηνός,<sup>i</sup> μετὰ<sup>j</sup> συναγωγῆς<sup>k</sup> καὶ χαρᾶς καὶ<sup>l</sup>  
<sup>19</sup>εὐφροσύνης ἐνώπιον<sup>m</sup> τοῦ θεοῦ<sup>n</sup> κατὰ γενεὰς<sup>o</sup> εἰς<sup>p</sup> τὸν<sup>q</sup> αἰῶνα<sup>r</sup> ἐν τῷ  
<sup>20</sup>λαῷ αὐτοῦ<sup>s</sup> Ἰσραὴλ.<sup>t</sup>

F: 1 <sup>a</sup>ειπε L | <sup>b</sup>+ ad omnes <sup>2</sup>L | <sup>c</sup>-d κυριου 44, 71, 74, 76, 106

2 <sup>a</sup>εμνήσθη L 68 | <sup>b</sup>om <sup>3</sup>Σ? A 44, 93b, 106: + *Mardochaeus* <sup>4</sup>L | <sup>c</sup>om L | <sup>d</sup>+ sui <sup>5</sup>L | <sup>e</sup>ειδεν L | <sup>f</sup>-g om L: περι τον λογον τουτον 52 | <sup>h</sup>-j και αποτελεσθη L | <sup>h</sup>-i ου γαρ <sup>6</sup>Σ: ουδεν A: ου τε γαρ 249 | <sup>k</sup>-m om L | <sup>h</sup>om A | <sup>l</sup>αυτον 44 | <sup>m</sup>+ και ειπεν L

3 <sup>a</sup>+ η 108a | <sup>b</sup>om 44, 52, 55, 71, 74, 106, 236, C | <sup>b</sup>-c om L <sup>2</sup>L | <sup>d</sup>ην 44, 93b | <sup>e</sup>-i om L <sup>2</sup>L | <sup>f</sup>εγγμεν 71: εποιησεν 106 <sup>g</sup>-h om 106

4 <sup>a</sup>-h και οι L, <sup>b</sup>om 106, <sup>c</sup>om A | <sup>d</sup>ημην <sup>3</sup>Σ\*: εμην 93a | <sup>e</sup>Αμμαν 19: Αμα 93a

5 <sup>a</sup>-b ποταμος τα L: *flumini autem* <sup>2</sup>L | <sup>b</sup>om 93b | <sup>c</sup>συναχθεντα L | <sup>d</sup>-o om L: το γενος 44, 106 <sup>f</sup>τους L | <sup>g</sup>Ιουδαιους L

6 <sup>a</sup>-c ἥλιος και φως οι εγενοντο τοις Ιουδαιοις επιφανεια του θεου. τουτο το κριμα L: *soli et luna erant Iudaei. hoc iudicium* <sup>2</sup>L | <sup>b</sup>+ o A 52, 64, 68, 248, C, Ald | <sup>d</sup>-i om L <sup>2</sup>L | <sup>e</sup>om A | <sup>f</sup>ερυσατο <sup>3</sup>Σ A 52 | <sup>g</sup>om <sup>4</sup>Σ c. a A 44, 71, 74, 76, 93b, 106, 236 | <sup>h</sup>om N | <sup>i</sup>om <sup>2</sup>L | <sup>k</sup>+ κυριος N | <sup>l</sup>-n om 106 | <sup>m</sup>om 68 | <sup>o</sup>-p ταυτα L <sup>2</sup>L: + ταυτα N | <sup>q</sup>om <sup>2</sup>L | <sup>r</sup>om 93b, 108a

7 <sup>a</sup>-i om A 19, 71, 236 | <sup>a</sup>-b και L <sup>2</sup>L | <sup>c</sup>+ κυριος 52 | <sup>d</sup>+ εν 52 | <sup>d</sup>-g ενα τω θεω του λαου <sup>6</sup>Σ | <sup>e</sup>-f om 93b | <sup>f</sup>-g om <sup>2</sup>L, <sup>g</sup>θεω 93b | <sup>h</sup>om L <sup>2</sup>L, <sup>h</sup>-i τοις εθνεσι πασι 249 | <sup>i</sup>genti <sup>2</sup>L

8 <sup>a</sup>-n om B\* 71, 236 | <sup>b</sup>προσηλθον L: *accesserunt* <sup>2</sup>L | <sup>c</sup>αντοι <sup>3</sup>Σ: om A | <sup>d</sup>ωρας L | <sup>e</sup>κατα L: *secundum* <sup>2</sup>L | <sup>f</sup>κληρον B ab <sup>3</sup>Σ A, 93b, 108a | <sup>g</sup>om L 44, 106 C <sup>2</sup>L | <sup>h</sup>ημερας L | <sup>i</sup>κυριενσεως L | <sup>j</sup>-k του αιωνιου L | <sup>l</sup>εν L <sup>2</sup>L 52, 68, 243, 249, C, Ald: + εν <sup>3</sup>Σ c. a 45, 55, 71, 74, 76, 106, 108a | <sup>m</sup>om A

9 <sup>a</sup>-b om <sup>2</sup>L: ο κυριος A: κυριος 249 | <sup>c</sup>om 93a | <sup>d</sup>servavit <sup>2</sup>L | <sup>e</sup>αυτον <sup>3</sup>Σ A L and many codd: + και πας ο λαος ανεβησε φωνη μεγαλη και ειπεν Ευλογητος ει κυριε ο μνησθεις των διαθηκων των προς τους πατερας ημων· αμην L

10 <sup>a</sup>ην <sup>2</sup>L | <sup>b</sup>-o μην 106: om 71 | <sup>d</sup>Αδερ 71: + εν L | <sup>e</sup>-i om <sup>2</sup>L | <sup>e</sup>-g om <sup>3</sup>Σ\* A\* 248, C | <sup>f</sup>om N | <sup>h</sup>om many codd, <sup>i</sup>om 44, 103 | <sup>j</sup>-k *die synagogae* <sup>2</sup>L | <sup>j</sup>+ της 93a, 108b | <sup>l</sup>μετ 52, 64, 68, 243, Ald | <sup>m</sup>-n om <sup>2</sup>L | <sup>o</sup>γενεαν A: γενεαις 19: *progenie vestra* <sup>2</sup>L | <sup>p</sup>-r om <sup>2</sup>L | <sup>q</sup>om 93a | <sup>s</sup>om <sup>2</sup>L, <sup>t</sup>om 52, 64, 68, 243, C, Ald: + αμην 93a

- 11 <sup>11</sup>Ἐτους τετάρτου βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας<sup>a</sup> εἰσήνεγκεν Δοσίθεος,<sup>b</sup> ὃς<sup>c</sup> ἔφη εἶναι ἱερεὺς καὶ Λευεΐτης,<sup>d</sup> καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ<sup>e</sup> υἱὸς<sup>f</sup> αὐτοῦ τὴν προκειμένην<sup>g</sup> ἐπιστολὴν τῶν Φρουραί,<sup>h</sup> ἣν ἔφασαν<sup>i</sup> εἶναι καὶ ἑρμηνευκέναι<sup>j</sup> Λυσίμαχον<sup>k</sup> Πτολεμαίου<sup>l</sup> τῶν<sup>m</sup> ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ.<sup>n</sup>

11 om L (excl 19) **℣** | <sup>a</sup> Κλαιοπάτρας A | <sup>b</sup> Δωσιθεος B\*: Δωσειθεος **Σ**: Δοσιθε 19 | <sup>c</sup> om **Σ**\*: + ἦν ως 249 | <sup>d</sup> Λευίτης **Σ** A | <sup>e</sup> om A | <sup>f</sup> οὗτος 55 | <sup>g</sup> προειρημένην 71, 106 | <sup>h</sup> Φρουραία **Σ**\* A: Φρουριμ **Σ** c. a: Φρουρε 52: Φουριμ C: Φρουραί 19 | <sup>i</sup> ἔφρασαν N: ἐφθασαν 71, 106 | <sup>j</sup> ἡρμηνευκέναι A, many codd | <sup>k</sup> Σημαχον 44: Δυσιμαχον 55: Λυσιμαχον 93b: Λυσημαχον 106: Λισιμαχον C + τον 44, 71, 74, 76, 106 | <sup>l</sup> Πτολεμαιον 44, 106 | <sup>m</sup> τον many codd: ου των 93b | <sup>n</sup> Ισραηλ 74: + Subscr Εσθη B **Σ** A: + αντεβληθη προς παλαιωτατον λιαν αντιγραφον δεδιорθωμενον χειρι του αγιου μαρτυρος Παμφιλου· προς δε τω τελει του αυτου παλαιωτατου βιβλιου οπερ αρχην μεν ειχεν απο της πρωτης των βασιλειων· εις δε την Εσθηρ εληγεν· τοιαυτη τις εν πλατει ιδιοχειρος υποσημειωσις του αυτου μαρτυρος υπεκ- ειτο εχουσα ουτως· μετελημφθη και διορθωθη προς τα εξαπλα Ωριγενους υπ αυτου διορθωμενα· Αντωνι- νος ομολογητης αντεβαλῆ· Παμφιλος διορθωσατῶ τευχος εν τη φυλακη δια την του θῦ πολλῇ και χαριν και πλατυσμῶ και ει γε μη βαρυ ειπει τουτω τω αντιγραφῶ παραπλησιον ευρειν αντιγραφον ου ραδιον, διεφωνη δε το αυτο παλαιωτατον βιβλιῶ προς τοδε το τευχος εις τα (corr τινα) κυρια ονοματα **Σ** c. a, c, b mg inf





APPARATUS FOR THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM  
OF CHRONICLES-EZRA-NEHEMIAH

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CHARLES CUTLER TORREY



## THE APPARATUS FOR THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF CHRONICLES-EZRA-NEHEMIAH

CHARLES CUTLER TORREY

I did not at first intend to devote a separate article to this subject, as I did not wish to take the time and space which would be necessary. But in the process of editing and annotating the portions of the text which are to follow, it became evident that some extended justification of my critical procedure would be indispensable. The original plan of setting forth the most necessary facts in an introductory page or two, to be supplemented by subsequent footnotes, might have left room for the suspicion of arbitrary or hasty methods. Other considerations, moreover, seem to make it especially desirable that I should give here some clear account, however brief and imperfect, of those parts of the apparatus regarding which I feel able to speak with confidence. The chief of these considerations are the following: (1) No critical use has ever been made of the versions of these books, nor even of any one Greek version or recension.<sup>1</sup> (2) No attempt has been made to determine or state the principles of such critical use. (3) The conclusions which I have already reached and stated<sup>2</sup> in regard to some of the versions and recensions of the Ezra history are so revolutionary as to need all the added corroboration of this nature that can be given them.

<sup>1</sup> I do not wish to seem to deal unfairly with those recent publications in which some attempt has been made to emend the massoretic text of the one or the other of these books: Kittel's *Books of Chronicles*, 1895; Guthe-Batten's *Ezra and Nehemiah*, 1901; these being the reconstructed Hebrew-Aramaic text of the *Polychrome Bible*; also Benzinger's *Bücher der Chronik*, 1901; Kittel's *Bücher der Chronik*, 1902; Siegfried's *Esra, Nehemia und Esther*, 1901; Bertholet's *Esra und Nehemia*, 1902; and Marti's edition of the Aramaic portions of Ezra in his *Grammatik der biblisch-aramäischen Sprache*, 1896. But in the following pages sufficient evidence will be given to justify fully the assertion that no one of these attempts, so far as its treatment of text and versions is concerned, deserves to be called "critical." In all of these cases the procedure is without any fixed principles, or any preliminary study of either text or versions with a view to ascertaining their character. Moreover, no one of these scholars shows any approach to thoroughness in his employment of the materials which he actually attempts to use. If in any instance the criticism of the text went so far as to include the careful taking of the testimony of even codex B (ordinarily called "the Septuagint") throughout the whole extent of the book or passage treated, the evidence of this fact at least does not appear, while numerous indications seem to show the contrary.

<sup>2</sup> *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Vol. XXIII; cited in the sequel as *AJSL*.

(4) Many other facts, hitherto unobserved, regarding manuscripts and versions and their characteristics and mutual relations are so important as to deserve some treatment here, at least in outline. In particular, the proof of the very momentous fact that Theodotion was the author of our "canonical" Greek version of Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. ought at last to be rendered.<sup>3</sup>

#### I. NATURE OF THE TEXT-CRITICAL PROBLEM

In our Hebrew-Aramaic tradition of the Chronicler's history, we have a text which is neither one of the well-preserved of those which constitute the Old Testament, nor yet among the very worst. The many lists of names have been carelessly handled, and are in correspondingly bad condition. The narrative portions read smoothly on the whole—smoothly, that is, when their authorship is taken into account—but nevertheless give plain evidence of being corrupt in many places. The trouble lies not merely in single words and phrases, but also in the apparent misplacement of a few long passages, one of which consists of several chapters. There is ground for the suspicion, moreover, that one or more passages of importance have been lost from our massoretic recension. There is good evidence of a gap after Ezra 1:11; something is plainly missing between 6:5 and 6:6; while the presence of the Story of the Youths in I Esdras suggests its own important problems.

When we come to the testimony of the Greek versions, we are confronted with two somewhat widely differing forms of the history. One of them agrees quite closely with MT, and has the same extent and arrangement; the other—obviously a mere fragment—begins near the end of Chronicles and extends not quite through the story of Ezra. During the part of the history covered by the two in common, the difference between them lies in (1) the words

<sup>3</sup> The following discussion of the critical apparatus is only fragmentary, leaving a good many highly important matters either half treated or not touched upon at all. It contains the things in which I have happened to be especially interested, being in the main based upon collations made and facts observed by me twelve years ago, in the course of my study of the literary and historical problems of Ezra-Neh.; and the conclusions are the same, with some slight modification, as those which I then reached. But though the discussion is incomplete, I believe that it will at least lay a sure foundation for further investigation.

and phrases of the narrative, the divergence here (i. e., in the Greek) being very great; (2) the position of extended passages; (3) material of very considerable amount found in the one recension but not in the other. We have in the Greek, moreover, clear testimony to two differing Semitic texts, the difference being such as to suggest either a long history of transmission along independent lines, or else an unusual amount of freedom in the handling of the texts. Of course, both of these causes might have been operative. And finally, each one of the two main forms of the narrative, the "canonical" and the "apocryphal," has come down to us in a double Greek tradition, the one embodied in Lagarde's edition,<sup>4</sup> and the other contained in the most of the existing manuscripts, including the codices (A, B, **Σ**) used in Swete's *Old Testament in Greek*. That is, for a portion of the Chronicler's history amounting to about thirteen chapters, we have at every point to compare four Greek texts.

Of other versions, aside from the Latin of Jerome, which was made from our Hebrew-Aramaic recension, we have to take into account three renderings of the I Esdras Greek, namely, the Syriac (the work of Paul of Tellā), the Ethiopic, and the old Latin. The Syriac and Arabic versions of the canonical Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. have long been known to be late and well-nigh worthless—the Arabic absolutely so—and any attempt to make a critical use or "investigation" of them is a waste of time.

It is evident from this statement of the case that the solution of the textual problem is to be gained chiefly from an examination of the Greek recensions. We need to know the relative age—and, if possible, the actual age—of the two (or more) Greek translations; the principles according to which they were made, and the extent to which they can be trusted; their mutual relations; the character and quality of the Semitic text which lies behind the Greek I Esdras. And it is obviously very important (as it is everywhere else in the Old Testament) to inquire minutely into the history of the transmission of the text, finding out how

<sup>4</sup> *Librorum Veteris Testamenti canonicorum pars prior graece*, Gottingae, 1883.

and to what extent the original readings have been accidentally or deliberately changed, and distinguishing carefully the divergent lines of tradition which can be recognized. What is the real significance, for textual criticism, of the two recensions which are contained, respectively, in the editions of Swete and Lagarde? What manuscripts, or families of manuscripts, are especially noteworthy? We have one absolutely sure witness to the "Septuagint" text of Origen, in the Syro-Hexaplar version of I Esdras and a part of Nehemiah; which of our Greek MSS stand nearest to this version? In a word: On what principles shall one proceed who wishes to study critically the Hebrew-Aramaic text of these books with the aid of this unusually complicated and unusually interesting apparatus?

These are all questions which must be answered before any satisfactory criticism of the text of any part of Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. can be undertaken. Up to the present time, the most of these questions have not even been raised, and not one of them has been answered with any approach to correctness. An unscholarly use of "the LXX" has been, more than any other one thing, the bane of modern Old Testament study; and if there is any portion of the Old Testament in which the consequences have been especially mischievous, that portion is Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. Those who have attempted to emend the Semitic text of these books by the aid of the Greek have been wont to take at random any seemingly useful "reading" of the nearest available text of the canonical Greek, or of I Esdras, choosing in each case either codex B (one of the worst possible MSS, as it happens) or "Lucian," as the need of the occasion may decide, treating all alike, and usually without making any attempt to criticize the Greek itself, or to go behind the text-reading of the edition which happens to be used. Few of those who have dealt at length with Chron., Ezra-Neh., or I Esdras, have attempted to state what conclusions, if any, they have reached in regard to text and versions. A. Klostermann's article "Ezra und Nehemia," in Hauck's *Realencyclopädie*<sup>3</sup>, has an account of the several versions of these two "books" which contains a good many acute observations as to details, but does not give much help in matters which are of primary importance. It is remark-



able, moreover, that in his whole discussion he should make no mention at all of the I Esdras version. Even a brief examination of this "apocryphon" might have shown him its fundamental significance.

An introductory word in regard to the *Hexapla*. I have already (*AJSL*, pp. 65-68) touched upon the status of the Chron.-Ezr. books in Origen's great work, and the apparent lack of Hexaplaric material in the MSS which are now known. As for Origen's fifth column, containing his "LXX" text, I shall show in the sequel that we have extremely good information in regard to it. Concerning the other Hexaplaric versions of these books next to nothing has hitherto been known. Field's *Hexapla* has the appearance of containing some material here, but really gives hardly anything more than a collation of L with the received text. Whether the *plus* of L is Hexaplar, or not, there is nothing to show. Of specific ascriptions there are surprisingly few, and these are confined to the books of Chronicles. Supposed readings of Aquila are noted in I Chron. 15:27; 25:1, 3; 29:25. Marked with the Σ of Symmachus are readings found in I Chron. 5:26; 9:1; 11:5; 15:27; 21:10; 25:1, 3; II Chron. 12:7; 19:11; 23:13; 26:5; 30:5; 32:5; 33:3; 34:22.

The absence of any readings from Theodotion, ordinarily a favorite among the secondary translators and a frequent source of variant Greek readings, is very noticeable. This fact, of itself, might well have suggested to students, long ago, the probability that Theodotion himself was the author of our standard version of Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. As I have previously remarked (*AJSL*, p. 71, note), no sure trace of the work of Aquila or Symmachus in the book of Ezra-Nehemiah has heretofore been found. I believe that the hand of each of these two translators can be recognized in one or two places, at least, and have no doubt that a careful search would reveal other instances. In all probability, the "Aquila" and "Symmachus" columns of the *Hexapla* were both duly filled, in the canonical Chron.-Ezr.-Neh., the "Theodotion" column alone being vacant. In I Esdras, on the other hand, the "LXX" column alone was filled, all the others remaining unoccupied.

## II. THEODOTIION THE AUTHOR OF OUR "CANONICAL" GREEK VERSION OF CHRONICLES-EZRA-NEHEMIAH

I have more than once stated my own conviction that the translation of the Chronicler's history which now stands in our Greek Bible was the work of Theodotion.<sup>5</sup> Others who have held and expressed this view are Grotius (1644), Whiston (1722), Pohlmann (1859), and most recently, Sir Henry Howorth; see *AJSL*, p. 121. No one of these scholars, however, excepting the first named, has been able to bring forward any direct evidence tending to establish the theory. The manner of the argument has been simply this: 'Our Greek version of the Chronicler's history bears the marks of a late origin, especially when compared with the version preserved in "First Esdras." Theodotion's version of Daniel supplanted the older translation, in the Greek Bible; it is therefore a plausible supposition that it was Theodotion who made the later translation of the Chronicler's books.' Grotius, in his annotations to the Old Testament, pointed out an interesting bit of evidence, though in such a way as to leave some doubt as to the conclusion to be drawn from it. In a note on II Chron. 35:6, he says that our Greek version of Chronicles is that of Theodotion, while the two chapters (35 and 36) of II Chron. with which I Esdras begins are "from the Septuagint." He also adds: "*Theodotionis autem interpretationem in Paralipomenis et aliis quibusdam libris recepit Graeca Ecclesia.*" He expresses himself cautiously in this passage, saying nothing either in regard to the remainder of I Esdras or to the canonical Ezr.-Neh., for the obvious reason that the bit of proof which he happens to be using here, namely the rendering of the Hebrew word פֶּסַח, would be a conspicuous failure in Ezra 6:19 ff. (= I Esdr. 7:10 ff.). "Theodotion," he has just observed, very acutely, "semper vertit φασεκ, non ut alii interpretes πάσχα."<sup>6</sup> The pos-

<sup>5</sup> *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, London, 1903, pp. 139 f.; *AJSL*, pp. 67 f.

<sup>6</sup> The assertion is a little too sweeping, for some of the "other translators" rendered the Hebrew word in still other ways, though Grotius may not have been aware of the fact. And indeed, from the citations given in Field's *Hexapla* it might seem that the transliteration φασεκ, outside the books of Chronicles, is not the property of Theodotion. It is not only lacking in Field's list (pp. xl f.) of the Theodotion transliterations, but is even attributed to Symmachus in the three passages where its occurrence is noted by him,

sible value of this observation is apparent when we notice that the form *φασεκ* (or rather *φασεχ*) occurs eighteen times in the book of Chronicles, but nowhere else in our Greek Old Testament. As for the one passage in *Ezr.-Neh.* in which the passover is mentioned, namely *Ezr.* 6:19-21, it is of course easy to suppose that the long familiar word *πάσχα* was substituted at an early date; there were many such substitutions in the early history of the Greek Bible.

The problem of identifying a given translation as the work of Theodotion is in some respects a peculiar one. Whoever makes the search for this translator's own work, with the purpose of setting apart everything that could be called characteristic of him, will probably be surprised to find how little in extent the material really is. We have, it is true, "Theodotion's version" of the whole book of Daniel; but this is in reality merely a revision of the old Greek translation, whose renderings and constructions are generally retained, the alteration consisting mainly in such cutting, shaping, and supplementing as to make it fit closely the later traditional Hebrew text. In the case of the extensive fragments of Theodotion's version of Jeremiah which have been preserved (see Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, pp. 44-46) it is not known whether the work is

namely *Ex.* 12:11, 27; *Num.* 9:2. But whoever examines carefully the material collected in Field's footnotes in these three places will ascertain the following facts: (1) According to the *Syr.-Hex.* (by far the most trustworthy witness of those cited) the word *ΠΟΨ*, in *Ex.* 12:27, was rendered by "the LXX" *πάσχα*; by Aquila *ὑπέρβασις*; by Symmachus *ΠΟΨ* *πάσχα* (not *φασεχ*, as Field gives!), the difference from LXX being in the other words of the clause; and by Theodotion "like the LXX." In 12:11 the renderings are the same, except that Symmachus is said to have had *πάσχα* (not "*φασεχ*"!) *ὑπερμάχης*. (2) Theodoret, whom we should suppose to have had good means of information, says that Theodotion's rendering was *φασεχ*. (3) According to notes found in a few codices, in *Ex.* 12:11 and *Num.* 9:2, the transliteration *φασεχ* is attributed to Symmachus, or to "Aquila and Symmachus." Such attributions as these last, coming from unknown hands, are notoriously untrustworthy. The ancient copyists, scribblers, and annotators were as careless as our modern ones, which is saying a great deal. False ascriptions abound, and each one is likely to be copied into several other MSS. Hence most of the evidence of "double versions" of Aquila (Field, pp. xxiv ff.) or Symmachus (pp. xxxvi f.). With regard to the rendering of *ΠΟΨ*, the transliteration is exactly in the manner of Theodotion, and *not at all in the manner of Symmachus*. Indeed, the use of this barbarism by the latter translator would be altogether inexplicable. The fact is probably this: Theodotion's *φασεχ* was replaced at a very early date, in most MSS, by *πάσχα* (cf. the many cases of this kind cited below), and in the Theod. text known to Origen the latter word only was found. The Theodotion version was very well known and much used; then, when the rejected word *φασεχ* survived in a few MSS, it is natural that it should have been attributed by some to the work of Symmachus, the least known and used of the later Hexaplaric versions.

merely a version, or an independent effort. At all events, there is here extremely little that could contribute to any basis of comparison with such a book as the Chronicler's history. The manner of the author, or reviser, in his attempt to hold fast to the Hebrew, is indeed apparent, and it is the same in all three of the versions named: Daniel, Jeremiah, and the Chronicler; but more definite evidence than this is required. The comparison of the diction of our Greek version of Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. with that of Theodotion's part in Daniel reveals a few striking coincidences, which will be noticed below, as well as the obvious general resemblance. In addition to the material already mentioned, we have, for our knowledge of Theodotion's work, only the scattered renderings of his in various parts of the Old Testament which have been preserved in Hexaplar codices. It might therefore seem to be a very difficult matter to collect material sufficiently extensive, and sufficiently characteristic, to serve as a sure basis for comparison. If we were dealing with ordinary translators, this would be true, and a trustworthy conclusion might be despaired of; but fortunately this translator has one peculiarity so pronounced and so well understood that the proof can be rendered complete.

As students of the Hexaplar versions long ago observed, Theodotion's chief characteristic is his tendency to *transliterate* the difficult or doubtful words of his Hebrew text. See especially Field's *Hexapla*, I, xxxix-xlii, and Swete's *Introduction*, p. 46. Because of his extreme caution, he refuses to decide in cases of uncertainty, but simply writes out the troublesome Hebrew word in Greek letters. The extent to which he has done this is very remarkable. Field gives a list (pp. xl f.) of more than ninety words of this kind, collected from the material already known to us as Theodotion's, including the most of the books of the Old Testament. Doubtless this number could be considerably increased, even from the sources which we already have, if we were better able to criticize them; moreover, it may safely be taken for granted that the ancient collectors of Hexaplaric readings generally disregarded such of Theodotion's transliterations as had resulted from an obviously corrupt and easily corrected text. Even in the MSS, indeed, the tendency to get rid of these

unnecessary barbarisms is quite marked; see below. Now, this very same striking peculiarity of transliteration is found in the Greek of Chron.-Ezr.-Neh., from the beginning to the end of the work, and with the examples pretty evenly distributed. The fact has not hitherto been observed, and the number and character of the instances will probably prove a surprise to Old Testament scholars. When the comparison is made with the similar instances collected by Field, it will at once be plain that we are dealing with the same translator. I subjoin a list of the transliterations of this kind which occur in Chron.-Ezr.-Neh., not claiming that it is complete. It will be seen that it includes examples of all the classes of instances found elsewhere in Theodotion. There are the unusual words, such as כְּפֹר *κεφφουρ*, תַּנְוִירִים *θαννουρειμ*; words of ambiguous meaning in their context like הַכֶּפֶר *ακχεχαρ*, שְׂרָשְׁרוֹת *σερσερωθ*; technical terms not capable of exact translation, such as עֲלִיּוֹת *αλημωθ*, בְּתִין *βαθων*. Then there are the many cases where the text had become slightly corrupt. In a considerable number of the examples which follow, the difficulty with the word was due solely to the confusion of ל and י by copyists; thus, γωληλα for לִילָה *גיא לילה*, μεθωεσειμ for בְּתִיחֵשִׁים. In other cases, two of the letters of the Hebrew word had become accidentally transposed; thus αβεδηρειμ for הַדְּבָרִים, μεθαχαβειμ for בְּתַחֲבָאִים, αμασσεινθ for הַשְּׂמִינִית, γαβης for עֲבֹב. In the most of these cases of text-corruption, the true reading was not hard to find, and almost any translator would have made the emendation for himself. It is eminently characteristic of Theodotion and his method that he refused to take any such responsibility. Then, finally, there are the perfectly well-known words, such as αυ, γαι, γαν, μανασ, regarding whose exact meaning or use in certain passages the translator may have been in doubt.<sup>8</sup> Concerning the occasional procedure of Theodotion in such cases, see again Field

<sup>7</sup>Of course, such instances as these and the preceding ones would generally *not* be recorded by the ancient collectors of Hexaplaric readings. The fact that they originated in mere blunders was apparent.

<sup>8</sup>In the case of the transliteration φεα, for פֶּהָה, "governor," it may be that Theodotion evaded the translation because he was not quite satisfied with any of the ordinary readings of the word: στρατηγός, ἑπαρχος, ἄρχων, ἡγεμών; or because he did not wish to take the responsibility of choosing among them. It is perhaps worthy of remark, in this connection, that in the Greek of Hag. 1:1, 14, the word פֶּהָה is not rendered at all.



and Swete, in the places named. One must agree with Field, that there are some instances in which it is impossible for us to find any sufficient excuse for the transliteration.

The following is the list:<sup>9</sup>

1. *αββους* (see no. 37).
2. *αβεδη* Ezr. 2:58. For עֲבָדֵי, "servants." In the phrase עֲבָדֵי שְׁלֹמֹה, the name Solomon was not recognized: *υἱοὶ αβεδη Σελμα*, hence the עֲבָדֵי was cautiously transliterated. It was certainly not thought of as forming part of a proper name. (L has *υἱοὶ τῶν δούλων Σαλομων*: *two* alterations.)
3. *αβεδηρειμ αθουκειμ* I Chron. 4:22. MT הַדְּבָרִים עֲתִיקִים, "the words are ancient."
4. *αβειρα* Neh. 1:1. הַבֵּיירה, "the palace." So 7:2, *βειρα*. (L has *βάρης* in both places.)
5. *αγγαι* II Chron. 26:9; in the L text only. For הַנָּחַל, "the valley." See also no. 29, and below, p. 74.
6. *αγονγειμ* II Chron. 9:10; in three cursives only; see below, p. 75. MT אֲלִנְיָוִים (but in I Kings 10:11 f. אֲלִנְיָוִים), "algum wood."
7. *αδωρηεμ* Neh. 3:5. MT אֲדִירֵיהֶם, "their nobles." (L: *οἱ ισχυροὶ αὐτῶν*.)
8. *αθερσαθα* Ezr. 2:63; Neh. 7:65, 70. For הַתִּרְשָׁתָא (title).
9. *αθουκειμ* (See no. 3.)
10. *αιλαμ* II Chron. 3:4. MT אוֹלָם, "porch."
11. *αιν* Neh. 2:14; 12:37; in the latter passage the MSS have *αἰνέιν*. For עֵין, "spring." (L has in both cases *τῆς πηγῆς*.)
12. *αλημωθ* I Chron. 15:20. MT עֲלִמֹת. (L: *περὶ τῶν κρυφίων*, as in the Psalm-superscriptions.)

<sup>9</sup>The orthography varies considerably in the MSS, and I record usually only one form, without wasting time over the vain attempt to determine the original. Of course the variations between *ι* and *ει*, *αι* and *ε*, etc., have no significance whatever, and are rarely of any use even in determining groups of manuscripts. Scribes were free to exchange them at pleasure, and did so. As *ει* is used most commonly (though not consistently) for the long *i* sound in our best-known uncials, I have adopted it. The plural endings *-ειμ* and *-ειν* (the latter apparently later and due to the influence of spoken Aramaic) are also frequently exchanged in the MSS.



13. *αμασενειθ* I Chron. 15:21. MT **הַשְּׁמִינִית**. (L: *περὶ τῆς ὁγδόης*; cf. Ps. 6:1; 12:1.)
14. *αραα* I Chron. 2:52. For **הַרְאָה** (MT **הָרָאָה**, "the seer"). It seems impossible to determine whether Theodotion regarded this as a proper name, or not. The original rendering here seems to have been: <sup>52</sup>*καὶ ἦσαν υἱοὶ τοῦ Σωβαλ πατρὶ Καριαθιαριμ αραα εσει Αμμανιωθ*, <sup>53</sup>*υμασφεωθ Καριαθιαειρ, Αιθαλειμ, Αιφειθειμ, κ.τ.λ.* See nos. 38 and 63.
15. *αριηλ* I Chron. 11:22. MT **אַרְיֵאל**, which Theodotion certainly did not regard as a proper name. (L inserts *υἱὸς*, from the Greek of II Sam. 23:20.)
16. *ασαφειμ* I Chron. 26:15, 17. MT **אֶסְפִּים**, "stores."
17. *αφφουσωθ* II Chron. 26:21. MT (*ketib*) **הַפְּשֻׁוֹת**, "separateness."
18. *αχεχαρ* Neh. 3:22. For **הַחֶפֶר**, "the circuit." (L: *τοῦ πρωτοτόκου*, corrected from a reading **הַחֶבֶר**.)
19. *αχουχ* II Chron. 25:18 (twice). For **הַחִוּה**, "the thistle."
20. *βααλτααμ* Ezr. 4:8, 9, 17. For **בַּעַל טַעַם**, "reporter of news."
21. *βαθων* (A *βαδων*, L *βατων*) Ezr. 7:22. For **בְּתִין**, "baths" (the liquid measure).
22. *βακχουρίοις* Neh. 13:31. For **בְּכֻרִים**, "firstfruits." (L: *πρωτογενήμασιν*.)
23. *βαμα* I Chron. 16:39; 21:29; II Chron. 1:13. For **בְּמָיָה**, "high place."
24. *βειρα* (See no. 4.)
25. *βεν-* for **בֶּן**, "son," in compounds: I Chron. 11:34, *βεβε Ασασμ*, for **בְּנֵי הַשֵּׁם** (see below, p. 74); see also no. 33.
26. *βηθ-* for **בֵּית**, "house," in cases where it is evidently a separate word: Neh. 3:16, *βηθ αγαβαρειμ* **בֵּית הַגִּבְרִים**; 3:20 f., *βηθ ελιασουβ* **בֵּית אֱלִישִׁיב** (Eliashib named in this very verse as the high priest, and cf. vs. 1); 3:24, *βηθ αζαρια* **בֵּית עֲזַרְיָה**; 3:31, *βηθ ανναθινειμ* **בֵּית הַנַּחֲתָנִים**, cf. vs. 26! (In all of these cases, L translates the word **בֵּית**.)

27. *γαβης* I Chron. 4:9. From a reading כַּעֲבֵץ, rendered *ὡς γαβης*, where MT has בַּעֲצָב, "in pain." (L: *ἐν διαπτώσει*.)
28. *γαζα* Ezr. 5:17; 6:1; 7:20. For גִּזְא, "treasure."
29. *γαι* Neh. 2:15, in the L text and the cursive 121; 3:13, in L only. For גַּי, "valley." See also no. 5, and below, p. 74.
30. *γαν οζα* II Chron. 36:8. For גֶּן עֶזָּא, "the garden of 'Uzza." The passage containing these words is wanting in MT, and also in I Esdras, but certainly stood in the Hebrew text from which Theodotion translated; see further below. The phrase occurs also in II Kings 21:18, 26, where it is rendered (in *all* the Greek texts) *ἐν τῷ κήπῳ* Οζα.
31. *γασβαρηνός* Ezr. 1:8. For גַּזְבָּר, "treasurer." The termination -ηνος suggested by *γασαρηνός* (for גִּזְרָא), Dan. 5:7, 11, 15, etc.?
32. *γεδδουρ* I Chron. 12:21. For גִּדְדִּיר, "troop." (The same transliteration—origin unknown—in one of the texts of I Sam. 30:8. It may well be doubted whether the ascription, by the cursive 243, of the rendering *συστρέμματος* to Theodotion, in I Sam. 30:8, is correct. Notice the similar mistake—this time concerning Aquila—recorded in Field's *Hexapla* on II Sam. 3:22, in regard to this same word. May not the transliteration be Theodotion's in all these places?)
33. *γη βεν εννομ* II Chron. 28:3; 33:6. For גֵּיא בֶן הַחִנּוֹם, "the valley of the son of Hinnom." Cf. no. 25; also nos. 5 and 29. (L has *ἐν φάραγγι Βενεννομ*.)
34. *γωλαθ* II Chron. 4:12, 13. MT גִּלְוֹת, "bowl-capitals." (L: *τὰς βάσεις*.)
35. *γωληλα* Neh. 2:13. MT גִּלְיָא (ה), ("and I went out through the gate of the) valley by night." (L has *γωληλα νυκτός*.)
36. *δαβειρ* II Chron. 3:16; 4:20; 5:7, 9. For דְּבִיר, the "innermost sanctuary" of Solomon's temple. This transliteration is used by others than Theodotion.

37. *εβδαθ αββους* I Chron. 4:21. For עֲבֹדַת הַבּוּץ, “manufacture of fine linen.”
38. *εσει* I Chron. 2:52. For חֲצִי, “half.” Immediately below, in vs. 54, the word is translated; cf. no. 63. (The passage is lacking in the L text, which omits—because of homoeoteleuton—the last three words of vs. 52 and the first three words of vs. 53. In both A and B the passage is badly miswritten; see no. 14.)
39. *εφουδ* I Chron. 15:27. For אֶפֹד, “ephod.” (L: ἐν στολῇ βυσσίνῃ.) The transliteration occurs outside of Chron.-Ezr.-Neh.
40. *ζακχω* I Chron. 28:11, 20. MT, in vs. 11, כִּנְזָוִיךָ,<sup>10</sup> “its treasures.” (L, in both verses: τῶν ἀποθηκῶν αὐτοῦ.) In MT the word and its context are missing in vs. 20, though they must have stood there originally—a fact which seems to have been generally overlooked. Neither in his *Polychrome Chronicles* (1895) nor in his *Bücher der Chronik* (1902) does Kittel discover that our Hebrew text has accidentally lost a considerable passage (more than a dozen words) at this point. Benzinger (1901) does no better. This is a good illustration of the way in which “the Septuagint” is commonly used. The passage in the Greek, in its original form, reads as follows: καὶ ἰδοὺ τὸ παράδειγμα τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ καὶ ζακχω αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ὑπερῶα καὶ τὰς ἀποθήκας τὰς ἐσωτέρας καὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ ἱλασμοῦ, καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα οἴκου Κυρίου. The necessity of this to its context is apparent from vs. 21 compared with vss. 11–13. The omission in the Hebrew of MT was caused by homoeoteleuton, the passage being preceded by עֲבֹדַת בֵּית יְהוָה and ending with תְּבִנִית בֵּית יְהוָה. The translator, then, actually wrote this word ζακχω twice.
41. *θανουρειμ* Neh. 3:11; 12:38. For תַּנּוּרִים, “furnaces.” Neh. 12:38 is wanting in the codices A B S, but is present in many cursives and in the L text, and was included in Theodotion’s translation. See further below.

<sup>10</sup>It is possible that the original transliteration was γανζακχω, and that the first syllable was corrupted to τῶν (as in cod. B in vs. 11), which was subsequently dropped.

42. *θεραφειμ* II Chron. 35:19. For **תרפים**, "teraphim"—but the Hebrew original of this passage is now lost; see no. 44. This transliteration is used by others than Theodotion.
43. *θωδαθα* (most MSS, including all the uncials, *θωλαθα*; an early blunder, Λ for Δ) Neh. 12:27. For **תודות**, "thanksgivings." (L: (έν) ἀγαλλιάσει.)
44. *καδησειμ* (? So cod. 121; the others have *καρεσειμ*<sup>11</sup>) II Chron. 35:19. For **קדשים**, "temple-prostitutes." The passage, which is a highly important one for the history of our Hebrew text, is found neither in MT nor in I Esdras. See below, p. 83. Observe that Theodotion has the transliteration *καδησειμ* in Judg. 5:21.
45. *κεφφουρη* I Chron. 28:17; Ezr. 1:10; 8:27. For **כפורים**, "cups."
46. *κοθωνοί* Ezr. 2:69. For **כתנות**, "robes." (L: *στολὰς ἱερὰτικὰς*.) See also no. 69.
47. *λαμ(μ)αανε* II Chron. 22:1. All our Greek texts are corrupt here. For **למחנה**, "for a raid."<sup>12</sup> Some justification for Theodotion's transliteration here may be found in the ambiguity of the expression, which I believe to have been mistranslated by every modern scholar as well as in the ancient versions. This strange word, *λαμ(μ)αανε*, immediately following *οἱ Ἀραβες*, was of course supposed to be a proper name, and was accordingly made, by some copyist, to end with a *ς*. *αλαμαανες* became *αλαμαζονες*, a form attested by several MSS. A and B have [*οἱ Ἀραβες οἱ αλιμαζονεις*].<sup>13</sup> (L: *καὶ τῶν Ἀμαζονιευ ἐν τῇ*

<sup>11</sup>The Greek letters δ and ρ are frequently confused by scribes; some other examples will be given in the sequel. There is therefore room for doubt as to the original form of this transliteration. Kittel, *Biblia Hebraica*, on II Chron. 35:19, prints: "*καρ(ι)σειμ* = **קדשים**" (*sic*); but in this he is certainly mistaken.

<sup>12</sup>Cf. **לצבא**, "for war," "to give battle," the use of the verb **הנה**, "to attack," in Ps. 53:6; I Macc. 5:49 f., etc., and of **מחנה** in II Chron. 18:33 = I Kings 22:34, etc.

<sup>13</sup>Hence in 14:14 (15) the gloss, *τοὺς Ἀμαζονεῖς* (!), derived solely from the passage 22:1, has come into the Greek text (all recensions). Benzinger, *Commentary* on Chron., would emend the Hebrew text of 14:13 f. accordingly. But there is no excuse for "emending;" the context shows, as plainly as a context can show anything, that **ערים** is right as it stands. The connection between the two passages would be made by any reader; the enemies of Israel in both cases are the Philistines and the neighboring Arabs.

παρεμβολῇ, a characteristic specimen of the crimes committed by this recension.)

48. *μαναα* II Chron. 7:7; Neh. 13:5, 9. For מִנְחָה, "meal offering." (L substitutes in each case the word *θυσία*.) Observe that in Dan. 2:46 Theodotion has *substituted* this transliteration for the older translation *θυσίας*.
49. *μασαναι* II Chron. 34:22. For מִשְׁנֵה, "the second (district)."
50. *μεθαχαβειμ* (the correct reading in codd. 56, 121) I Chron. 21:20. For מִתְבְּאִים, "hiding themselves." (L: *πορευόμενοι*, a reading which evidently originated in a corruption of the *κρυβόμενοι* which most MSS have here.)
51. *μεθωσειμ* Ezr. 2:62. For מִשְׁתַּחֲוִים, "listed by genealogy." (L: *γενεαλογούντες*.)
52. *μετεβααθ* (?) I Chron. 18:8. For מִתְבַּחַת, "from Tibhat" (name of a city). It is evident from the way in which the following word is translated that Theodotion did not regard this as a proper name. L has *ἐκ τῆς ταβααθ*, translating the preposition; and this translation (evidently secondary) has also found its way into the Egyptian text: A, *ἐκ τῆς ματεβεθ*; B, *ἐκ τῆς μεταβηχας*.<sup>14</sup>
53. *μεχωνωθ* II Chron. 4:14, twice. For מִכּוֹנֹת, "bases." Observe that Theodotion gives us this same transliteration in Jer. 27:19 (Greek 34:15).
54. *ναχαλη* I Chron. 11:32. For נַחֲלֵי, "wadys" (?).
55. *οφαλ* II Chron. 27:3; 33:14; Neh. 3:26, 27; 11:21. For בֶּצֶר(ה), the "hill" in Jerusalem.
56. *σαβαχωθ* II Chron. 4:12; only in the cursives 56 and 121; see below, p. 75. For שִׁבְבוֹת, "nets."
57. *σαχωλ* (? A *σαχων*, B *σαχωχ*. The reading of the cod. Basiliano-Vaticanus, N [XI in H. and P.] is given as *ασιβιβασαχωλ* (!); the first part of this being probably the proper name *Ασεβεια*, from the beginning of vs. 19?) Ezr. 8:18. For שִׁבְל, "prudence." (L has [*ἀνήρ*] *συνετός*.)
58. *σερσερωθ* II Chron. 3:16. For שִׁרְיוֹת, "chains." (L: *άλυσιδωτά*.)

<sup>14</sup>It is a mistake to suppose that the *χ* of this form is the transliteration of מ. It is merely one of the customary blunders of codex B. *μετεβααθ* was miswritten *μεταβχαθ* (*χ* for *α*, several other examples are given in the sequel), and so on.

59. σοομ I Chron. 29:2. For שֹׁהַם, name of a stone. (L: [λίθους] ὄνυχος.)
60. σωφap I Chron. 15:28. For שׁוֹפָר, "trumpet."
61. σωφ[ε]ρειμ I Chron. 2:55; in the L text only; see below. For סופרים, "scribes."
62. τεκχειμ II Chron. 9:21; in the L text only; see below. For תופים, "peacocks."
63. υμασφεωθ I Chron. 2:53. For וּמִשְׁפּוֹת, "and the families (of)." The same word is translated in vs. 55, just below—the context there being so plain as to leave even Theodotion no room for doubt! (The L text has accidentally lost the first words of vs. 53; see Nos. 14 and 38. Both A and B are corrupt here.)
64. φασεχ II Chron. 30:1, and often. For פֶּסַח, "passover." The *old* Greek version of the Chronicler's history had πάσχα; see II Chron. 35:1, 6–13, 16–18, in I Esdras (1:1, 6 ff., 16–19). The large number of occurrences of the word in these two chapters of the Theodotion version was what kept it from being changed, even in the L recension. See also above, p. 61, note.
65. φea (?) Neh. 5:14, 15, 18; in the Egyptian text only. For פֶּהַ, "governor." The word occurs four times in these three verses, and appears at first sight to have been transliterated three times and translated once. This would be a truly Theodotonic proceeding; still, it is perhaps more likely that the word was originally transliterated in all four cases. At present, through accidental corruption and attempted correction, the forms originally written have been nearly obliterated; only close scrutiny can find the trace of them. The Egyptian text of the verses in question now reads: <sup>14</sup> Ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ἧς ἐνετείλατό μοι εἶναι εἰς ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν (פֶּהַ) . . . ἐγὼ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί μου βίαν αὐτῶν (הַפֶּהַ הַפֶּהַ) οὐκ ἔφαγον, <sup>15</sup> καὶ τὰς βίας (הַפֶּהַ) τὰς πρώτας αἰς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἐβάρυναν ἐπ' αὐτούς, κ.τ.λ. . . . <sup>18</sup> . . . καὶ σὺν τούτοις ἄρτους τῆς βίας (הַפֶּהַ הַפֶּהַ) οὐκ ἐζήτησα. The Greek yields in each of these clauses a passable sense, the word βία



meaning "extortion" or "fruit of extortion." But the latter phrase would be a singularly free rendering (!) even of **לחם הפתה**, especially for Theodotion; and at the beginning of vs. 15 and the end of vs. 18 it is quite plain that *βία* stands simply as the equivalent of **פתה**.<sup>15</sup> Beyond question, Theodotion wrote *φea* in these three cases (at least); by one of the most common of scribal errors this became *βea*; the rest followed naturally. The original readings were presumably: in vs. 14, *ἄρτον τοῦ φea*, instead of *βίαν αὐτῶν*;<sup>16</sup> vs. 15, *φeωθ* instead of *βίας*; vs. 18, *ἄρτον τοῦ φea* instead of *ἄρτον τῆς βίας*. (The L text has substituted translations in each of the three cases: *ἄρτον τῆς ἡγεμονίας* in vss. 14 and 18, and *ἄρχοντες* in vs. 15.)

66. *χαμανειμ* Ezr. 8:27. The source of this is the word **לְחַמַּנִּים** (MT. **לְחַמַּנִּים**), "in drachmas," which was divided **כְּדָרַךְ כְּמָנִים** and characteristically rendered *εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν χαμανειμ*. (In cod. A this has been improved to *ε. τ. ὁ. δραχμῶν*; while in the L text the correction has gone still farther, changing the last word to *δραχμάς*.)
67. *χερουβειμ* II Chron. 3:8 ff., and elsewhere. For **כְּרֻבִּים**, "cherubim." This transliteration is not peculiar to Theodotion.
68. *χεχαρ* (?) I Chron. 16:3; only in the L text, which reads *χελχαρ*, presumably because of a common scribal error in the Greek. For **כֶּפֶר**, "loaf." A and B have *ἄρτον*. Cf. No. 18, where the same word (meaning "circuit"), written with the article, is transliterated by *αχεχαρ*.
69. *κοθωνωθ* Neh. 7:70, 72. For **כְּתֹנֹת**, "robes." Very likely the *κοθωνοί* (?) of Ezr. 2:69 (above, No. 46) originated in this same transliteration. (L, in all three cases, *στολὰς ἱερατικὰς*.)
70. *χωθαρεθ* (-ωθ?) II Chron. 4:12 (twice), 13. For **כְּתֹרֹת**, "capitals."

<sup>15</sup>So it is given, in fact, in both Schleusner and Tromm. Klostermann, among modern scholars, has recognized the fact of a transliteration.

<sup>16</sup>How easy the corruption of *ἄρτον* to *αὐτῶν* would be may be seen from vs. 15, where codex A has *αὐτοῖς* for *ἄρτοῖς*.

The regularity with which these words are distributed through the history is worthy of notice. Leaving out of account the repetition of such frequently used words as *φασεχ* and *χερουβειμ*, the number of occurrences in I Chron. is 28; in II Chron. 32; in Ezra 16; and in Neh. 30.

To those who have examined Theodotion's transliterations in connection with the other extant traces of his work, this list will be conclusive. The large number of these words, and their characteristics in detail, added to the facts which have already been noticed, place the matter quite beyond the reach of doubt. It is to be remarked also that a few of the words in the list are already known from other sources to have been used by this translator; such are *καδησειμ*, *μαναα*, *μεχωνωθ*, *φασεχ*, and probably *γεδδουρ*. To make the demonstration still more complete, it is further to be observed that in the few points of contact between the Theodotion element in Daniel and our Greek translation of the Chronicler's work there are some striking instances of identical usage. One of these is the case of the word *μαναα*, noticed above. Another is the use of *λίψ* (a favorite word with Theodotion) as the rendering of *בִּיעַר*; found only in II Chron. 32:30; 33:14; Dan. 8:5; in the last-named passage substituted for the *ἀπὸ δυσμῶν* of the older version, which certainly needed no correction! Equally striking is the substitution of *εὐώδαι*, as the rendering of *נִיחֻדָּי*, in Ezr. 6:10 and Dan. 2:46; in both cases correcting the *σπόνδαι* of the older translation. Notice also the peculiar rendering *ἀπὸ μέρους* for *מִצָּרְיָה*, only in Dan. 1:2 and Neh. 7:70; the use of the verb *συνετί-ζειν*, and that of the noun *ἐγκαίνα*. Undoubtedly other examples of the kind can be found; I have made no thorough search.

In the case of gentile names, it is Theodotion's custom to transliterate exactly, instead of using the Greek adjective endings. The latter, however, have been substituted later in a good many instances, sometimes in the Egyptian text and very often in L. Thus, in Neh. 2:19 the original rendering had *ὁ Ἀρωνει*, *ὁ Ἀμμωνει*, and *ὁ Αραβει*; where L offers *ὁ Ὀρωνίτης*, *ὁ Ἀμμωνίτης*, and *ὁ Ἀραψ*. An example of a passage in which nearly all the Greek texts have made the change is Ezr. 3:7, where for "Sidonians and Tyrians" cod. 121 has *Σιδανιμ* and *Σωριμ* (probably

almost exactly what Theodotion wrote); B has *Σηδαμειν* and *Σωρειν*; all the other MSS have substituted the Greek adjective forms. Many other instances of the kind could be given.

In some cases where Theodotion was in doubt whether the word before him was a gentilic name or not, he cautiously reproduced the Hebrew article by the Greek *ἀ*. In such cases it was inevitable that those who cared for the Greek text should often have taken the further step of substituting the Greek article. For example, in Ezr. 2:57 Theodotion wrote *υἱὸι Φασ(ε)ραθ* (or *Φαχεραθ*?) *ασεβωειμ* (פִּזְזִי), as is attested by the Egyptian Greek tradition. But in the L text we find *υἱὸι Φακεραθ τῶν Σαβωειμ*. Of course accidental corruption of these unfamiliar forms took place from time to time. Thus, in I Chron. 18:17 *τοῦ Χερηθι* was Theodotion's rendering. *I* was miswritten for *X*, as occasionally elsewhere, and in a cursive manuscript *θ* became *ω*, as in a great many other places. Hence the *τῶν ἱερέων* in both L and the ordinary Egyptian text (but not in A).

It remains to be said in general, regarding Theodotion's transliterations (and especially those of ordinary nouns), that in all probability some of them, and perhaps a considerable number, have been lost. Of course, in a version which came into common use as a part of the Greek Bible, these uncouth words were very soon felt to be seriously disturbing, especially in the many cases where the Hebrew word and its meaning were perfectly well known. We should therefore suppose that the process of removing these peculiar creations of Theodotion would have begun almost immediately. We can see the process going on in the texts which are known to us. In the Lagarde recension, it is the rule (not systematically carried through, to be sure) that these transliterations are replaced by translations; and we can see the same tendency actively at work even in the most conservative group of manuscripts. Observe, for example, what has taken place in I Chron. 28:17, where the unusual word כַּפֹּרֶת (כִּי) occurs six times. The L recension (!) has preserved Theodotion's *κεφ-φουρ(η)* in three places; cod. A has it once; cod. B has dropped it altogether. Similarly, in Ezr. 7:22 *βαθων* "baths" (liquid measure) has been replaced in B by *ἀποθηκῶν*, but not in A; in Ezr.

2:69 *κοθωνοι* (so B) becomes in A *χιτώνας*. Or to take the case of a still more common word: in I Chron. 11:34 בְּנֵי הַיָּם is rendered by Theodotion *βεν(ν)αι ασαμ*; this becomes in A and L (but not in ~~N~~ B) *υἱοὶ α΄*. Many other examples might be given.<sup>17</sup> It is reasonable to suppose that this process had already begun before the period represented by the earliest manuscript testimony which we have. A few of the rejected words, after having been actually dropped from all the texts in common use, were preserved in stray cursives, or rescued again by the L recension (thanks to its conflating tendency).<sup>18</sup> An excellent example is the rendering of the phrase שַׁעַר הַיַּיִן “valley gate” in Neh. 2:15. Here the L text presents both *καὶ ἤμην ἐν τῇ πύλῃ τῆς φάραγγος* and *καὶ διήλθον διὰ τῆς πύλης γαι*, the position of the latter clause showing that in this recension it was inserted later. Something very similar has taken place in II Chron. 26:9, where (in the L text) *αγγαι* and *τῆς φάραγγος* form a doublet, though in this case it is the translation which seems to be secondary. No one but Theodotion would be likely to transliterate in such a case as this; and that it was actually he that did it appears to be rendered certain by Neh. 3:13, where L gives for the same phrase *only τὴν πύλην γαι*. But in all three of these passages the word *γαι* has quite disappeared from the manuscripts of the standard text! A case in which the L text has retained a transliteration which has already been dropped by all the MSS of the “Egyptian” group, with the single exception of codex 121, is the word *σωφereien*,<sup>19</sup> I Chron. 2:55. In the ordinary text it has been rendered by *γραμματέων*. Another example is

<sup>17</sup> In I Chron. 26:16 it seems to be the case that A has preserved the original rendering, *τῶ Σεφειμ*, for *לשפירם*, while the improvement *εἰς δεύτερον* (from a late reading *לשנים*) has been adopted not only by the MSS of the L recension but also by the most of the “Egyptian” MSS, including B. The supposition that A’s is the corrected text here would be far less plausible, judging from what has taken place elsewhere in the MSS of these books. L’s double rendering here contains an obvious correction according to MT, *לשפירם* being translated by *τοῖς προθύροις*.

<sup>18</sup> Hence, presumably, the presence of the word *εναλειμ* in I Chron. 9:18, only in L. Whence it comes I do not know, but it is probably a corrupt form of one of Theodotion’s transliterations. The *ena* is pretty certainly a reproduction of the *הנה* which stands here in the Hebrew; the remainder may be due to dittography of some sort, involving the following *ἐν*. No one of the commentators on Chronicles appears to have noticed it.

<sup>19</sup> It appears in various forms: *σωφηρεμ* in 93, 108, and 121; *σωφειρεμ*, in 19; *σωπερεμ* in the retransliteration from an Armenian codex given in H. & P. Lagarde edits *σωφρεμ*.

the word *χεχχαρ*, I Chron. 16:3. Other words of this nature which have narrowly missed oblivion are *τεκχειμ*, II Chron. 9:21, preserved in L; *αγουγειμ*, II Chron. 9:10, found in one L MS, 93, and (in the form *γουνγειμ*) in the cursives 56 and 121; and *σαβαχωθ*, II Chron. 4:12, preserved only by 56 and 121. These words are given by Field in his list (*loc. cit.*, pp. xl f.) as of "anonymous" origin; but it must now be evident, I think, that they are survivals from Theodotion's version.

In other parts of the Old Testament, moreover, traces of Theodotion's transliteration, hitherto unrecognized as his, are undoubtedly to be found. His version must have been felt to be an indispensable one, meeting a greater variety of needs than any other, and its influence upon the standard Greek text was probably much greater than we ordinarily suppose. Its readings must have supplanted the other renderings in many places,<sup>20</sup> and as an inevitable result, the ascription of "Theodotion" readings to "LXX," and *vice versa*, was not infrequent. This happened even in the case of transliterations, passages containing them having been taken over into the current version at an early date, particularly in the books Sam.—Kings, in which the textual tradition made so many difficulties. One example of the kind has already been given; see above, on *γεδδουρ*. Precisely similar in their history, as I believe, are the four other renderings given by Field (*loc. cit.*, p. xlii) as cases in which "LXX" transliterates while Theodotion translates. One of these, for example, is II Sam. 17:19 *הרפוח*, rendered "LXX *αραφωθ*, Theod. *παλάθας*." Another is II Kings 16:17 *בצלוח*, rendered "LXX *μεχωνωθ*, Theod. *ὑποστηρίγματα*." See the note on this latter word in the list above. From the evidence which we already have, it seems to me that we are fully justified in reversing these ascriptions, assuming that in these cases, at least, the later version had contaminated the earlier.

The important question, whether in preparing his version of the Chronicler's history Theodotion was revising an older trans-

<sup>20</sup> To take a single example from the Prophets—the one which happens to occur to me at the moment: in Isa. 44:8 we can see the process at work; the phrase *μηδὲ πλανᾷσθε* has been taken over from Theod. into the text of cod. B, but is not in the older text of this verse represented by codd. A<sup>2</sup>Q, etc. Fortunately the Hexaplar MSS here make the matter perfectly plain.



lation, or not, should probably be answered in the negative. We have as our guide his proceeding in the case of Daniel; and what he does there is to retain to a remarkable degree the wording of his predecessor, in spite of extensive alterations in the form of the text. A comparison of I Esdras with the corresponding part of Theodotion does not show any such close resemblance. The coincidences of rendering seem to be only such as would be expected in two translations of the same Hebrew text, while the differences are so many and so great as to argue strongly against any dependence upon, or even acquaintance with, the older version.<sup>21</sup> We know of no translation of Chr.-Ezr.-Neh. before the time of Theodotion, other than the one represented by our I Esdras, and it is not likely that there was another. Our last witness to the existence of this version in its completeness comes from Josephus. After his day, so far as I am aware, we meet with it only in the "I Esdras" fragment. Soon after the beginning of the Christian era, in all probability, the old Greek version of the Chronicler's history disappeared from the face of the earth, with the exception of the one fragment which happened to be rescued from a single codex (see *AJSL*, p. 141). This fragment may have escaped Theodotion's notice altogether, or he may not have thought it of importance for his purpose. At all events, when he put forth his own translation, it had a clear field; and as a matter of course, it was soon adopted as a part of "the Septuagint" and its authorship was quite forgotten. If it is indeed an independent translation of these books, as I believe, it is doubly important as the one great example of the methods of this interpreter, this time not a mere reviser, but free to work in his own way.

### III. THE TWO MAIN TYPES OF THE TEXT

#### 1. *First Esdras*

I have described briefly in one of the preceding essays (*AJSL*, pp. 136-41) the two differing "editions" of the Chronicler's history which are known to us, giving some account of their origin.

<sup>21</sup> Why, to take a single instance, should Theodotion have rendered the word אֲנִיָּה (MT אֲשֶׁר־נָא) in Ezr. 5:3 by the senseless χορηγίαν, if he had known that it had already been rendered (I Esdr. 6:4) by the obviously suitable στέγγν?



Since an interval of 300 years lay between them, and the later edition was, generally speaking, independent of the former one, the comparison of them is obviously a matter of great importance for purposes of textual criticism. But before they can be thus used in any satisfactory way, it is necessary to know to a considerable extent the history of their transmission; the state of preservation of the various texts; the age, the character, and the trustworthiness of the translations; the relative excellence and mutual relations of manuscripts. The following observations will serve as a beginning.

The old Greek translation of Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. was made not long before the middle of the second century B. C. The direct evidence of this is found in the quotation from the Greek historian Eupolemus, in a work composed about 150 B. C. (see Schürer, *Geschichte*<sup>3</sup>, III, 351 f.). The historian is telling of the building of Solomon's temple, and quotes from the letter of Hiram, king of Tyre, in the form of it which is found only in II Chron., chap. 2. The text of the passage, corresponding to II Chron. 2:12 ff., is given in Swete's *Introduction*, p. 370, and reads as follows: εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς ὃς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν ἔκτισεν, ὃς εἴλετο ἄνθρωπον χρηστὸν ἐκ χρηστοῦ ἀνδρός . . . καὶ ἀρχιτέκτονά σοι ἀπέσταλκα ἄνθρωπον Τύριον ἐκ μητρὸς Ἰουδαίας ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Δάν. Here is, beyond all question, a somewhat free citation from a Greek version of Chronicles. There is every reason to believe, and no reason to doubt, that this translation was the same one of which a part has survived in the "I Esdras" fragment.<sup>22</sup> All the evidence which we have seems to show that the I Esdras translation was made as early as the second century B. C. Some of the indications of this nature have already been mentioned; others will appear in the sequel.

The home of the translation may well have been Egypt. There is one interesting fact, at least, which seems to show that

<sup>22</sup> It might seem useless to attempt to argue from the wording of so free a citation as this one evidently is. But the opening phrase, "Blessed be the God who made heaven and earth," seems to have been transferred verbatim, and it is at least interesting to observe that we have here one of the characteristic marks of difference between the rendering of Theodotion and that of the old Greek version. Theodotion has the phrase before him in this passage and in Neh. 9:6, and both times renders by ἐποίησεν (Heb. עָשָׂה). In I Esdr., the words are found only in 6:12, and the rendering there, as here, is by κτίσειν (a form of the Aramaic verb עָבַד being read).

the translator lived among people to whom the geography and history of Syria were somewhat unfamiliar. The technical term עֵבֶר הַנָּהָר (Aram. עֵבֶר נַהֲרָה), "the district beyond (west of) the river (Euphrates)," is in every instance—14 times in all—rendered by Κοίλη Συρία καὶ Φοινίκη, "Coele-Syria and Phoenicia," a rendering which occurs nowhere else.<sup>23</sup> The term "beyond the river" was one which had long been familiar throughout Palestine and Syria, and Theodotion's rendering, πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, would have been understood anywhere between Judea and Persia. But in Egypt the phrase was not so well known.

From the materials which we have, we are well able to judge as to the character of the translation. It is a faithful rendering, of the kind to which we are accustomed in the older parts of the Greek Old Testament. The translator has a wide knowledge of Greek, uses a large vocabulary, and very often chooses Greek idioms instead of simply copying the Semitic forms of speech. In rendering two verbs connected by "and," for example, he frequently employs the participle for one of the two, where Theodotion and his kind would follow the original. On the other hand, he generally sticks desperately to a corrupt text, hesitating at no nonsense in "translating" it. His performances in really difficult places—and in many that are not difficult at all—are like those of a modern schoolboy, and we may expect to find at least a few stupid blunders (so they seem to us) on every page. This is fortunate, for it enables us, here as elsewhere, to see what Semitic words and phrases the Greek was trying to render. One who is thoroughly familiar with Hebrew and Aramaic and also with the habits of

<sup>23</sup> It is important to observe that this is the old and official terminology used by the Greek historians and geographers from the fourth century onward. "Coele-Syria and Phoenicia," or even "Coele-Syria" alone, included the whole Syrian province west of the Euphratus, i.e., exactly עֵבֶר הַנָּהָר. An Alexandrian translator of the second century B.C. would have been sure to use it; see II Macc. 3:5, 8; 4:4 for a striking illustration; and cf. also I Macc. 10:69, and the numerous passages in Polybius cited by Hölcher. "Palästina in der persischen und hellenistischen Zeit," in Sieglin's *Quellen und Forschungen zur alten Geschichte und Geographie*, Heft 5 (1903), pp. 7 f. Notice also that "Coele-Syria and Phoenicia" is the term used in the petition of Onias to Ptolemy Philometor, Josephus, *Antt.*, xiii, 3, 1. This terminology went out of general use before the beginning of the Christian era. Strabo, xvi, 2, 2, notes that according to a nomenclature which some (ἐνιοὶ δὲ) had used, "Coele-Syria" included the territory of the Jews, Edomites, and Philistines. His testimony shows that in the last century B.C. and thereafter "Coele-Syria" was ordinarily applied only to the district between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. Thus Hölcher, p. 12. His conclusion is the same one which I had myself reached.

these translators will generally be able to see what text lay behind this version—after he has once determined the original form of the Greek.

The Semitic text thus rendered seems to have been not particularly good, but one which had suffered considerably from careless copyists. In many cases, indeed, its readings are manifestly superior to those of our massoretic text, and there is no place in which its help can safely be dispensed with; but on the whole, the type of text which it represents is inferior to that represented by our canonical books. Aside from all the accidental corruption which it has suffered through careless transmission, it seems now and then to have been deliberately “revised,” as, for example, in the opening verses of the section dealing with the official correspondence in the time of Xerxes and Artaxerxes, I Esdr. 2:15. Wherever the probabilities are otherwise evenly balanced, in the conflict of I Esdras readings with those of our canonical recension, the latter has the presumption in its favor. Some instances of the occasional wide divergence of the I Esdras text from that which later became the standard will be given below.

Several scholars have called attention to a certain resemblance between the Greek of I Esdras and that of the old (“LXX”) version of Daniel. See Swete’s *Introduction*, pp. 48 f., and Lupton’s preface to his First Esdras, in the *Speaker’s Commentary*. Most noticeable is the occurrence of the same phrase, *καὶ ἀπηρείσατο αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ εἰδωλίῳ αὐτοῦ*, in both I Esdr. 2:9 and Dan. 1:2, as has been observed. I add one or two other noteworthy examples.<sup>24</sup> The phrase “his house shall be made a rubbish-heap (נִרְלֵי),” which occurs in Ezr. 6:11; Dan. 2:5; 3:29, is interpreted by the *old* version in all three places to mean “his house shall be confiscated.” In I Esdr. 6:31 the rendering is: *καὶ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ εἶναι βασιλικά*, and in Dan. 2:5: *καὶ ἀναληφθήσεται ὑμῶν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα εἰς τὸ βασιλικόν*. In Dan. 3:96 he writes: *ἡ οἰκία αὐτοῦ δημευθήσεται*, which means the same.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> I give only those which I happen to have noticed and remembered; I have made no search for them.

<sup>25</sup> So far as I know, the important testimony which these translations (or mistranslations) give to the existence of a Syro-Palestinian root נִרְל, corresponding to the Arabic نال, ينال, “take, obtain,” has never been noticed. It is the same root whose verb (רָזַל, jussive) occurs in the last line of the Tabnit inscription, as I hope to show more fully elsewhere.

Again, in Dan. 3:2 we have in the old version (but not in Theodotion) the same list of officers, *σατράπας, στρατηγούς, τοπάρχας καὶ ὑπάτους*, which appears in the same order in I Esdr. 3:14; as also, lacking the last member, in 3:2. Since the Greek words are by no means the settled equivalents of the Aramaic terms, this coincidence can hardly be accidental. Notice also the use of the word *μανίδκης*, "golden chain," in I Esdr. 3:6; Dan. 5:7, 29; the frequent occurrence of *μεγιστᾶνες*, "magnates," in both I Esdras and Daniel; the phrase *ἐποίησε δοχὴν μεγάλην*, I Esdr. 3:1; Dan. 5:1 (not in Theodotion). In Swete's list (*Introduction*, pp. 310 f.) of the unusual Greek words which are found in certain books of the Old Testament, the following also are mentioned as occurring in both I Esdras and the old translation of Daniel: *ἀναπλήρωσις, δογματίζειν, μεγαλειότης, πειθαρχεῖν*.

These instances seem to render one of two conclusions certain: either the old Greek translation of the Chronicler's history strongly influenced that of the book of Daniel; or else both were the work of one and the same translator.<sup>26</sup> The latter is the more probable supposition; notice, for instance, how the two passages Dan. 2:5; 3:29, compared with I Esdr. 6:31, prove that the translator worked independently, and was not simply following an older version.

It is not likely that this translation ever circulated widely. The Chronicler's history in its original Semitic form seems to have been little known, and was certainly very little esteemed, in any part of the Jewish world for two or three centuries after the date of its composition.<sup>27</sup> From the time when the Story of the Youths was seen to be secondary, and the abridged recension made its appearance, the older, unabridged texts and versions lost ground; and finally, when the official text was created, this old Greek version, already near to extinction, passed out of sight. There is no

<sup>26</sup> In that case, the translation of Daniel was probably made soon after the publication of the original, inasmuch as the Chronicler's history was translated *before* the middle of the second century B. C. An early date for the old Greek Daniel is also rendered probable by the Greek version of I Macc. 1:54, in which dependence on the Greek translation of Daniel is certain, as well as the fact that the words quoted had long been familiar.

<sup>27</sup> Very likely its true character was well understood, at the first. If that were the case, it would not be surprising that even its one valuable part, the story of Nehemiah, should have made little impression.

evidence that any secondary version was ever made from it, in its entire state, and we know it only from the fragment which survived under the name "First Esdras." The history of the transmission of this fragment, in manuscripts and versions, is unlike that of any other part of the Greek Old Testament, though the old Greek Daniel offers a close parallel in many respects. It has, of course, been far less influenced, in its transmission, by the Hebrew-Aramaic text than its canonical fellows. Their presence beside it has generally saved it from editorial "correction" since the establishment of a standard text, and it is not at all likely to have suffered from such correction before that time. Accordingly, the Hebrew-Aramaic that can be shown to lie behind our I Esdras may generally be accepted as representing a text which existed before the middle of the second century B. C. On the other hand, there is evidence that the Greek text of this translation was somewhat carelessly handled during the first centuries of its existence, and it is easy to be too confident in arguing from the Greek to the Semitic. In dealing with the plus and minus of I Esdras, especially, great caution is necessary.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, ever since "*First Esdras*" and "*Second Esdras*" were first placed side by side in manuscripts of the Greek Bible, the danger of contamination, in either direction, has been present; it is remarkable, indeed, that the better types of text should show so little evidence of such corruption. It is only in the L text (see below) that this is a serious matter; there, the contamination of I Esdras has gone so far as to render the text all but useless for critical purposes.

The text of I Esdras, like that of Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah, is known to us in two principal recensions, which will be described below. The one of these may conveniently be called "Egyptian," and the other "Syro-Palestinian." Of the secondary versions made from the I Esdras Greek, the Syriac, the Ethiopic, and the

<sup>28</sup> Not a few of the German scholars who have dealt with I Esdras have relied on the text of Fritzsche (*Libri Vet. Test. apocryphi graece*, 1871). But Fritzsche's eclectic text is built on no sound principles, and his apparatus is untrustworthy at every point. Those very marks—including not only misspellings but also erratic readings—which give the surest critical guidance are habitually omitted by him; while many of the readings of codices A, B,  $\Sigma$ , and others, which he fails to record at all are beyond question the original ones. Those who read the Greek Apocrypha for pastime will find Fritzsche's text comparatively smooth and agreeable; but those who are engaged in exact studies can make no use of it.



Latin are the only ones requiring mention here. The Syriac, made by Paul of Tellā, and the Ethiopic represent the Egyptian recension, and are of considerable value; the Latin, derived from a Syrian text, has also some critical importance. These will receive further mention in the sequel.

## *2. The Standard Text of the Second Century A. D.*

The text of Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah which was taken as the official one seems to have been carefully selected. It was one from which the Story of the Youths had been cut out, and in which the three wandering chapters of the Ezra narrative were allowed to remain in the book of Nehemiah (*AJSL*, pp. 135 ff.). It was presumably one which bore evidence of being more trustworthy in details than the most of its fellows. So far as we are able to judge, it was, indeed, comparatively "sound," especially in the book of Ezra-Nehemiah; though differing considerably from what the Chronicler originally wrote. The separation of Ezra-Nehemiah from Chronicles had either taken place already, or else was accomplished at this time. When Theodotion made his translation, the division was already effected.

As witnesses to the readings of this "standard" recension we have: (1) the massoretic text; (2) the Greek of Theodotion; (3) the Latin of Jerome. We have the great good fortune to know the habits of each of these two translators, and can thus reason from version to original with an assurance which would not otherwise be possible. As Jerome made his translation near the end of the fourth century, its value for text-critical purposes is very small; it almost everywhere agrees verbatim with our massoretic text. Theodotion's Greek, on the other hand, bears interesting witness to the fact that the massoretic text is by no means identical with the "standard" text of the second century A. D. The manner in which even an official recension can become corrupted, even within a short time, is well illustrated here. The text rendered by Theodotion has suffered many accidental changes, and a few which look like deliberate revision; so also has that of the massoretic. One example of the kind has already been pointed out (above, p. 67); in I Chron. 28:20, Theodotion's Hebrew



contained a passage of considerable length which has been lost, by a mere copyist's error, from our MT.

Another instance, and one of especial interest, is the long passage which in our Greek Bible is appended to II Chron. 35:19 (see above, p. 68). Examination shows<sup>29</sup> that this was taken bodily from II Kings 23:24-27; but no one seems to have observed that the borrowing did not take place in the Greek version, but in the Hebrew original. Theodotion had all this before him, in the text which he rendered; moreover, the word קִדְּשִׁים, which he transliterated by *καδησειμ* (?), is not attested in II Kings 23:24 by MT or any version, though it appears to be the older reading as contrasted with the *קִדְּשִׁים* which is given there. What adds materially to the interest of the case is the fact that the *old* Greek version bears witness to still another Hebrew text at this point. The passage in I Esdras (1:21 ff.) reads as follows: [<sup>21</sup>καὶ ὠρθώθη τὰ ἔργα Ἰωσείου ἐνώπιον τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ ἐν καρδίᾳ πλήρει εὐσεβείας. <sup>22</sup>καὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν δὲ ἀναγέγραπται ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις, περὶ . . . τῶν ἡμαρτηκότων καὶ ἡσεβηκότων εἰς τὸν κύριον παρὰ πᾶν ἔθνος καὶ βασιλείαν, καὶ ἐλύπησαν αὐτὸν ἐν αἰσθήσει καὶ οἱ λόγοι τοῦ κυρίου ἀνέστησαν ἐπὶ Ἰσραήλ. <sup>23</sup>Καὶ μετὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πράξιν ταύτην Ἰωσείου] συνέβη Φαραῶ βασιλέα κτλ., the end of the bracketed section being the point at which agreement with the other texts begins. The first glance at this Greek version makes the whole matter plain. We have here what the Chronicler himself originally wrote, but in mutilated form, a passage of some length having been lost from the Hebrew by accident at the point where I have inserted the four periods. The Greek translator rendered as well as he could; but the passage was hopelessly spoiled, and indeed made even worse than useless, for as it now reads it seems to class Josiah among the most wicked of kings! Hence the bold measure of cutting out the entire passage from Hebrew texts. In the copy which lay before Theodotion this had been done, and the resulting gap had been filled from II Kings. In our massoretic text the excision has been made and the gap left unfilled; but

<sup>29</sup> I am not sure to whom it shows anything. Our modern commentators, whether on Chronicles or Esdras, seem to have failed to notice the matter.

certain tell-tale words are added which not only testify eloquently to the fact of the lacuna, but even hint at the nature of the missing passage. When our Hebrew text proceeds (vs. 30): אחריו כל זאת אשר הכין 'אשר'הו את הבית] עלה נכו מלך מצרים וגו', comparison with the two Greek versions shows beyond all question what was meant by the words: "After all this work which Josiah did *in setting the temple in order.*" The allusion is to some such passage as the one translated by Theodotion, which immediately preceded these words. And finally, it is to be observed that the "standard text" of the second century A. D. must either have been identical here with Theodotion's, or else have resembled the fragmentary one preserved in I Esdras. The phenomena can be explained on either supposition, but the latter is evidently the more probable one.

A third example of these more important variations in the tradition is found in II Chron. 36:8, another passage in which we are able to compare I Esdras. Here, after the statement that 'the rest of the acts of Jehoiakim are written in the book of Kings,' Theodotion proceeds: [καὶ ἐκοιμήθη Ἰωακείμ μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ,<sup>30</sup> καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν γαν οὔζα μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ.] καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν κτλ. The bracketed passage is wanting in both MT and I Esdras, but was certainly in the Hebrew text of Chronicles which lay before Theodotion (see above, p. 66). Whatever we may think of its origin—and especially, of the statement regarding "the garden of Uzza"—the fact of its existence ought at least to be made known in our commentaries and "critical" editions of the Hebrew text.

Another example, of a somewhat different character. In the list of returning exiles, found in I Esdr., chap. 5, Ezr., chap. 2, Neh., chap. 7, there is one point at which the accidental omission of two or more names is made especially easy by the proximity of similar or nearly identical forms: הַגָּבִי Αγαβα and הַגָּב Αγαβ, עֶקֶב and קֶטֶב (?). In I Esdr. 5:29 f. we have the passage in what seems to be its original form, with the names Αγαβα, Ακουβ, Ουτα, Κηταβ, Αγαβ. In Ezr. 2:46 the names Ουτα, Κηταβ, are

<sup>30</sup> This clause is found also in II Kings 24:6; and it is customary in both Kings and Chronicles to use this formula in speaking of any king who dies a natural death while occupying the throne.

wanting in all the texts known, and therefore presumably were not found at this point in the official text of the second century A. D., their loss being due to the carelessness of a copyist. In Neh. 7:48 the most of the Greek manuscripts, including codices A and **8**, contain all the names; in MT, and also in a few Greek codices, including B, the last four names of those mentioned above have fallen out accidentally for the obvious reason just given. The names *Ουτα* and *Κηταβ*, therefore, which are now not represented anywhere in the Hebrew Old Testament, were present in the Hebrew rendered by Theodotion. It cannot be held that they were inserted from I Esdras, in the Greek translation, because (1) such an insertion is altogether unlikely; (2) if made, it would certainly have been in Ezra, chap. 2, not in Neh., chap. 7; (3) the only form attested by any I Esdras text is *Κηταβ*, while in the Theodotion texts we have everywhere *Κηταρ*. It is remarkable that our commentators and critics of the Hebrew text should not notice the testimony of the Greek in Neh. 7:48. All, apparently, omit even to look at the footnote in Swete; codex B is "the Septuagint."<sup>31</sup>

These illustrations will suffice. The "official" text differed in some important particulars from that of our massoretes and also from the text of Theodotion, although both were derived from it. A satisfactory restoration of it is generally possible, however, by the use of these two, with occasional aid from other sources. Of course the numerous minor variations, due to the usual accidents of transmission and defects of translation, are taken for granted. Sometimes Theodotion, and sometimes MT, has preserved the better reading. The latter deserves the preference, on the whole. The restoration of Theodotion's Hebrew-Aramaic text is in theory a comparatively easy matter, since we know how close a rendering he was wont to make, and since, because of the late date of his work and the nearness of our oldest manuscripts to his time, we can put unusual confidence in the traditional Greek. In fact, however, a good deal of close study is often needed in order to find out what "the traditional Greek" is. And when it has once been

<sup>31</sup> It is quite characteristic of the L recension that it should expunge these two names both in I Esdras and in Nehemiah—since nothing in the Hebrew corresponds to them!

found, the danger of blundering in constructing from it a new Semitic text is very great, even under these most favorable circumstances.

#### IV. NOTES ON MANUSCRIPTS AND VERSIONS

Fortunately, the history of the transmission of the three "books," Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, is one and the same history, generally speaking. They have stood side by side, from the first, sharing the same fate, whether in translation or in manuscript tradition. Especially in the Greek codices which contain these books, it can be seen that they all, including I Esdras, have come down to us through the same lines of descent. That which is seen to be true of codex A, or of codex B, or of the grouping of certain cursives, in I Chronicles, for example, will be found to hold good for I Esdras or Nehemiah. That which can be proved regarding a translation, or a recension, in one part of the history will be true, speaking broadly, in every other part.

##### *1. The Superiority of the A Manuscripts to those of the B Group*

Theodotion's translation of Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. was not made until (at least) the middle of the second century A. D. Our oldest Greek codices date from a time only two or three centuries later than this, and some one or more among them might easily have been copied from manuscripts belonging to the translator's own time. Moreover, these books were already a part of "Sacred Scripture" at the time when the version was made, and the need of a careful tradition of the Greek text was already beginning to be keenly felt. We should therefore expect to find Theodotion's Greek pretty well preserved, in general; and to be able to recognize in some manuscript, or group of manuscripts, a text closely approximating to that which came from the translator's own hands. And in fact, both of these expectations are realized. Thanks to the multitude of proper names in every part of the Chronicler's history, the grouping of manuscripts is relatively easy; and because of Theodotion's many peculiar transliterations, which subsequent editors liked to get rid of, it is often possible to distinguish at a glance the original reading from the later one.

Among the Greek manuscripts, those which contain the L text form a very conspicuous group by themselves. These are the cursives 19, 93, 108, with the occasional addition of others.<sup>32</sup> This peculiar recension will be described below, and may be passed over here.

All the other manuscripts may be divided roughly into two main groups. The one of these has for its constant members the uncials B, **Σ**, and N,<sup>33</sup> the cursive 55 (almost an exact duplicate of B), and is supported by the Syro-Hexaplar and Ethiopic versions. The other group is led by the uncial A, and may be said to include all of the remaining cursives, though it must not be inferred from this that the group is homogeneous.<sup>34</sup> The characteristic of the manuscripts and versions of the B group is the remarkable fidelity with which they reproduce the archetype from which they all were derived. They carry us back—and evidently not very far back—to a single codex, whose multitudinous errors, including even the most glaring blunders of copyists, are everywhere faithfully repeated. Among these half-dozen witnesses, the best text is given by codex **Σ**, so far as it is preserved; that of codex B is the worst. As for the MSS of the “A group,” they present no such uniform type, but differ among themselves after the usual manner of O. T. Greek MSS, though in relatively slight degree. That is, we find in them just the variety which we should expect to find in a group of codices derived from Theodotion’s translation. The best text in this group is that of codex A.

The current (and, so far as I know, unchallenged) opinion as to the best Greek text of the books Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah is that expressed by Kittel, *Bücher der Chronik*, p. 24, middle: “B hat nun trotz vieler Schreibfehler doch im ganzen den besseren Text, auch bei den Namen, während A sich fast durchweg Angleichung an den MT zu Schulden kommen lässt.”

<sup>32</sup>I use, of course, the notation of Holmes and Parsons, wherever the contrary is not expressly stated.

<sup>33</sup>The codex Basiliano-Vaticanus, numbered XI by Holmes and Parsons. It is hardly correct to speak of this manuscript as a “constant” member of the group, to be sure, for in Chronicles and I Esdras it seems to occupy a peculiar position; see below.

<sup>34</sup>Certain subdivisions of this main group are obvious enough, but I pass them over here as unimportant for my purposes.



But this view is altogether mistaken. Codex A, in these books, has *not* been conformed to MT; and as for the misguided worship of codex B, it has nowhere so little justification as here. B generally yields an inferior text in the Old Testament, and in this case it is at its very worst.

First, as to codex A. It makes the impression of being surprisingly "correct," *as contrasted with B*. It reads smoothly, as a rule, stands generally pretty close to our massoretic Hebrew, and (what is especially noticeable) does not give in its proper names the monstrosities which are the rule in the other uncials, but rather presents what appears to be a mere transliteration of the MT forms. But this does not show, by any means, that A's is a corrected text. We are not dealing here with the Penta-teuch, or the books of Samuel, or with a translation made in the third century B. C. Theodotion had before him a Hebrew text which very closely resembled our MT; he rendered it exactly, and transliterated very carefully; and we happen to have in codex A a pretty old and unusually trustworthy copy of the original version. That is all. The theory that A has been extensively corrected can be shown on every page and in every chapter to be untenable. The codex contains a great many ancient errors of which the correction is perfectly obvious, but the erroneous readings have in almost all cases been allowed to stand. Take, for example, the numerous transliterations described above (p. 63), where Theodotion dealt timidly with corrupted words which were easily emendable, and which appear in their correct form in MT. Any "edited" text would correct these forms—as they are corrected in L, for example. But in A they remain unchanged. A good illustration, again, from I Esdras is the ancient corruption of the name "Megiddo," in 1:27, where the original Greek reading *Μαγεδδω(ν)* was very early altered, through accidents of a familiar type, to *Μεγαεδδως* and *Μεταεδδους*. Everyone knew what the correct reading was, and in L (but not in A) it was of course substituted. Moreover, in the part of I Esdras which was least of all subject to correction or alteration, the Story of the Youths, the text of A shows the same superiority to that of B as elsewhere. A typical example is fur-



nished by the proper name Ἰδουμαῖοι, "Edomites," in 4:45, 50. In both places A gives it correctly, while B has in the first instance Ἰουδαῖοι, and in the second Χαλδαῖοι.<sup>35</sup>

In Ezr. 8:10 it is obvious that cod. A and a small group of allied MSS have preserved an ancient reading which stood in the text of Theodotion, but is wanting in MT, L, and the B group alike. MT reads מִבְּנֵי שְׁלֹמֹה; the B and L groups have ἀπὸ νύων Σαλειμουθ, or its equivalent. But A and its fellows have ἀπὸ νύων Βα[α]ν, Σελειμουθ, which is certainly correct. The name was dropped from the L recension and from the MSS of the B group because (on comparison with MT) the βανι was taken for an unnecessary doublet of νύων.

It must always be remembered that A stands in no sense alone. Its text is usually that of the great majority of our MSS.

But what is much more important still is the fact, which is quite obvious in every part of Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. and I Esdras, that the cause of the considerable variation in the Greek texts is not correction, but corruption; and that the corrupt forms of proper names, which are especially characteristic of the B group of MSS, were derived directly from the very same (and far more correct) forms which appear in A and its nearest associates. In other words: we have in our MSS the offspring of *only one Greek version* of the three canonical books, namely that of Theodotion; at a short distance from the original, but already considerably disfigured by accidents of transmission, stands A; farther on in the same direction, and with the disfigurement very much increased, follow the MSS of the B group.

The great inferiority of codex B, together with the fact that it represents in general a mere corruption of the A text, may be illustrated here by a few typical examples; others will be given below.

II Chron. 34:22, A Θακουαθ, B Καθουαλ. A's reading agrees neither with MT nor with II Kings 22:14, but undoubtedly represents Theodotion's rendering of תְּקוּהָה, as also appears from a comparison of the *qerē* with the *ketīb* in our MT.

<sup>35</sup> This is a mere correction for Ἰουδαῖοι; cf. codex 55 and the Ethiopic version.

II Chron. 36:8, the transliteration *γανοζα*, mentioned above. A and most MSS have *γανοζαν* (the *ν* from the following letter *μ*, in an uncial text), B *γανοζανη*, with the familiar corruption of N to H.

I Chron. 5:6, 26, for *פִּלְגֵּת פְּלוֹסֶרֶת*, A has both times *Θαλαθ-φαλνασαρ*; B, in vs. 6 *Θαλαγαβανασαρ*, and in vs. 26 *Θαγναφαμασαρ*. This is a fair sample of the difference between A and B throughout the four Chron.-Ezr. books.

I Chron. 1:54 (and Gen. 36:43) for the name *עֵירָם* A has *Ηραμ*, B *Ζαφωειν*! The scribal blunders, mostly made in copying a cursive text, are only those which the B scribes are constantly making. The original transliteration was *αιραμ*. The Z came from the final N of the preceding word; *ιρ* = *φ*, as very often; the confusion of *a* with *ω* can be found on almost every page of B; *μ* becomes *ιν*, *ν*, etc. very frequently.

I Chron. 2:47, for the name *גִּישָׁר*, A has *Γηρσωμ*, B *Σωγαρ*. Neither agrees with MT, and the B reading is a corruption from that of A, as usual.

I Chron. 4:5, for *אַשְׁכּוּר*, A *Ασχουρ*, B *Σαρα* (A for X, see below on Neh. 3:2).

I Chron. 4:21, the translit. *εβδαθ αββους*, given correctly in A and in other codices. B has *εφραθ αβακ*. This does not mean at all that B has been corrected according to a reading *עֲבָרָה*; on the contrary, the confusion of the letters *δ* and *ρ* is a rather common thing in B or its nearest ancestors. Another example of the kind is Ezr. 8:27 *καφουδηθ* (the transliteration, according to B), where A and most of the others have *καφουρη* or its equivalent. In both of these cases, and in others of the same nature, the testimony of the other MSS of the B group shows that we have to do merely with corruption in the Greek text.

Neh. 3:2, B reads *Ζαβαόνυρ* for MT *זְבוּיָר*. This certainly seems at first sight to point to a variant Hebrew reading, but it does not in fact. The other MSS of the B group (A, V) show that the reading of their archetype was *Ζακχουρ*. The two scribal blunders, B for K and A for X, have each many examples in codex B.

II Chron. 27:3; 33:14. Theodotion's transliteration *οφαλ* was corrupted by one of the very first copyists into *οφλα* (so A and the best of the others); B has in both cases *ὄπλα*, "arms."

Such examples as these could be given by the hundred. And they are simply typical of what is the case in every part of the four books now under discussion.<sup>36</sup> Attention should be called, too, to the large number of omissions in codex B, due simply to incredible carelessness. A good example is the very first verse of Ezra, in which three words absolutely necessary to the sense are dropped out. Phrases and whole sentences are lost with surprising frequency; see, for example, in Ezr.-Neh. alone, Ezr. 1:3; 2:10, 39; 3:3; 6:5; 8:5; Neh. 3:4; 7:26 f., 48.

This will suffice to show the character of the manuscript. In Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. and I Esdras, the best uncial, by far, is A; and the worst, by far, is B. It would be hard to find, among the more pretentious MSS of the Greek Old Testament, any other such miserable specimen of textual tradition as that which codex B offers in these particular books. On the other hand, it represents a text which has suffered comparatively little editorial correction. Of course, all of our MSS have been more or less "improved" by the rectification of obvious errors and the substitution of translations for the more disturbing transliterations. Examples of such correction in both A and B have already been given; it has taken place less often in B than in A.

## 2. *Hexaplar MSS of Chron.-Ezr.-Neh.*

As has already been said (*AJSL*, p. 67), Hexaplar Greek texts of these Old Testament books, Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. and I Esdras, have heretofore been quite unknown. We have the Syro-Hexaplar version of I Esdras, however; and in the first of these

<sup>36</sup> If there is any kind of blunder, or confusion of Greek letters, which the transcriber of B (and perhaps also, of its nearest ancestor) did not make repeatedly, I do not know what it is. It is to be hoped that the time may soon come when the authors and editors of works dealing with the Old Testament will cease to load their pages with the textual absurdities of this codex. At present, the custom is all but universal. It might be added, in general, that the recording of obvious blunders in spelling, and of the orthographic habits of unknown scribes (similar habits and peculiarities being already well known) is not a matter of the least scientific interest. The editors of the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, for instance, have made their work the repository of thousands of absolutely worthless "variants;" as though it were useful to note the occurrence of both  $\Lambda\delta\iota\nu$  and  $\Lambda\delta\epsilon\iota\nu$ , or as though there could be any text-critical or other value even in the fact that while one codex reads  $\text{Βεκτιλεθ}$  another reads  $\text{Βαικτειλαιθ}$  (the pronunciation being exactly the same in the two cases); to say nothing of recording such rubbish as B's  $\text{Χθαοδ}$ , from  $\text{Ελλαδ}$  (all ordinary blunders, even the X; cf. the reading of  $\text{Σ}$  in Neh. 7:40, etc.) in I Chron. 11:30, or its  $\text{Βαγαδηλ}$ , for  $\text{Βεθδαγων}$ , in Josh. 15:41, or  $\text{πολέμων}$ , for  $\text{πόλεων}$ , in I Chron. 18:8, or hundreds of others even worse than these!

essays I have published for the first time the extant fragments of the same version of Nehemiah.<sup>37</sup> We therefore have direct access to the "Septuagint" column of Origen's *Hexapla*, not only in I Esdras but also in Nehemiah. Through the general neglect and misunderstanding of I Esdras it has happened that no one has ascertained what Greek MSS are most nearly related to the Syriac, though this can be done with the greatest ease and certainty, thanks to the abundance of proper names. Nestle's astonishing assertion that the Syriac I Esdras was derived "from the Lucian text" (!) has already been noticed. Comparison shows, on the contrary, that the Hexaplar Syriac of both I Esdras and Neh. clings closely at every point to the peculiar text of the B group, which has just been described. That is, *the MSS of the B group are Hexaplar MSS*. This conclusion is confirmed by the much misunderstood note appended to the book of Nehemiah in codex  $\Sigma$ , written apparently by the original hand.<sup>38</sup> The note states that the codex had been carefully collated with one of the oldest and most correct of all existing Hexaplar MSS. But there is in the MS itself no evidence of any considerable diorthosis to which this note could refer. The corrections in the original hand are few and unimportant. The

<sup>37</sup> I might have added there, in giving the evidence that this is really the Syro-Hexaplar version, that its transcriber himself explains exactly what is meant by the recurring phrase, "according to the tradition of the Seventy." In a note at the end of the extracts from the book of Daniel (MS Brit. Mus. Add. 12.168, fol. 161b) he says that the version from which all these excerpts are made is that of Paul of Tellā.

<sup>38</sup> Thus Swete, in his edition; and the probability seems to me to be strongly supported by the attendant facts. Of course, the task of distinguishing the work of the successive hands in codex  $\Sigma$  is one of notorious difficulty—often quite hopeless. The matter is further complicated by the considerable additions to the text which have been made by the "second" corrector ( $\Sigma^c$ ), of the seventh century, whose work has been quite generally supposed to be that which is referred to in the note; see Tischendorf's *Vetus Testamentum Graece* (1887), Vol. I, Prolegomena, p. 63; Nestle, *Einführung in das griechische NT*, p. 51; and compare also the note appended (this time by  $\Sigma^c$ , a?) to the book of Esther in codex  $\Sigma$ . But the additions of this corrector are of a quite different type. They include: (1) the *plus* of the Hebrew (on which see below); also (2) corrections from the A text, such as those in Neh. 2:16; 7:70, and elsewhere; (3) extensive insertions, mostly worthless doublet readings, from the L recension, such as those in Neh. 1:9, 11; 2:5, 6, 8, etc.; and (4) corrections from still other sources, such as the name of the month in Neh. 1:1, and the word *εἰροῦχος* in 1:11. It would be plain, even without direct proof, that this variegated material was not derived from Origen's "LXX" column; and the witness of the Syro-Hex. version in 2:5-8 shows conclusively that it was not. This version of Paul of Tellā, it is to be remembered, included everything—even the asterisked matter—which stood in the fifth column of the *Hexapla*. The note at the end of Neh. in  $\Sigma$  then, if it tells the truth, has nothing to do with the work of the corrector  $\Sigma^c$ .

necessary conclusion is, that at least in the book of Ezr.-Neh. codex **N** is, and from the first was known to be, a Hexaplar codex; and that care was taken to make it as faithful a replica of Origen's text as possible.<sup>39</sup>

We can say then with certainty that in both "*First Esdras*" and "*Second Esdras*" (Ezra-Nehemiah) the manuscripts **N**,<sup>40</sup> **B**, 55 represent more or less faithful transcripts of the fifth column of the *Hexapla*, and that codex **N**<sup>41</sup> is Hexaplar at least in Ezr.-Neh. It is important to notice, further, that the asterisked passages (Origen's insertions from the *plus* of the Hebrew) are omitted. This fact appears plainly from a comparison of the Greek with the surviving fragments of the Syro-Hexaplar Nehemiah, which contain the *plus*. The **B** MSS coincide exactly with the Syriac except in this one particular.<sup>42</sup>

In regard to the **B** group in Chronicles it is necessary to speak with more caution; but it is hardly to be doubted that here also these same MSS contain the Hexaplar text. The codices **N**, **B**, and 55, at all events, have the very same character here, and bear the same relation to one another and to the **A** group, as in the Ezra-Nehemiah books. I have not satisfied myself, thus far, that the same is true of codex **N**; for this, in the majority of the

<sup>39</sup> One must of course bear in mind the fact of the remarkable displacement of a portion of codex **N**, and of the MS from which it was copied (the origin of the circumstance having been, probably, the accidental transposition of a single quire), in these very books; and also the possibility that the above-mentioned note was simply transcribed from an older codex. But no one of all these uncertainties can affect the conclusion that **N** is here a Hexaplar MS. That fact is absolutely certain.

<sup>40</sup> In codex **N**, which is incomplete, *I Esdras* is now lacking, to be sure. The fact that in certain other books of the *Old Testament* codex **B** contains, or has affinities with, a Hexaplar text is well known; see Swete's *Introd.*, pp. 487 f.; Cornill, *Einleitung*<sup>4</sup>, p. 335.

<sup>41</sup> According to Swete's *Introduction*, pp. 132, 202, this codex does not contain *I Esdras*. What the ground of this statement is, I do not know, and nothing in the literature to which I have access has yielded any explanation. According to Holmes and Parsons, nearly the whole of the last chapter of the book is missing in the codex (**XI**), but their apparatus includes readings from every other part.

The relation of the text of **N** to that of the *Hexapla* is not a simple one. In Ezr.-Neh. it is plainly based on Origen's; in *I Esdras* and *Chron.*, on the other hand, it differs so widely as to make one of two suppositions necessary: either it represents an intermediate stage between the older and more correct text of **A** and the type selected by Origen; or else, it is eclectic. It usually contains old and relatively correct readings, but is plainly related everywhere to the Origen text in a way that is not true of cod. **A** and its nearest relatives. I have not made any thorough examination, and so cannot speak with confidence.

<sup>42</sup> In codex **N**, the "second" corrector (**N**<sup>c.2</sup>), of the seventh century, has introduced these passages, as well as considerable other material of varied character. See the description of his work in a preceding note.



points at which I have tested it, has seemed to abandon its companions of the B group and to conform to the text of A and its fellows; see above. The investigation is rendered more difficult by the fact that **Σ** is wanting in nearly the whole of Chronicles, while the help of the Syriac and Ethiopic versions is no longer to be had, and the text of B is so corrupt as to render it unfit to be a basis of comparison.

The following passages will serve to show both the relatively poor quality of the Hexaplar text in these books (Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, I Esdras) and also the relative amount of corruption in the several MSS which compose the Hexaplar group. It is often possible to recognize successive stages of degeneration, and in such cases it is almost invariably codex B which occupies the last stage.

Ezr. 10:23, where A and nearly all of the MSS of its "group" have the correct reading:

A, Κωλιτας καὶ Φεθεια καὶ Ιονδας

**Σ**, Κωλιταν κ. Φααια κ. Ιεδομ

N, Κωλιετ κ. Φαδαια κ. Ναδομ

B, Κωλιεν κ. Φαδαια κ. Ιοδομ

Neh. 1:1, A, Χασεηλου; **Σ** and N, Σεχηηλ; B, Σεχεηλου.

I Chron. 11:12, A (correctly), Αχωχι; **Σ**, Αχωνει; B, Αρχωνει.

I Chron. 11:33 f., Theodotion's original transliteration must have been:

Ελιαβα ό Σααλαβωνι, βενε Ασαμ ό Γουνι

A, Ελιαβα ό Σαλαβωνι, υιοι<sup>43</sup> Ασαμ ό Γωνι

**Σ**, Εαμαβα ό Σωμει, Βεννεας ό Σομογεννουιν<sup>44</sup>

B, Σαμαβα ό Ομει, Βενναιας ό Σομολογεννουιν

The variations of **Σ** and B from the original text are due here, as in the other cases, merely to copyist's blunders in the Greek.

I Chron. 12:27, A and N, Ιωαδαι; **Σ**, Τωαδαι; B, Τωαδας.

I Chron. 15:9, A, Εληηλ; **Σ**, Ενηηλ; B, Ενρη.<sup>45</sup>

Neh. 7:70, 72, A, χοθωνωθ; **Σ** and B, in both places, μεχωνωθ.

<sup>43</sup>Such harmless correction of Theodotion's unnecessary transliteration occurs sporadically in all of the MSS. Thus in I Chron. 2:53 B has πόλεις Ιαιερ, while A retains Καριαθαιερ.

<sup>44</sup>Presumably εν from ω, as occasionally elsewhere.

<sup>45</sup>How it is possible for a scholar who has both commented on the books of Chronicles and edited their Hebrew text to say (as quoted above): "B hat . . . im ganzen den besseren



I Esdr. 5:66, A, *Ασβασαρεθ*, the original (corrupt) reading of the I Esdr. fragment; B, N, *Ασβακαφαθ*; and this still more corrupt form stood in the *Hexapla*, as is shown by the Syriac and Ethiopic versions.

I Esdr. 8:7, A, *Εξρας*; B, *Αψαρας* (!); so also the Syr.-Hex. and the Eth. (with a slight variation). Cf. the form found in B in 9:46.

I Esdr. 8:31. For *Φααθμωαβ* (or Π'), given in all the MSS which are not Hexaplar, B, Syriac, and Ethiopic have *Μααθμωαβ*.

I Esdr. 8:33. The Hebrew (Ezr. 8:7) has: *גִּבּוֹרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל*. This was correctly rendered in the I Esdras text, as A and its associates show: *ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν Ελαμ, Ἰεσσίας*. In the text of Origen's LXX column, the first letter of each of the two proper names was missing; B has *ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν Λαμ, Ἰεσίας*, and with this the Ethiopic agrees, though combining the two proper names into one; Syriac has *ܠܡܠܚܝܡ ܝܥܨܝܐ*, i. e. the same text, but reading MAA in place of ΛAM.

These examples, which are truly representative, could be vastly multiplied. And they all tell the same story. It is an interesting question, but one which we hardly have the means of answering, how Origen happened to choose this inferior text for his "Septuagint." Possibly some old and venerated codex led him astray; or it may be that he made the same mistake which modern scholars have made. Not knowing that Theodotion was the author of this version—and we may be sure (see *AJSL*, p. 68) that he did not know it—he may have looked with suspicion on the Greek text that agreed closely with MT, and have preferred the one that showed somewhat more divergence. Even the latter stood nearer to the Hebrew (leaving proper names out of account) than was the case with the Greek versions of most of the Old Testament books.

### 3. *The Versions Made from Origen's "Septuagint"*

The main facts regarding the Syriac translation, made by Paul of Tellā, I have already set forth (*AJSL*, pp. 65 ff.). It is most unfortunate that just this portion of the Maes codex, which

Text, auch bei den Namen," when it is everywhere as clear as daylight that the difference between the readings of A and B, in Swete's apparatus, is a difference due simply to inner-Greek corruption, and that A has, or approximates to, the very forms from which those of B were corrupted, passes my comprehension.

contained Chronicles, First Esdras, Ezra, and Nehemiah, should have perished utterly, leaving no trace behind. In other manuscripts I Esdras has been preserved entire; and a single MS—published in *AJSL*, pp. 71–74—gives us a few extracts from Nehemiah.

We know that this version was made from the fifth column of the *Hexapla*, and that it was very exact. In the attempt to determine its relation to the existing Hexaplar MSS of the Chron.-Ezra books we are at a great disadvantage, because of the scantiness of the material. Codex **Σ** lacks I Esdras; and **N**, as has already been observed, either occupies an intermediate position or else yields an eclectic text, and cannot be trusted as a witness to Origen's readings. Throughout I Esdras the Syriac stands pretty close to codex **B**, but represents in general a text somewhat less disfigured by the blunders of scribes. The same is true in the Nehemiah extracts. Here, where we are at last able to compare **Σ**, the portion of the text is too small in extent to give a satisfactory basis of comparison. The Syriac agrees very noticeably with **B** in reproducing the clerical blunder *Χελκεια* (ܟܠܟܝܐ) in 1:1, and in retaining *ἐκτετιναγμένων* (ܐܬܬܝܢܐܓܡܝܢ) instead of *ἐκτεταγμένων*, in 4:16(10); in the former case against all other witnesses, and in the latter against all but the faithful codex 55. On the other hand, the Syriac agrees with **Σ** against **B** in the passages 8:2, *καὶ ἔως*; 8:9, *οἱ συνετίζοντες*; *ibid.*, *ἤκουσεν*; 8:10, *μερίδας*. I have not made any careful comparison, however.

The Greek of Origen's fifth column contained his selected text expanded by the insertion of translations of the *plus* of MT, these additions being marked in each case by an asterisk and a metobelus. The early Greek transcripts of this column, made by those who wished the "true Septuagint text," omitted the asterisked portions, as we have seen. Paul of Tellā translated the whole column, retaining the signs.<sup>46</sup> Subsequent copyists of his version generally retained the whole text, but omitted the signs. This is true of the Nehemiah extracts in our single surviving manuscript; the *plus* of the Hebrew is there, but not distinguished in any way. See for illustration 2:1, 8; 8:18.

<sup>46</sup> The text of I Esdras of course did not contain any of these asterisked passages.

Of an *Ethiopic* version of Origen's "LXX," only I Esdras has thus far been published. It has not heretofore been recognized as Hexaplar in its origin. Whether a similar version of any other of the Chron.-Ezra books was made, is not known. The text was edited, from five manuscripts, by Dillmann in his *Vet. Test. Aethiopici Tom. V, Libri Apocryphi*, Berlin, 1894. He himself remarks concerning this version (p. 219) that it was made at an early date, from a Greek text which it renders very faithfully, and that it has been well preserved.

Examination of this version shows that it is a valuable witness to the Hexaplar text. It must have been made with unusual care, from a comparatively trustworthy codex. The Greek which can be restored from it coincides throughout with that obtained from the Syr.-Hex., B, 55, and (frequently) N, in sharp distinction from the other and more common type of text represented by A and the army of cursives. Some striking examples of this coincidence have already been given, and a great many more could be added if it were necessary. Ethiopic versions of Old Testament books are usually of very little consequence, and it is therefore most refreshing to find one that is really useful.

It is interesting to see what indisputable evidence is furnished of the corrupt state of the manuscript which Origen selected. Thus, in 5:18, where the old "Egyptian" reading was *Βαυθασμωθ*, the stupid doublet *Βαυθασμων ζαμμωθ* is faithfully reproduced by the Ethiopic and B (Syriac is wanting here); and in 8:29, where the ordinary text had *Φινεας, Γερσων· ἀπὸ*, the monstrous reading *Φορος, Ταροστοτομος* (think of pinning our faith to such transcribers as these!) is attested by B, Syriac, and Ethiopic alike. Another good illustration is found in 9:25. Here, instead of *θυρωρῶν*, "doorkeepers," Origen's text had *θυγατέρων*, "daughters"(!), and this nonsense is transmitted, as usual, by B, Ethiopic, and Paul of Tellā. That we are ultimately dealing in these cases merely with a single very corrupt manuscript is proved conclusively—as also in a hundred similar cases—by the fact that *both* the Syrian text (preserved in L) and the ordinary Egyptian text (given by the great majority of the MSS) testify only to the correct reading.

The Ethiopic will generally be found, then, to agree with codex B. In many passages it differs, however, its distance from B being, on the whole, about the same as that of the Syriac, with which, in turn, it frequently fails to coincide.

#### 4. *The Two Main Branches of the Greek Tradition*

In the case of the Chron.-Ezr. books, the fact of a double tradition of the Greek text can be especially well observed. The one branch may be called the Syrian, inasmuch as it forms the basis of the Lucianic recension; the other I have termed Egyptian, and this designation, though probably not exact, is at least convenient.

In the I Esdras fragment, and especially in the Story of the Youths, where there is no complication from successive translations, conformation to a Semitic text, and the like, the phenomenon of the two slightly differing types of text is seen in its simplest form. A typical case is that of the proper name in 4:29, which I have elsewhere discussed (*AJSL*, p. 183). Here, the form Βαζακου is attested by a formidable array of witnesses, including Josephus; while the more familiar form, Βαρτακου, goes back to a period considerably earlier than Origen, as is shown by the fact that it is attested by *all* our Greek MSS, excepting the few which constitute the L group. Throughout the whole of I Esdras, something similar to this can be observed. There are plainly two distinct traditions of the Greek text, differing from each other slightly, on the whole, including both the spelling of the proper names and the wording of the narrative. The variation is not at all such as to suggest two translations, but consists rather in those occasional differences which inevitably arise in the course of time, through the ordinary accidents of transmission, when documents are handed down through separate lines or families of manuscripts. The one "family" includes the text adopted by Origen, and also nearly all of the extant MSS; and we may therefore regard Alexandria as its proper home, even though it was in current use far beyond the borders of Egypt. Of the text belonging to the other line of transmission we know that it formed the basis of the one which came to be regarded as authoritative in Syria, at least in

and after the fourth century A. D. (Swete, *Introduction*, pp. 80–86). It is thus presumably the text which had been handed down in Syria and Palestine from an early date. Its influence also extended far to the north and west. The MSS containing it are few (those of the L recension), but it is also embodied in the old Latin version of I Esdras. This same type of text—plainly belonging to the same tradition as that of I Esdras—is found in other parts of the Old Testament, as is well known. A. Mez, in a pamphlet<sup>47</sup> published in 1895, showed that the Greek text followed by Josephus in his *Antiquities*, for the part of the Old Testament which includes Joshua, Judges, and the two books of Samuel, was usually the same which underlies the L recension. I had already, in my own investigation of the text of I Esdras, conducted in that same year, made a similar comparison for this book, and reached a result somewhat resembling that of Mez. In this case, however, Josephus' text does not correspond to the nucleus of L; nor, on the other hand, does it agree throughout with any form of the "Egyptian" tradition; it seems rather to occupy an intermediate position, giving now the reading of the one, now of the other. The cases in which Josephus coincides with L, against the ordinary I Esdras text, while not many in number, are worthy of notice. Examples are: I Esdr. 1:9, cf. Jos. x, 71, the numbers of the sheep and bullocks. I Esdr. 4:29, cf. Jos. xi, 54, the name of the father of Apama, already mentioned as an example. Ezra. 4:10 (the passage now missing in our I Esdr. 2:16 [13]), cf. Jos. xi, 19, the name of the king, Šalmanassar. Inasmuch as all the Greek texts of I Esdras came from a single MS, the beginning of the two diverging lines of tradition, Egyptian and Syrian, lies not very far back, presumably a good while after the time of Josephus. It follows that the coincidence of his text with either one of the two (in cases where we cannot suspect correction or contamination) gives us the original reading of the I Esdras fragment.

From what has been said thus far, it might be supposed that the L text embodies merely the Syro-Palestinian tradition of the

<sup>47</sup> *Die Bibel des Josephus untersucht für Bücher, v.–vii, der Archäol.*, Basel. See also Swete's *Introduction*, p. 379.



I Esdras Greek in the same way that the MSS of the A and B groups embody the Egyptian tradition. This is by no means true, as will be shown below. The L text is everywhere contaminated, conflated, and arbitrarily altered, even in the Story of the Three Youths; and this unfortunate redaction—the only form in which we know the text—was undertaken at a late date.

In the canonical Chron.-Ezr.-Neh., again, we can observe the same phenomenon of a Syrian text differing slightly (in its primitive form) but unmistakably from the Egyptian text. The differentiation did not begin in this case until after the middle of the second century A. D., since it is in Theodotion's version that it takes place. We should therefore expect the variation to be relatively small, and this it is in fact; but the distinction between "Syrian" text and "Egyptian" text is a real and important one, nevertheless. No better illustration is needed than that which has already been given, above, in recording occasional instances in which the Syrian tradition preserves Theodotion's characteristic transliteration—directly against the whole tendency of the L recension—while the Egyptian emends by translating. It often happens, of course, that the L MSS contain a synonym of the word which is found in all the other codices. This is in many cases not the mere result of a somewhat free transmission, however, but rather of a deliberate revision; see below. There are not a few instances, finally, of addition, subtraction, or alteration in the Egyptian text, where L has preserved the original form. A good example is furnished by I Chron. 26:16-18, where in the whole array of MSS of the A and B groups vs. 18 contains a secondary rendering<sup>48</sup> which was evidently unknown in Syria, as it is wanting in L. Such revision as this is rare in the Egyptian text, however, while in L it is the rule. An example of a later Egyptian alteration, whose influence has not proceeded quite so far, is II Chron. 33:14, where MT reads: **וּלְבוֹא בַשֵּׁנִי הַהִנִּים**

<sup>48</sup> Based on a slightly different Hebrew text? The *τρεῖς* suggests **שְׁלֹשָׁה + שְׁלֹשָׁה**; the word **בְּוִמְסִלָּה** [בְּוִמְסִלָּה] is apparently in another place; **הַעֲוֹלָה** is not translated in either version. This added rendering makes it still more certain, by the way, that in the first clause of vs. 17 the original reading was **לִיּוֹם**, and not **הַלְיּוֹם** (the **ה** came from the last letter of the preceding word). Our modern translators, editors, and commentators appear not to have noticed this.



ܒܝܬ ܒܝܬ. Theodotion rendered this: [Μετὰ ταῦτα ὁκοδόμη-  
σεν . . . ] καὶ ἐκπορευομένων τὴν πύλην τὴν ἰχθυικὴν κυκλόθεν  
(reading ܒܝܬ) εἰς τὸ οἶκον. In this text, through the blunders of  
a copyist or two and the influence of the Greek in 27:3, the word  
ἰχθυικὴν was lost and εἰς τὸ οἶκον became εἰς αὐτὸ οἶκον (B, al.  
ὅπλα). A revising hand added, presumably in the margin of a  
MS, a new rendering of the passage: κατὰ τὴν εἰσοδὸν τὴν διὰ τῆς  
πύλης τῆς ἰχθυικῆς καὶ περιεκύκλωσεν (=MT) τὸ ἄδυτον.<sup>49</sup> This  
then found its way as a doublet reading into the text of an  
important group of codices, including A, and into the margin of  
B. A single one of these changes, that of ΟΦΑΛ into ΟΦΛΑ,  
antedates the branching-off of the Syrian tradition; in other  
respects L has here kept the original reading.

In general, the best MSS of the Egyptian family present a  
homogeneous text which has been very little revised. By compar-  
ing them among themselves, with the help of the massoretic  
Hebrew, we can usually find our way back to the very words of  
Theodotion. The aid of L can never be dispensed with, however,  
and in a good many cases it is our sole Greek witness to the true  
reading. It is sometimes the case, to be sure, that even with the  
testimony of both recensions before us we are at a loss to find the  
original. With L alone, on the other hand, we should be very  
badly off. Unless it is constantly controlled by the Egyptian  
text it is very difficult to put it to any critical use. Along both of  
these main lines of tradition there has been a good deal of  
accidental corruption of the text, the greater part of which is  
easy to trace. The only type of text in which this corruption has  
gone very far is, as has been shown, Origen's own "Septuagint."  
The relation of the A group to the B group is in all other respects  
a close one; see, for an illustration, Neh. 12:37b-38, where a  
long passage is wanting in ABS, though present in many cursives  
as well as in the L text. It formed a part of the Theodotion version,  
as the *θαννουρεμ* shows (cf. 3:11). That is, the codex which  
was the ancestor of both A and the MS which Origen took as the  
basis of his text had accidentally lost this passage. Among the  
cursives of the Egyptian family which deserve close attention,

<sup>49</sup> On the possibility that this was the translation of Symmachus, see below.

cod. 56 and (especially) the Aldine MS 121<sup>50</sup> are conspicuous for the extent to which they have preserved the original readings of the Theodotion version.

5. *The Syrian Tradition, the Lucian Recension, and our L Text*

How wide an influence the Syro-Palestinian text exerted during its early history, while it represented merely a divergent form of the Greek tradition, we do not know. We do not even know whether it was ever a relatively correct text.<sup>51</sup> We know simply that it preserved a good many old readings which were lost or changed in the more widely current version. It presumably deteriorated gradually, like its fellows, until the time when it was made the basis of that thoroughgoing recension which has survived to the present day.

Near the end of the third century A. D., Lucian of Antioch undertook a revision of the Greek Old Testament. The few facts which are known in regard to this Syrian editor have often been rehearsed; and the reasons why our L text is commonly supposed (and doubtless rightly) to be identical with Lucian's recension are also familiar.<sup>52</sup> Even the bare comparison of the citations from Theodoret, given in Holmes and Parsons, would lead one to the conclusion that L is an Antiochian text; while the fact that it represents not a growth but an arbitrary revision is patent enough.

Occasionally in descriptions, and commonly in actual use, our L text is treated as though it were identical, or nearly identical, with the text of the Syro-Palestinian tradition. Thus Swete (*Introduction*, p. 379), in dealing with the Old Testament text used by Josephus, speaks of a probability that in certain of the historical books "the Greek Bible of Palestine during the second half of the first century presented a text not very remote from that of the recension which emanated from Antioch early in the fourth." But this is by no means the true state of the case. The version as reconstructed by Lucian bears about the same relation to the one on which it was based as a thoroughly remodeled,

<sup>50</sup> This codex sometimes shows a close affinity with the L MSS, it is to be observed.

<sup>51</sup> The old Latin translation of I Esdras gives us some information on this point, to be sure; see below.

<sup>52</sup> See Swete, *Introduction*, pp. 80-86.

renewed, and enlarged house bears to its smaller original. In every part of the structure, a great many of the old beams, boards, stones, and other materials have been replaced by new ones, new fabric has everywhere been superadded to the old, and the fashion of the whole has been changed. The following classes of alterations characterize the Lucian recension:

1. The text has been extensively conformed to the massoretic Hebrew. (*a*) The *plus* of MT is freely inserted; not consistently—nothing is done consistently in the L recension—but as a rule. Thus I Chron. 26:16, 17; Ezr. 9:13; 10:3; Neh. 2:1, 8; 8:9; 11:23; these being merely single examples of what takes place in every chapter. (*b*) The Greek text is very frequently corrected according to the Hebrew. The original reading of the Greek is changed from singular to plural, or vice versa, in order to conform to MT. Words which appear to be out of agreement with the Hebrew are often dropped, and their places are taken by translations of MT. So, for instance, in Ezr. 9:3, 5.

2. The Greek has been very much contaminated from other Greek texts. These include: (*a*) The parallel or duplicate accounts. Thus, a great many of the original readings of the L I Esdras have been discarded, their places being filled by the readings of the canonical version. In like manner, the readings of the parallel passages in the other historical books are adopted whenever they happen to be preferred. That is, for example, the reader of the L version of Chronicles must everywhere be prepared to find that the word or phrase with which he is dealing has simply been transplanted thither from Genesis, or Samuel, or Kings. (*b*) Readings found in any part of the Old Testament may be substituted for those of Theodotion in the interest of the harmonistic tendency. (*c*) Harmonizing alterations on the basis of the immediate context, usually very mischievous, are frequently made. Thus in I Esdr. 5:5 instead of *ὁ τοῦ Ζοροβαβέλ* L offers *ὁ καὶ Ζοροβαβέλ*.

3. One constant feature of the L recension is its conflation from various sources. Side by side with Theodotion's rendering, in these books, we very often have that of some other translator, or an extract from a parallel passage. Some of these secondary

renderings are derived from the other Hexaplar versions; some are doubtless the work of Lucian himself; still others are of unknown origin. For characteristic examples see I Chron. 22:3; Ezr. 9:13; Neh. 4:10 (2), 27 (17); 6:10. Often a correction stands beside the word it was intended to correct, as in I Chron. 4:22. Occasionally a long passage is repeated in varying form, as in I Esdr. 1:9b-13, where the I Esdras and Chronicles accounts are put side by side. Not infrequently the translation of our MT is accompanied by the rendering of a manifest corruption of it, as in Neh. 2:6, 8.

It would be interesting to search for traces of the work of Aquila and Symmachus among these double renderings, whether they are found in L or in other recensions or manuscripts of these books. Sometimes, though probably not often, the identification would be possible. In Neh. 5:13 (L), Οὕτως ἐκτινάξαι ὁ θεὸς σὺν πάντα ἄνδρα ὃς οὐ στήσει σὺν τὸν λόγον τοῦτον κ.τ.λ., where the σὺν . . . σὺν, representing **סס . . . סס**, is not in the ordinary Greek, it seems certain that we have an extract from the translation of Aquila. In 13:25 (L) the verb ἐμαδάρωσα (otherwise unknown) looks like an imitation of the Hebrew **אמר** (not rendered here by Theodotion) on the basis of the verb μαρίζειν, "make bald." If this is really its origin, it is presumably a coinage of Aquila, whose fondness for such new creations is well known.<sup>53</sup>

The hand of Symmachus is pretty certainly to be seen in the double rendering of **מדינה** in the Hexaplar text (**Σ**, **B**, but not the Syr.-Hex.) of Neh. 1:3, ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐν τῇ πόλει. We know that Symmachus would have been likely to substitute πόλις for the older rendering χώρα, for he makes this very same correction in I Kings 20:14 and Dan. 8:2. The secondary translation in II Chron. 33:14 (the passage already discussed above), where **העזב** is rendered by τὸ ἄδυντον—the doublet this time also occurring not in L but in certain Egyptian MSS—suggests Symmachus, though I do not know that it is possible to say more

<sup>53</sup> On the basis of this verb-form in Neh. 13:25, Klostermann (*Realencycl.*, *loc. cit.*) would emend the impossible "ἐπαλλόμεν" in Ezr. 9:3, 5 to ἐμαδαρώμεν! On the contrary, the Hebrew word which corresponds there is **מעיל**, "my outer garment," and we must read in both verses τὸ ἀλλοῖόν μου.

than this. In I Sam. 5:9 Symmachus renders עֲבָלִים by *κρυπτά*, and he is the only one of the translators to interpret the root עֲבָל in this way. In Neh. 3:15, where MT has כְּזָבָה, and the ordinary Egyptian text reads *τῶν κωδίων*,<sup>54</sup> codex **N** has, instead, *θε τοῦ Σιλωαμ*. This certainly appears to be an ascription to Theodotion, as Klostermann has observed. Whether it is a correct ascription or not is another question, but the possibility can hardly be denied. In that case we should have to suppose that a rendering corresponding to our MT has supplanted the original one here.

4. Alterations merely in the interest of literary quality and completeness, or to suit the editor's dogmatic or other preferences, are everywhere abundant. These include: (a) The removal (usual, but not invariable) of Theodotion's transliterations, which are accordingly replaced by translations. For examples, see the list above. (b) The free revision of difficult phrases, often to the extent of changing their meaning and completely obscuring their relation to the original Semitic. A characteristic example is I Esdr. 4:39, where instead of the exactly rendered, but disturbing, Aramaic idiom, *τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἀδίκων*, "she executes judgment on all the wicked," the L text has *δίκαια ποιεῖ, καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἀδίκων ἀπέχεται*. So in 5:6 L alters τοῦ πρώτου μηνός (for τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ μηνός) into τῷ πρώτῳ μηνί. Or in 2:17 (14) where the ordinary text has *ναὸν ὑποβάλλονται*—in MT יְהִי יְהִי נֶשֶׁן—L has "improved" the reading to *ναὸν ὑπερβάλλοντα θεμελιούσιν*. Or in II Chron. 2:12 (13), *τὸν παῖδά μου* substituted for *τὸν πατέρα μου*. (c) Supplementary and interpretative additions, composed freely *ad hoc*. These are also very numerous, and every one of them is a trap for the unwary text-critic who wishes to advance science by giving new Hebrew readings from "Lucian." For example, in II Chron. 18:19 the narrative runs as follows: 'Yahwè said to his heavenly retainers, Who will mislead Ahab? One proposed one thing, and another another.' At this point L adds: *καὶ εἶπεν, Οὕτως οὐ δυνήσκει*;<sup>55</sup>

<sup>54</sup> This word is a veritable translation of עָבַל (cf. the Aramaic נְחַבָּה, "hide"), and is by no means to be altered into *βολιδων*, as Klostermann proposes on the basis of the rendering in 4:17 (11).

<sup>55</sup> Lagarde edits—wrongly, as I believe—*καὶ εἶπεν οὕτως Οὐ δυνήσκει*.

"But Yahwè said, You will not succeed in this way." Compare vs. 21. In Neh. 4:8*b* (vs. 18 in the L Greek) just after the word **בַּשְּׁנִיָּה**, L has *καὶ ὥρकिσα αὐτοὺς κύριον λέγων*, a purely arbitrary insertion in the Greek. There are many such examples, besides a good many cases in which the addition of a word or two has been made with interpretative intent. Thus, the words "to Jerusalem," Neh. 8:1; "of Benjamin," 11:8; the name "Ezra" in 8:18; see also I Esdr. 4:13, 48, 61; 5:5; Neh. 12:1, etc. Such interjected vocatives as "O king!" I Esdr. 4:43; "O Lord!" 4:60, are of course to be expected. And finally, a characteristic example is afforded by the close of I Esdras. In the original fragment, the end was reached in the middle of a sentence; but in the L text this inelegant conclusion is improved by the addition of a verse (Neh. 8:13) from the canonical version. (d) The substitution of synonyms. This well-known and comparatively harmless peculiarity of the L recension needs no illustration.

So much for the deliberate alterations undertaken by the Lucianic revision. As for the accidental corruption which the Syro-Palestinian Greek text had already undergone in the process of its transmission, before suffering this very extensive editorial transformation, it is sufficient to say that it does not appear to have been different, in kind or degree, from that which befell the standard Egyptian text. In general, the amount of this accidental corruption is much underestimated by those who have made use of Lagarde's edition.<sup>56</sup> Klostermann (*loc. cit.*, p. 508) even finds in some of it the evidence of differing dialects: "Wenigstens ist es kein Zufall, wenn die dentale Tenuis durch Sibilans ersetzt wird, wie *απιτα* (**אִיטָא**), *ατηρ*, *τελμων*, bei Luc, durch *αζιζα*, *αζηρ*, *σελμων*." But this is a mistake. These are scribal blunders

<sup>56</sup>It is true, in general, of the modern use of the Greek Bible for text-critical purposes that recourse is had far too often to the hypothesis of divergent Hebrew texts, while there is far too little appreciation of the extent to which the Greek texts themselves have been corrupted in transmission. It is generally taken for granted, moreover (see, e. g., Benzinger's remark on the Greek MSS of Kings, in the introduction to his *Comm.*) that the text which diverges most from MT is the oldest and most important. But this is a criterion which has no value unless it is supplemented by exact information as to the quality of individual MSS and the nature of translations and recensions. Codex B and the L text, for instance, usually show the greatest divergence from MT, and in both cases the divergence means, as a rule, merely perversion of the older readings, which (more nearly agreeing with MT) are found in other MSS.



of a very common order, which abound also in the MSS of the ordinary text, and especially (of course) in B and its fellows.

These facts make it plain that the Greek published by Lagarde is not at all "the old Greek Bible of Palestine," and often bears little resemblance to it. It is in part a mixed text which is the result of an eclectic process, and in part a text arbitrarily constructed *de novo*; besides all the accidental deterioration which it has suffered. The fact cannot be emphasized too strongly that L in Chron.-Ezr.-Neh., when it differs from the ordinary Greek, *usually does not represent another Hebrew text*. It is mainly, of course, a translation of the Hebrew which lay before Theodotion. But this Heb. text almost everywhere agreed with our MT; moreover, the translation is very well preserved in the Egyptian MSS, and it is only rarely that L can improve upon their readings. It would presumably almost never be the case that a correct reading preserved only in L would happen also to represent a divergence in Theodotion's Hebrew. The doublet readings in L, whether Hexaplaric or not, are, as a rule, derived either from our MT or from a manifestly corrupt form of it. Really helpful corrections of MT are extremely rare. One is to be found in Neh. 11:17, τοῦ αἰῶνι for הַתְּהִלָּה; undoubtedly derived from another Hebrew text, since Jerome's Latin makes the same correction. But in the most of the cases where L presents variant readings which sound plausible, we are not by any means at liberty to suppose that these were derived from a Hebrew text; on the contrary, they are pretty certain to be arbitrary improvements, of one kind or another, in the Greek itself. It follows, that emendation of MT on the basis of L alone is almost never permissible in these books; never, in fact, except for the strongest reasons.

All this is obvious enough; and yet our Old Testament scholars, in using the L text of Chron.-Ezr.-Neh., treat it habitually as though it represented a Hebrew text of its own. Thus Kittel,<sup>57</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Kittel, in his *Biblia Hebraica*, recently published, constantly includes in his notes at the foot of the page Hebrew readings given on the sole authority of L. If these "variant readings" are to have any significance at all in his apparatus, they must be supposed actually to have stood in a Hebrew text and to have been rendered by this Greek. But of the great majority of them this is not true. They are mere excrescences on the Greek, due either to the irresponsible reviser or else to obvious errors of Greek transcribers. Nothing corresponding to them ever stood in any Hebrew text of the Chronicler's work. I

in his several works on Chron.; Benzinger,<sup>58</sup> in his commentary on Chronicles; Bertholet, *Comm.* on Ezr.-Neh., and others. Siegfried, *Comm.* on Ezr.-Neh., does not pay much attention to the examination of the text.

Allied to the Lagarde text, but plainly not belonging to it, is the old Latin translation of I Esdras. This was made from the Syro-Palestinian Greek some time before the Lucianic revision; presumably in the second century A. D., since it is cited by Cyprian. In this version we really have a representative of the old Syro-Palestinian text, and the aid which it gives is important. The many additions, corrections, and conflations introduced by Lucian do not appear in it.<sup>59</sup> Its text has come down to us in several slightly differing forms, which need to be re-examined.

The L Greek text, then, is an instrument only to be used with the utmost caution. It is true that even in Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. it contains a good deal of valuable material, not found elsewhere; but this is much less in amount, and far more difficult to secure, than is commonly supposed. The quest of it is not quite the search for two grains of wheat in two bushels of chaff, for in this case the material in which it is imbedded has also a certain value of its own—but only when its origin and true character are under-

have observed one case, Neh. 11:8, in which MT can be emended in accordance with a reading peculiar to L; but even here it may be that the *οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ* came from a happy conjecture and not from any real Hebrew reading. For examples of this mistaken use, see his notes on I Chron. 4:41 (where the Greek must originally have been *τὰς πηγὰς ἀς εἶπον ἐκεῖ*), and its Heb. = exactly our MT), 5:20 (of course either *ἐβόη[θη]σαν* or *ἐβόη[θηθη]σαν*), 9:37; 12:24; 13:1 (two places); 16:30 (the second half-verse transferred bodily from the Greek of Ps. 96:10!); 21:20 (see below); 24:24 (contamination from 23:20); II Chron. 7:20; 9:29 (!); 18:2, 29 (both of these conformed to the parallels in Kings); 22:6; 25:1; 27:4; 33:2; Ezra 4:23; 10:3, 24; Neh. 9:6, 32 (!); 13:1, 9.

In general, the apparatus of this *Biblia Hebraica* in Chron.-Ezr.-Neh. consists largely of information which is quite worthless for its intended purpose. The "LXX" notes have rarely any significance for the Hebrew text. In the L version of I Chron. 9:31, for instance, we have a bit of corrupt Greek side by side with its correct original. Why include such stuff here? Or why print in II Chron. 2:13 "LXX + *καὶ ὑφαίνειν*," when it is obvious at the first glance that the verb had its origin in a blundering dittography of the first letters of the following Hebrew word? Plain blunders of Greek copyists are also recorded, as in I Chron. 7:8 (twice). The apparatus of a Hebrew Bible (and a reprint of MT at that!) is not the place to study the performances of third-rate Greek scribes, interesting as the study might be under other circumstances.

<sup>58</sup> See, for example, his comments on I Chron. 2:18 f.; 3:22; 11:1, 8 (*περιβίωσα τὸν cf. Ex. 22:18*), 11 (contamination from II Sam. 23:8), 22; 15:13 (!); II Chron. 2:12; 35:3.

<sup>59</sup> Such as those in 1:9-12; 2:17 (18); 4:13, 39, 43, 48, 60, 61; 5:5—to give only the examples which have already been mentioned. The incomplete sentence at the end of the I Esdras fragment is filled out in the Latin, but not in the same way as in the Lucian Greek.

stood. The folly of "criticizing" our MT by the use of a Greek text which has itself not been criticized at all is nowhere more striking than in the present-day use of Lagarde's edition. The rule usually adopted appears to be: Take any Greek reading which seems useful, no matter whence it comes. Thus it happens that words due simply to copyists' blunders in the Greek, others which plainly resulted from a corrupt form of our MT, and readings which a closer scrutiny would have shown to be merely later doublet renderings of the same text, are all laid under contribution, and new and strange Hebrew phrases, said to correspond to them, are forthwith constructed.<sup>60</sup> Since the conglomerate L text offers so much that is not found elsewhere, it is naturally a mine for those who are not over particular. Klostermann, in the introduction to his commentary on the books of Samuel, quoted in Driver, *Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, p. lii, has expressed himself as follows: "Let him who would advance science . . . accustom himself above all things to the use of . . . Lagarde's edition of the recension of Lucian." Theoretically, this has some justification—though it would be better to advise students to begin by learning to make a scientific use of the ordinary Greek text; in practice, there has thus far been little use made of the L

<sup>60</sup>To give a few characteristic examples: In I Chron. 21:20 the Chronicler wrote מַתְּהֵבָאִים, as is attested both by MT and by Theodotion's transliteration (see above). The Hebrew word presents no difficulty whatever in its context. Theodotion's transliteration was replaced (as usual) in some MSS by the translation κρυβόμενοι. In L this was corrupted (possibly under the influence of the Greek of II Sam. 24:20, διαπορευομένων, = עֲבָרִים, though the word there stands in an altogether different clause, and refers to other persons) to πορευόμενοι. On the basis of this reading Klostermann emends to מַתְּהֵלָכִים (! not an equivalent of πορευόμενοι, nor graphically similar to MT, nor at all suited to this context), which is approved by Kittel, *Polychrome Bible and Comm.* In Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica* There is a note: "Read with L and II Sam. עֲבָרִים," a specimen of textual criticism which could hardly be surpassed.

One of the first emendations made by Guthe, in his *Polychrome Ezra and Nehemiah*, is an insertion in the text of Ezr. 1:3, on the sole basis of a reading in the Lucian I Esdras. But no one who is well acquainted with the L recension could doubt for a moment that its ὅς προϋμνείται τοῦ πορευθῆναι (2:3) is a free editorial insertion in the Greek.

In Neh. 4:17, where the Hebrew reads אִישׁ שְׁלָחוּ הָמִים (a corruption of בְּרִיךְ, cf. II Chron. 23:10), the L Greek has a characteristic double translation καὶ ἄνδρα ὃν ἀπίστελλον ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, ἀνὴρ καὶ ὅπλον αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ. Guthe actually turns this two-fold nonsense into Hebrew, inserting also an אִשָּׁר and the two prepositions עַל and אֶל, and substitutes it for MT! Kittel also prints this newly made Hebrew in his critical apparatus, and Bertholet (*Comm.*) mentions it with respect.

These are merely typical instances, of three different kinds, one from each of the three books. The list could be extended to include nearly all of the modern "critical" use of L in Chron.-Ezr.-Neh.

text in any part of the Old Testament which has tended noticeably to advance science. Not one in twenty of all the "emendations" of the Hebrew text hitherto made on the basis of Lucian readings will survive any critical examination. And the opportunities of doing harm through uncritical methods are much more numerous here than elsewhere. I would suggest instead this maxim: Let him who would advance science keep away as far as possible from critical operations with the Lucian recension until he has learned what it is and how to use it.

There is one purpose, however, for which the attention of scholars really needs to be directed to the L text at once, and that is, for the study of the Greek itself. There is doubtless much to be learned from it as to the history of both Hebrew original and the Greek versions, especially the Hexaplar, as well as in regard to the primitive readings of the Syro-Palestinian recension. And one of the first important undertakings of the criticism of the Greek Old Testament should be the reconstruction, so far as it is possible, of Theodotion's translation of Chron.-Ezr.-Neh.

#### V. THE CRITICAL PROCESS IN RESTORING THE SEMITIC TEXT

In investigating the Hebrew-Aramaic text of these books, in the part of the history covered by I Esdras, the process (after making sure of the traditional reading) must always be the following.

1. Ascertain the Egyptian Greek text of *the canonical recension*. Swete's edition usually (though not always) suffices for this purpose; and when it is used, the reading of codex A must always be given the presumption of superiority over that of codices B and  $\aleph$ .

2. Compare the Syrian text (Lagarde's edition) of the same book, bearing in mind its treacherous character. By the comparison we can reach approximately the original reading of Theodotion's version.

3. By comparing (*a*) the reading thus gained with (*b*) the Latin version of Jerome, and then with (*c*) the massoretic text, we can approximate to—and in most cases reach with certainty—

the Heb.-Aram. text which was selected, edited,<sup>61</sup> and made normative by the Jewish scholars at the beginning of the second century A. D.

4. Ascertain the reading of the Egyptian Greek text of *I Esdras*, using for this purpose (*a*) the text of A and the allied cursives, with which must be compared the witnesses to the Hexaplar Greek, including (*b*) codex B, (*c*) the Syriac of Paul of Tellā, and (*d*) the Ethiopic version.

5. Compare the Syro-Palestinian I *Esdras*, using (*a*) Lagarde's Greek (with the greatest caution, since this particular recension has not only suffered the usual "Lucianic" alterations, but has also been very extensively contaminated from the canonical Ezra), (*b*) the old Latin version, and (*c*) the text preserved by Josephus in his *Antiquities*. By thus comparing the Syrian with the Egyptian readings of I *Esdras* it is usually possible to gain the true text of the old Greek translation of Chron.-Ezr.-Neh., which was probably made shortly before the middle of the second century B. C.

6. Regain the Heb.-Aram. text from which this translation was made; and attempt, through comparison of this with the text of the second century A. D., to restore the words originally written by the Chronicler, or found by him in the sources which he used. In reasoning from the old Greek version to the Semitic text which lay behind it, one must bear in mind that this translation, while truly a "close" one, is considerably more free than the later renderings; also, that the Greek text has been much longer exposed to accidental corruption than that of Theodotion's version. Many readings which seem to point to variation in the Semitic original are really due to changes which have taken place in the Greek itself. And finally, in comparing the two parent Semitic texts with each other, some account must be taken of their relative correctness, so far as any general estimate is possible.

<sup>61</sup>See *AJSL*, p. 139, also above, p. 83.





CRITICAL NOTES ON ESTHER

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PAUL HAUPT



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In the following nn. I have not attempted to give all the divergences exhibited by the Ancient Versions; as a rule, I have recorded only variations which throw some light on the Heb. text.\* The ancient versions of E are so free and inaccurate (*cf. e. g.* nn. on **3**, 13. 14; **4**, 1. 11. 14; **5**, 13; **6**, 1; **7**, 3. 4) that it would be a waste of time to discuss all discrepancies. It does not help us very much for the understanding of the Heb. text if we are informed half a dozen times (**4**, 7; **8**, 1. 7. 13; **9**, 15. 18) that the K<sup>e</sup>thiv is יהודיים, but that the Q<sup>e</sup>rê prefers the contracted form יהודים; or that G<sup>v</sup> adds after וידי: μετὰ τοὺς λόγους τούτους = אחר הדברים האלה (as in **2**, 1) but that it omits ἕως Αἰθιοπίας = ועד כוש, while it adds in **3**, 12: ἀπὸ Ἰνδικῆς ἕως τῆς Αἰθιοπίας, ταῖς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι ἑπτὰ χώραις; that it reads τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν καὶ τοῖς Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων ἐνδόξοις for לְכָל שִׂרְיָו וְעַבְדָּיו חֵיל פָּרַס וּגְדֵי הַפֶּרְתִּינִים; that it renders וְאַחַר יָקָר תִּשְׁאֲרֶה גְדֻלָּתוֹ: καὶ τὴν δόξαν τῆς εὐφροσύνης τοῦ πλούτου αὐτοῦ, &c. &c.

W's† and J's‡ theory that G is more original than H seems to me untenable (*cf. e. g.* nn. on **6**, 1; **7**, 4; **8**, 8). The fact that the text of G does not read like a translation from the Heb. (*cf.* however πεσὼν πεσῇ, **6**, 13) is easily explained by the popularity of E. As soon as a foreign book becomes popular, the translations become more idiomatic and free.§ If a French play is to be a success in America or England, it is impossible to present a

\* It might be well to add that I completed the restoration of the Heb. text of E on Oct. 16, 1905, and that I revised it twice, on Aug. 6, 1906, and July 11, 1907. The Critical Notes were begun on Jan. 24, 1906, and finished on the following day; they were rewritten from June 9 to July 13 and on Aug. 4 and 5, 1906. Finally I recast them again from June 4 to July 12, 1907.

† Hugo Willrich, *Judaica* (Göttingen, 1900) p. 15; *cf.* also p. 27, l. 20. Contrast *Pur.* 28, 15.

‡ G. Jahn, *Das Buch Ester* (Leyden, 1901) p. vi.

§ *Cf.* my remarks in *Daniel* 16, 23.

§ Note the adaptations of the proper names in G<sup>s</sup>, discussed in nn. on **1**, 10. 14 and **9**, 7.

literal translation. It is necessary to introduce additions as well as omissions. I see nothing in  $\mathfrak{G}$  that is incompatible with the view that  $\mathfrak{G}$  is based on  $\mathfrak{H}$  or, to be more accurate, on a recension of the Heb. text from which  $\mathfrak{H}$  is derived (*cf. e. g.* nn. on **1**, 10. 14; **7**, 4; **9**, 9). W deems it not impossible that E was intended for Alexandria, and therefore written in Greek; afterwards, he thinks, it may have been translated into Heb. for the use of the Palestinian Jews. But E was written by a Persian Jew about 130 B. C. The Alexandrian festal legend for the Feast of Purim is the so-called Third Book of the Maccabees, and the Book of Judith is a Palestinian Purim legend; see Haupt, *Purim* (Leipzig, 1906) p. 7, ll. 30-38. I cite this book as *Pur.* The first number after *Pur.* refers to the page; the second, to the line. *Cant.* denotes Haupt, *The Book of Canticles* (Chicago, 1902) reprinted from *AJSL* **18**, 193-245; **19**, 1-32. In the same way *Eccl.* is used for Haupt, *Ecclesiastes* (Baltimore, 1905) and *Nah.* for Haupt, *The Book of Nahum* (Baltimore, 1907) reprinted from *JBL* **26**, 1-53.

The unabbreviated names of Biblical Books printed in *Italics* (*e. g.* *Kings*, *Psalms*, &c) denote the critical notes on the Heb. text in SBOT, *i. e.* my edition of *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament*; the first number after the name of the Book refers to the page in SBOT, the second indicates the line. Thus *Genesis* 50, 9 refers to p. 50, l. 9 of the critical edition of the Book of Genesis in SBOT; but Gen. **50**, 9 means chapter 50, verse 9 of the Book of Genesis. In the references to SBOT the (unabbreviated) names of the Books are printed in *Italics*; in the references to the received text of the Heb. Bible the names of the books are abbreviated, but not *italicized*, and the numbers of the chapters are printed in heavy-faced figures (**1**, **2**, **3**, &c).

I use  $\mathfrak{G}^V$  for  $\mathfrak{G}^V$ , *i. e.*  $\text{Εσθηρ β}$  in L's edition (= A in Fritzsche's edition) and  $\mathfrak{G}^L$  for  $\text{Εσθηρ α}$  (= B in Fritzsche's edition).  $\mathfrak{T}$  denotes the first Targum in L's edition;  $\mathfrak{T}^2 = \text{תרגום שני}$  (the numbers after  $\mathfrak{T}^2$  refer to the pages and lines of L's edition). The apocryphal additions to E in  $\mathfrak{G}$  are cited according to the cc. and vv. of the Vulgate ( $\mathfrak{V}$ ) *e. g.* **11**, 2 =  $\mathfrak{G}^V$  **1**, 1. This corresponds to the numeration in the Authorized Version (AV).

In addition to these symbols note the following abbreviations:

AG<sup>2</sup> = Delitzsch, *Assyr. Grammatik* (Berlin, 1906).—AJP = *American Journal of Philology*.—AJSL = *American Journal of Semitic Languages*.—AoF = Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*.—AOG = Winckler, *Der alte Orient und die Geschichtsforschung* (Berlin, 1906) = MVAG 11, 1.—ASKT = Haupt, *Akkadische und sumerische Keilschrifttexte* (Leipzig, 1881).—AT = *Altes Testament*.—AV = Authorized Version.—AV<sup>m</sup> = Authorized Version, margin.—B = Bertheau, *Die Bücher Esra, Nechemia und Ester*, second edition (Leipzig, 1887) by Victor Ryssel.—BA = *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* von Delitzsch und Haupt.—BAL = Haupt, *Beiträge zur assyrischen Lautlehre = Nachrichten von der Kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, April 25, 1883.—BDB = Francis Brown (assisted by S. R. Driver and C. A. Briggs) *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the OT* (Boston, 1906).—BL = Haupt, *Biblische Liebeslieder* (Leipzig, 1907).—BT = L. Goldschmidt, *Der babylonische Talmud*.—C = Paulus Cassel, *Das Buch Esther* (Berlin, 1878).—c. = chapter; cc. = chapters.—Cant. = Haupt, *The Book of Canticles* (Chicago, 1902) reprinted from AJSL 18, 193–245; 19, 1–32.—Ch = Cheyne.—CV (i. e. *Congress-Vortrag*) = Haupt, *Die akkadische Sprache* (Berlin, 1883).—DB = Dictionary of the Bible.—E = Esther.—EB = *Encyclopædia Biblica*, edited by Cheyne and Black.—Eccl. = Haupt, *The Book of Ecclesiastes* (Baltimore, 1905) reprinted from AJP, No. 102.—G = Greek Bible (LXX).—G<sup>A</sup> = *Alexandrinus*.—G<sup>L</sup> = Lucianic recension edited by L (Göttingen, 1883).—G<sup>S</sup> = *Sinaiticus*.—G<sup>V</sup> = *Vaticanus*.—GB<sup>14</sup> = Gesenius' *Hebr. Handwörterbuch*, edited by Buhl, fourteenth edition (Leipzig, 1905).—GK<sup>27</sup> = Gesenius' *Hebr. Grammatik*, edited by K (Leipzig, 1902)—English translation of GK<sup>26</sup> by Collins and Cowley (Oxford, 1898).—H = Haman.—HW = Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handwörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1896).—IN = Ed. Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme* (Halle, 1906).—J = G. Jahn, *Das Buch Ester* (Leyden, 1901).—J (i. e. Jerome) = Vulgate.—JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.—JBL = *Journal of Biblical Literature*.—JHUC = *Johns Hopkins University Circulars* (Baltimore).—K = Kautzsch (especially his *Textbibel*).—1 K, 2 K = The first (second) Book of the Kings.—KAT<sup>3</sup> = Eb. Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das AT*, third edition, edited by Zimmern und Winckler (Berlin, 1903).—KB = Eb. Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*.—L = Lagarde.—l. = line; ll. = lines.—LB = Luther's Bible.—LOT = S. R. Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the OT*.—M = Mordecai.—1 M, 2 M =

\* It might be well to add that the references to C were inserted after I had completed the revision of my manuscript, in July, 1907. Some etymologies proposed by C are impossible, but several of his remarks are superior to the observations found in the leading commentaries.

The first (second) Book of the Maccabees.—**ℳ** = Masoretic Text.—**MDOG** = *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* (Berlin).—**MSS** = Manuscripts.—**MVAG** = *Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* (Berlin).—**N** = Nöldeke.—**n.** = note; **nn.** = notes.—**Nah.** = Haupt, *The Book of Nahum* (1907) = *JBL* **26**, 1-53.—**NT** = New Testament.—**O** = Oort, *Emendationes* (see *Proverbs* 69, 4).—**OLZ** = *Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung*, edited by Peiser.—**OT** = Old Testament.—**p.** = page; **pp.** = pages.—**Pur.** = Haupt, *Purim* (Leipzig, 1906) = *BA* **6**, part 2.—**R** = Ryssel (especially his edition of **B** and his critical **nn.** in the *Beilagen* to **K**'s *Die Heilige Schrift des AT*).—**S** = Siegfried, *Esra, Nehemia und Esther* (Göttingen, 1901).—**1 S**, **2 S** = The first (second) Book of Samuel.—**Š** = Syriac Version (*Peshita*).—**Š<sup>A</sup>** = *Ambrosianus*.—**SBOT** = Haupt, *The Sacred Books of the OT*.—**SD** = Haupt, *Über einen Dialekt der sumerischen Sprache* = *Nachrichten von der Kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Nov. 3, 1880.—**SFG** = Haupt, *Die sumerischen Familiengesetze* (Leipzig, 1879).—**SG<sup>2</sup>** = Nöldeke, *Syrische Grammatik*, second edition (Leipzig, 1898).—**𐤆** = Targum.—**𐤆<sup>2</sup>** = **שני תרגומי**.—**TBAI** = Cheyne, *Traditions and Beliefs of Ancient Israel* (London, 1907).—**THCO** (*i. e.* Transactions of the Hamburg Congress of Orientalists) = *Verhandlungen des xiii. Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses zu Hamburg*, 1902 (Leyden, 1904).—**v.** = verse; **vv.** = verses.—**VG** = Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* (Berlin, 1907).—**W** = Willrich, *Judaica* (Göttingen, 1900).—**Wd** = Wildeboer's commentary on **E** in *Die fünf Megillot* (1898) = part xvii of **K. Marti's Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum AT**.—**WdG** = *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, by W. Wright, third edition revised by M. J. de Goeje (Cambridge, 1896).—**Wn** = Winckler (especially his paper on **E** in *AoF* **3**, 1-64, Leipzig, 1901, whole number xvi).—**ZA** = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*.—**ZAT** = *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*.—**ZDMG** = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.—**ZK** = *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*.

A scholar who considers the Moabite stone to be metrical may discuss the poetic form of **E**;<sup>\*</sup> but so far as I can see, it is written in prose, just as *Ruth* and *Jonah* are (apart from the Maccabean psalm inserted in c. **2**; see *AJSL* **23**, 256).

For **אסתר** = *Ištar*, a feminine form of *Ašur*, *Benignus*, so that **E** = *Benigna* (cf. Lat. *Bona Dea*) see my paper *The Name*

<sup>†</sup> Cf. the remarks of Cornill and Ed. Meyer cited in *AJSL* **23**, 221; also Budde, *Geschichte der althebr. Litteratur* (Leipzig, 1906) p. 33.



*Istar* in JAOS 28, 112–119; and for the Herodotean prototype of E and Sheherazade (*Φαιδρυμένη*, Her. 3, 68) see *Pur.* 8, 21 (cf. 40, 20).  $\mathfrak{C}^2$  (241, 16) says of E: איחקרי שמה אסתר בשם מלכב נגהא יונית איסתררא.

# א

(1) אֶחְשָׁרֶשׁ is a corruption of אֶחְשִׁירֶשׁ = Old Pers. Khšayārša. It is not necessary to suppose that אֶחְשָׁרֶשׁ (اخشوارش) became אֶחְשִׁירֶשׁ (*Kings* 126, 47; 270, 22) and that the ך and ר were afterwards transposed, while the י was corrupted to ך. The name אֶחְשִׁירֶשׁ does not appear as אֶחְשִׁירֶשׁ.

For the transposition of the vowels cf. אֶחְשִׁירֶשׁ (3, 12) for אֶחְשִׁירֶשׁ = Old Pers. *khšatrapāvan*, also מֶרְחָק for מֶרְחָק (see n. on מֶרְחָק, 2, 5) and מֶרְחָק for מֶרְחָק, Assy. Araxšāmna; see *Pur.* 23, 15; \* cf. L, *Purim*, p. 52, below.

The first ך of אֶחְשִׁירֶשׁ is a corruption of י, the second ך is due to dittography of the ר; cf. the dittographed ך in בטרום and תעבורי, Ruth 2, 8; 3, 14; also לעבוריבך, Nah. 2, 1 (see *Nah.* 29, below) and פרוים = פרוים (9, 19). The letters י and ך as well as ך and ר are often confounded, dittographed and haplographed (*Pur.* 51, 22). For ך and י cf. E 8, 13; Ruth 2, 1, and *Kings* 259, 29. ש reads correctly אֶחְשִׁירֶשׁ, just as we find in an Aramaic inscription: חֲשִׁירֶשׁ, corresponding to the Babyl. Xiši'aršu (-i, -a) or Axšijaršu (x = خ).

For confusion of ך and ר (ד) cf. my remarks on רמה בים סוֹס וְרֶנְבִּי instead of סוֹס וְרֶנְבִּי and רֶנְבִּי וְרֶנְבִּי for רֶנְבִּי וְרֶנְבִּי (Ex. 15, 2) in AJSL 20, 158, below (see also 23, 225, below). The suffix in סוֹס וְרֶנְבִּי † is due to dittography of the initial ר of the following רמה. In the gloss 2 K 16, 10 we find דרבישק for דרבישק; in Job 41, 21 (a variant to v. 20) תותה stands for תרתה = Assy. tartaxu, shaft, arrow (KB 6, 328). In E 1, 16; 2, 21; 3, 12; 8, 10 we find אֶחְשִׁירֶשׁ; in 10, 1: אֶחְשִׁירֶשׁ. The form אֶחְשִׁירֶשׁ (اخشوارش) is more correct than אֶחְשִׁירֶשׁ, although the first ך is a corruption of י. In אֶחְשִׁירֶשׁ the omission of the ך (for י) before ר is due to haplography; similarly ר has been omitted before ך in הפר (for הפר) E 7, 8, and ḪS (δαμάλεις, عذمتا).

\* Cf. also מֶרְחָק = Assy. a bū bu (*Nah.* 31) and modern Arab. qaba-jār for French *abat-jour* (VG 1, 121, below).

† For נֶרֶד = נֶרֶד to praise cf. Eth. ነገደ: (AG<sup>2</sup>, §146).

‡ IN 23 Ed. Meyer still renders: *Ross und Reiter*; he also maintains the pre-Exilic date of Moses' Song of Triumph. He agrees with me, however, in stating (p. 49, below) that there is some historical nucleus in the story of the catastrophe of the Egyptians; cf. my remarks in AJSL 20, 149, 153, 154, 158.

read פרות instead of פרות, Joel 1, 17; פורים must be derived from פורר = פורר; see n. on 9, 26.

In 27 out of the 29 cases in which the name אֶשְׁתֵּר occurs in E it is due to scribal expansion; cf. especially 1, 15. 16; it is original only in the opening clause וְהָיָה בְּיָמֵי א' (1, 1) and in the phrase מְלָכֹת א' (3, 6; 9.30 is a gloss). Wherever we find הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד or הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה (GK<sup>27</sup>, § 131, g) either the name or the title is due to scribal expansion. The proper Eng. phrase is *King David*, the proper Heb. expression is דָּוִד הַמֶּלֶךְ. *The king David* is neither good Eng. nor good Heb. The proper names (David, Solomon, Rehoboam, Jehoram, Jehoash, Rezin, Josiah) must be omitted *e. g.* in 1 K 1, 32. 37; 5, 27; 8, 5; 9, 11; 12, 6. 18; 2 K 3, 6; 14, 11; 16, 6. 11. 17; 22, 24; 23, 29,\* while the omission of the title *king* is required *e. g.* in 1 K 1, 53; 2, 29; 10, 16. 21. 23; 2 K 16, 11. 16; 25, 8. Even in cases where הַמֶּלֶךְ is affixed to the proper name, the title may often be omitted; cf. *e. g.* 2 K 9, 15 and Stade's nn. (in *Kings*) on the passages cited above.

It is often stated that the name of God is never mentioned in E (cf. n. on 4, 14) while the King of Persia is referred to 187 times, and his kingdom 26† times; cf. *e. g.* W 27 and Hastings' DB 1, 733, footnote. S (137, n. 1) remarks that the King is mentioned 190 times. I find that the name אֶשְׁתֵּר occurs 29 times, while he is simply referred to as the King 193 times. This would be 222 times, not 187. In several passages, however, the title הַמֶּלֶךְ does not refer to Xerxes in particular, but means *royal* in general.

Θ has for אֶשְׁתֵּר the name of his son Ἀртаξέρξης (cf. *Ezra* 32, 5). This discrepancy is not striking if the name אֶשְׁתֵּר is a later addition in all the passages except 1, 1 and 3, 6 (see above). Θ<sup>1</sup> Ἀσσυήρος is a later correction, just as Θ<sup>1</sup> Ουστιν for Θ<sup>v</sup> Αστιν. S reads, at the beginning of the parenthesis, אֶשְׁתֵּר אֶשְׁתֵּר אֶשְׁתֵּר. According to AoF 3, 5 אֶשְׁתֵּר is Cambyses, and the conspiracy in 2, 21 was aimed at Cyrus (cf. below, ad 2, 21) but King אֶשְׁתֵּר in E represents Alexander Balas (see *Pur.* 29, 8; 35, 42) i. e. the *poor and wise youth* alluded to in Eccl. 4, 13 (for *poor*=humble, of mean birth, of low origin, see *AJSL* 23, 226, n. 13).

The parentheses are a characteristic feature of E (cf. *Pur.* 9, 6). We find a great many explanatory parentheses in Herodotus; cf. *e. g.* Holder's edition where the parentheses are enclosed in ( ) while glosses are enclosed in [ ]. As E was written about b. c. 130, the Sadducean author may have read Herodotus' work, just as the Sadducean author of Ecclesiastes may have been acquainted with the works of Epicurus

\*This must not be interpreted to mean that all proper names, or titles, that might be dispensed with should be canceled, even if they are omitted in some of the Ancient Versions.

†This is correct only if we include מְלָכֹת in 1, 19; 4, 14; 5, 1, where it refers to E.

and other Greek philosophers (*Eccl.* 6, n. 7). I have indicated the parentheses by ( ) *e.g.* vv. 13. 14; 2, 5. 12; 5, 7. Transpositions are indicated by { } and [ ] *e.g.* v. 6, not by ( ).

For הָדָה we would expect הָדָה or הָדָה (*cf.* אֶסְתָּר for אֶסְתָּר, הָרָהָה for הָרָהָה, &c) corresponding to Syr. ܗܕܗ, Arab. هند Hind. ܬ has הָדָה, but ܬ ܗܝܢ ܫܡܢ ܫܡܥܢ ܕܗܝܢ. In l. 14 of the inscription of Darius at Naqs-i-Rustam the name appears as Indû. The accent of הָדָה should be on the ultima, not on the penult (הָדָה, הָדָה, הָדָה, not הָדָה). B thought that the pointing הָדָה might have been influenced by הָדָה וְהָדָה, but these two words are not the only *segholate* (see *Proverbs* 67, 19) forms לָוִי; *cf.* שָׁדָה, אָדָה, &c. The *o* in הָדָה instead of *i* or *e* may be explained in the same way as in נָא = Assy. Ni', *Thebes*; see *Nah.* 30 and *cf.* my *Assyr. E-vowel*, p. 22. It is possible that the Heb. *o* was pronounced *ō*, just as the Assy. *u* seems to have been sounded as *ū*; see *Ezekiel* 64, 43.

(2) The prefixed בִּנְיָיִם הָהֵם is due to scribal expansion.

According to AOG 21 כְּשִׁבְתָּ הַמֶּלֶךְ עַל כִּסֵּא מַלְכוּתוֹ means, not *when the King sat on his royal throne*, but *when he acceded to the throne*. The beginning of the following verse, however, shows that the great banquet was given, not at the accession of the King, but in the third year of his reign. W (16, above; *cf.* 21, below) referred ἡ ἐθρονίσθη (several MSS have ἐνεθρονίσθη) to the solemn enthronization of the King, which may have been celebrated three years after the accession of the King (*cf.* Jacob, *ZAT* 10, 281). The German Emperor William I. succeeded his elder brother Frederick William IV. on Jan. 2, 1861, but his coronation was celebrated at Königsberg on Oct. 18, 1861. ἡ ἐθρονίσθη (which is a free translation of כְּשִׁבְתָּ הַמֶּלֶךְ עַל כִּסֵּא מַלְכוּתוֹ) may refer to the enthronization (*cf.* ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς ἡμέραις) but this is not the original meaning of מלכות. *Cf.* also E 5, 1 and Herod. 7, 102; Plut. *Themist.* c. 13.

Heb. בִּירָה (בִּירְתָּא ܬ, ܒܝܪܬܐ ܫ) is a Babyl. loanword = *birtu*, *citadel* (HW 185<sup>a</sup>). מִן הַבִּירָה denotes the Acropolis of Susa; so, correctly S. *Cf.* my remarks on the Acropolis of Nineveh (*Nah.* 44). The royal palace was situated in the Acropolis (C 13, below) not in the city. The city was separated from the Acropolis by the Choaspes; see n. on 4, 17. ὁ ἐν Σούσοις τῇ πόλει. Contrast הָעִיר שׁוֹשַׁן נְכוּנָה (at the end of c. 3) and בְּרֹחֲבֵי הָעִיר (6, 11). See also n. on 9, 6.

(3) Before הָיִל we must insert וְשָׁרִי; so R (in K) and S.

For הַצִּרְתָּנִים = Assy. paršûmûti (HW 546) = עֲקָנִים *cf.* AJP 17, 490.

(4) The statement (AoF 3, 31, n. 1) that the original meaning of this passage was undoubtedly that the King gave a banquet *after* having displayed his power is untenable; בְּהִרְאֹתוֹ cannot mean *after having*

shown. Neither  $\Theta^v$  καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μετὰ τὸ δεῖξαι αὐτοῖς nor  $\Theta^L$  εἰς τὸ ἐπι-  
δειχθῆναι ( $\mathfrak{I}$  ut ostenderet) are correct. The emendation בְּהִרְאֶתֶם is  
gratuitous.

The 180 days may be an exaggeration, just as the 10,000 talents  
(3, 9) or the 50 cubits (5, 14) or the 75,000 said to have been slain by the  
Jews (9, 16) but the author undoubtedly intended to convey the idea  
that the banquet lasted 180 days, *i. e.* half a year.

מֵי יָמִים רַבִּים is a corrective gloss (or variant; cf. *Adap Nisvan* in  
 $\Theta^L$  3, 7 and *Kings* 213, 48; 291, 4; *Nah.* 40, 5; also n. on וַאֲבַנְתָּה, v. 10,  
and n. on 8, 6) to the following שְׁמוֹנִים וּמֵאָה יָמִים; it is omitted in  
 $\Theta^v$ . The glossator may have considered the 180 days an exaggeration;  
cf. second n. on 6, 8.

(5) Kethiv וּבְמִלְאוֹת, Q<sup>re</sup> וּבְמִלְאוֹת. The form is based on the  
analogy of the verbs לָהֵךְ, the א is silent; cf. סֶאֱרֹךְ (*Is.* 9, 4) *i. e.*  
סֶרֶךְ = סֶאֱרֹךְ = סֶאֱרֹךְ = Eth.  $\text{šân}$ ; see *Isaiah* 88, 39; *Kings* 274, 19;  
280, 48.

מֵי קֶטָן וְעַד קֶטָן means both high and low, not old and young;  
the latter phrase is expressed by מִזֶּקֶן וְעַד זָקֵן (3, 13). B interprets  
קֶטָן וְעַד קֶטָן correctly in the present verse; but in v. 20 he takes  
it to mean old and young.

Instead of מִשְׁתֶּה it is better to point מִשְׁתֶּה; cf.  $\psi$  60, 5 and  
*Kings* 173, 8. The צִי in this case indicates an accented short *e*; see  
below, n. on v. 22; contrast THCO 209.

In חָצֵר (חָצֵר, حارة, حارة) בְּחָצֵר גִּנַּת בֵּיתֶךָ הַמֶּלֶךְ  
הַמֶּלֶךְ is according to Wn a gloss to גִּנַּת בֵּיתֶךָ; but this is impossible.  
 $\Theta^v$  ἐν αὐτῇ οἴκον τοῦ βασιλέως omits גִּנַּת;  $\Theta^L$  has ἐνδον ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ τοῦ  
βασιλέως. The feast was not given in the park: this would have ruined  
the park; it was given in the forecourt of the royal park. This fore-  
court (D) in the groundplan of the Acropolis of Susa in Billerbeck's  
*Susa*, p. 132) had a mosaic pavement. A mosaic pavement in the park  
(B) would be very strange. Nor is E's banquet (c. 7) given in the גִּנַּת  
בֵּיתֶךָ; the King goes from E's banquet to the park (7, 7) and returns  
from the park to the place of the banquet (7, 8). According to Ch (EB  
4500) בֵּיתֶךָ is a corruption of בֵּיתֶךָ: it was an orchard of pistachio  
nut-trees that was meant! It might just as well be explained as a slight  
modification of 'ירֶהֱמָאֵל'. But בֵּיתֶךָ is a Babyl. loanword (KAT<sup>3</sup>, 649)  
derived from bîtānu, palace. Cf. tarbaçu ša bîtāni in Behrens,  
*Briefe kultischen Inhalts* (Leipzig, 1906) p. 39, n. 3. The idea (AoF  
3, 2) that בֵּיתֶךָ is an ideogram with phonetic complement ( $n + \text{בֵּית} =$   
appadan or maethana)\* is impossible; see *Pur.* 48, 10. The punctu-

\* Cf. N, *Aufsätze zur persischen Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1887) p. 152 and my ASKT 165,  
below.

ation **ביתן** is just as wrong as the vocalization of **כרפס** (v. 6) and **אבן** (8, 6). Cf. also **יצע** for **יצע** (4, 3).

(6) **הור** is an explanatory gloss to the following Pers. loanword **כרפס** = *κάρπασος*. A second explanatory gloss to **כרפס** is **בוץ** which must exchange places (cf. n. on 3, 11) with **ותכלת**. The transposition of **בוץ** and **ותכלת** is probably due to 8, 15 where we find **בוץ וארגמן**; cf. the remarks on **קרה ביום קרה** (Nah. 3, 17) in Nah. 33. For **ארגמן ותכלת** cf. my remarks in THCO 220. Both terms are Babyl. loanwords (KAT<sup>3</sup>, 649, n. 2). The prefixed gloss **הור** explains the color of the **כרפס**, while the affixed gloss **בוץ** describes the fine quality of the velarium (*ἔσκαρηγὲν τεταμένη*, cf. *ἔ et pendebant . . . tentoria*, *הור יריען פריסן יריען*, § 101). Cf. *carbasus* Lucr. 6, 109.

For **כרפס** with *ā* (as in *κάρπασος*) we must point **כרפס** = Pers. *کرپاس*, Syr. *ܟܪܦܣܐ*; cf. conclusion of n. on v. 5, also *Daniel* 21, 19.

Before **כרפס** we must insert the preposition **תחת**; this was probably displaced by the gloss **הור**; cf. n. on **ואבנחא** (instead of **חיש**) in v. 10 and n. on 3, 11; also Nah. 25 (*ad* 1, 11). There is a certain graphic similarity between **הור** and **תחת**; not only **ו** and **ר** are confounded (see above, *ad* v. 1) but also **ו** and **ת**: in **בלו** (Ezr. 4, 13, 20; 7, 24) e.g. the feminine **ת** of the Babyl. term *biltu* (from *רבל*) has been corrupted to **ו**; the original form may have been **בלת**; cf. Eth. *ቤተ*: *bēnāt* (JAOS 13, lii, below; JBL 19, 77, below). On the other hand we find **ת** for **ו** in **ותתני** = *ושתני*; see Ezra 63, 2; cf. *Ὀστώνης* (*אוסתן*) Sachau, *Drei aram. Papyrusurkunden aus Elephantine* (Berlin, 1907) pp. 26, 33; for **אוסתן** = *אוסתן* cf. *מזה ומזה* = *מאומה* and *Kings* 118, 1. Contrast L, *Pur.* 52, below; also *Βισθάνης* (Arrian 3, 19, 4).

It is impossible to regard vv. 6, 7, with B and Wb, as exclamations; nor can we, with AV, supply at the beginning of v. 6: *where were* (in K's AT *dort gab es*; S *da war*).

**אחרון** does not mean *held, fastened* (*ἔ τεταμένους ἐπὶ σχοινίοις*, *ἔ sustentata funibus*, § 102) but *bound, bordered, edged*; Ger. *eingefasst*; so B and K; contrast Keil, Schultz, Wb, S (*befestigt*).

**גלילי** does not mean *rings* (§ 103, *ἔ circuli*) or *κύβοι* (*ἔ<sup>yl</sup>*) but *poles*; see my translation of Cant. 5, 14 in AJSL 18, 199; cf. THCO 234 and BL 10.

Before **משות** we must insert the preposition **ב**. It is not necessary to say **על-משות**, as in 7, 8; cf. AJSL 22, 201, l. 11.

The terms **בהט ושיש ודור וסחרית** seem to denote four varieties of marble: **שיש** (= *שיש* 1 Chr. 29, 2) is *white marble* (cf. **שיש** = *בוץ*, *byssus*, i. e. *white lawn*; see the third paragraph of the nn. on the



present verse) = Assy. šaššu (*i. e.* šāšu; *cf.* laššu = lāšu = لیس laisa; see *Proverbs* 51, 9. — חֶבֶד, ♂ σμαραγδίνης may be *smaragdine marble*, *i. e.* probably *verd-antique*. חֶבֶר, ♂ πέννινος (*cf.* Arab. دُر durr, pearls) may be *lumachelle* or *shell-marble* (Ger. *Muschel-marmor*) which the ancient Persians may have obtained from the neighborhood of Astrakhan; the Astrakhan lumachelle is dark brown with orange shells. *Muschelkalk* (shell-limestone) is called in Assyrian pilu or pūlu = πῶρος; see *AJSL* 23, 259, below; *Nah.* 16, n. 15.—Heb. סֹדֶרֶת may be identical with Assy. sixru (HW 495<sup>b</sup>) which is probably another name for šubû (HW 637<sup>b</sup>) = שֻׁבּוּ (Ex. 28, 19; 39, 12) rendered in ♂: ἀχάτης; so it may mean *onyx marble* which the Romans called *alabastrites*. Onyx is but a variety of agate. Delitzsch's conjecture (*Proleg.* 85) that šubû = שֻׁבּוּ denotes the *diamond*, is improbable.—The meaning of שֵׁשׁ is reasonably certain; the explanation of the three other terms is more or less conjectural.

(7) חֶבֶד הַמֶּלֶךְ כִּיד (cf. 2, 18 and 1 K 10, 13) is correctly paraphrased in ♂: *ut magnificentia regia dignum erat*; *cf.* *Kings* 186, 45.

(8) For כָּדָה see below, *ad v.* 13.

חֶבֶד אֵינָהּ אֵין דָּאֵינָהּ (♂ לִית דָּאֵינָהּ ♂) does not mean *no one urged* (♂ *nec erat qui nolentes cogeret ad bibendum*, ♂ مَلَّحَ وَجَّحَ, AV *none did compel*) but *no one restricted*; so, correctly, Schultz. *Cf.* the *אֵתְּאֵס* in the Talmudic passages *Ned.* 27<sup>a</sup>; *Keth.* 16<sup>b</sup>, cited in Jastrow's dictionary; also in Dalman's *Wörterbuch* אֵתְּאֵס is explained to mean *gehindert werden*. The stem אֵתְּ means *to constrain*; this may mean either *to urge to action* or *to restrain from action*. The stem אֵתְּ may be connected with Assy. urāsu, *overseer* (HW 136<sup>b</sup>). For the change of *r* and *n* cf. נָשָׂא, *to lend* = Assy. rašû; נָשָׂא = نَحَسَ; cf. נְבוֹכַדְנֶצַּר (2, 6) = נְבוֹכַדְנֶצַּר and ZDMG 61, 195. But Heb. בִּיגֵן does not correspond to Assy. magāru; this verb (HW 392) means originally *to fall down*, to submit (Ger. *sich unterwerfen*) = בִּיגֵר ψ 89, 45.

For the ἀπαξ λεγόμενον על יסד *cf.* על קים in 9, 21, 27 and in the gloss 9, 31.

The distributive repetition אֵישׁ וְאֵישׁ (GK<sup>27</sup>, § 123, c) is very common in E, just as the parentheses referred to above, in nn. on v. 1; the infinitive absolute instead of the finite verb, discussed below, in n. on הִקְהָה (2, 18) and the use of Aramaic words, mentioned below, *ad* 4, 4; 7, 4; 9, 21, 23; *cf.* also the Aramaic forms and constructions discussed in nn. on 2, 9, 18. For the phrase אֵישׁ וְאֵישׁ *cf.* מִדִּינָה וּמִדִּינָה, 1, 22; 3, 12, 14; 4, 3; 8, 9, 13;—עַם וְעַם, 1, 22; 3, 12; 8, 9;—יּוֹם וְיּוֹם, 2, 11; 3, 4;—נִעְרָה וְנִעְרָה, 2, 12;—עִיר וְעִיר, 8, 9, 17.—שָׁנָה וְשָׁנָה, 9, 21, 27;—*cf.* especially 9, 28: מִשְׁפָּחָהּ וּמִשְׁפָּחָהּ מִדִּינָהּ וּמִדִּינָהּ עִיר וְעִיר.



According to the Talmud (Meg. 12<sup>a</sup>; BT 3, 579) every guest received the wine of his native district (*cf.* ט<sup>2</sup> 224, 23; contrast 237, 5) just as at certain modern entertainments the guests are sometimes asked to order their favorite brand and vintage of champagne (אמר רבי אלעזר מלמד שכל אחד ואחד השקהו מין מדינתו).

(9) אשתי may be identical with the name of the Elamite deity Mašti; see *Pur.* 10, 29. For ך = Assyr. *m* see n. on סיון (8, 9). *Cf.* also the name ושתני; see n. on v. 6. ט<sup>2</sup> 238, 12 Vashti says: *I am the daughter of Evil-Merodach, grand-daughter of King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon.* According to Ch (EB 5247) ושתני is a corruption of אשורית, Assur being often used as a synonym for *Jerahmeel*! *Cf.* Ch's explanations of מרדכי (2, 5) and זרש (5, 10).

אש is haplography for בבית (בבית מלכותא ט). *Cf.* בית המלך, for בבית המלך, 4, 13, and contrast בבית המלכות, 5, 1; בבית המלך, 9, 4; בביתו, 1, 22; see *Kings* 301, 45.

אש is pluperfect, as in 2, 1; see *Kings* 247, 16; *cf.* below, וחקר, v. 14; היה, 2, 5; הגידה, 2, 10; ידע, 4, 1, &c.

אש למלך אהשורש is a scribal expansion; אהשורש is a tertiary addition; *cf.* above, *ad* v. 1.

(10) The names of the seven chamberlains of the king are just as doubtful as the names of the seven councilors (v. 14) and the names of the ten sons of H (9, 7). The name הרבונא is mentioned again in 7, 9 as הרבונה, with final ה instead of א (*cf.* Ruth 1, 20 &c). The name בנתא seems to be miswritten for בנתא (6, 2) = בנתא (2, 21). *Cf.* the omission of the *n* in ט<sup>2</sup> Ἀρκεσάιος = ארשנא and מרסנא = מרס (v. 14). The name of the fellow-conspirator of בנתא in 2, 21; 6, 2: תרש was displaced (*cf.* ZDMG 61, 286, l. 18; *Nah.* 25, l. 26; BL 62, n. 50) in the present passage by ואבנתא, which is merely a gloss (or *variant*; *cf.* last n. on v. 4) to בנתא with prefixed ך explicative (*cf.* *Pur.* 15, 31) just as מרסנא seems to be a variant of the preceding מרס (v. 14). But the name תרש is preserved in ט<sup>2</sup>.

ט<sup>v</sup> gives the following seven names: Αμυν, Μαζαν, Θappa, Βωραζη, Ζαθολθα, Αβαταζα, Θαραβα. The first name, Αμυν, is a corruption (or *adaptation*) of אמונן (ט adds to ממונן, v. 16: הו המן בר ישינא (בריה דאגג ישינא). Μαζαν = Βαζαν = אשנא. — Θappa = Θappα (*cf.* θάππος = θάσπος, and the proper names Θαρσάας &c) = אש תרש. In ט<sup>v</sup> the names בנתא and תרש are omitted in 2, 21; 6, 2; but in the apocryphal addition prefixed to the Book (v. 11 = § 12, 1) we find Γαβαθα και Θappa. ט<sup>2</sup> Βαγαθα και Θαρας in 2, 21 is a subsequent addition. Γαβαθα is a transposition of Βαγαθα (§ Βαγαθα) = אשנא; *cf.* אבנתא (see below) = אשנא, and אבונא = אשנא, also אשנא = אשנא (see below) for אשנא (אשנא) in 9, 7. ט<sup>2</sup> 1, 11 has for ט<sup>v</sup> Γαβαθα και

Θαρρα the names Αστας (*var.* Ασταγος) καὶ Θεδευτος, Josephus (*Ant.* 11, 6, 4) Βαγαθως καὶ Θεοδέστης (= תרש, with ד for ר). The *Vetus Latina* has in 2, 21: *Bartageus et Thedestes*. According to W 19 the original name was Θεόδοτος. But even if Θεδευτος and Θεοδέστης were corruptions of Θεόδοτος, this name would be a Greek adaptation like φρονραι for ΦΟΥΡΑΙ = ΦΟΥΡΔΙ; see n. on 9, 23.—Θ<sup>v</sup> Αβαταζα seems to be a corruption of אבנתא אבנתא (Αβαταζα = אבנתא = אבנתא = אבנתא) just as אבנתא appears in Θ<sup>a</sup> as Ζηβαθαθα (*i. e.* אבנתא = אבנתא = אבנתא) and in Θ<sup>v</sup> as Βωραζη (= Βωραζη = Βωραθη; *cf.* Ζωσαρα = זרש = גרש, 5, 10).—Θ<sup>v</sup> Ζαθολθα (for Ζαθορθα) = אבנתא אבנתא. —Θ<sup>v</sup> Θαραβα (Θ<sup>a</sup> Θαβαζ) = אבנתא אבנתא (Θαραβα = Βαραθα = ברש = ברש = ברש; *cf.* § below).

אבנתא אבנתא does not appear in Θ<sup>v</sup>, but Θ<sup>a</sup> has instead of Θ<sup>v</sup> Θαρρα (for Θαρασα) = תרש the name Θαραβωα which is a corruption of אבנתא אבנתא. In 7, 9 Θ<sup>v</sup> has for אבנתא אבנתא the name Βονγαθαν which seems to correspond to אבנתא אבנתא (for אבנתא; see above). Θ<sup>a</sup> Αγαθας (*var.* Γαβουθας = Θ<sup>v</sup> Βονγαθαν, *cf.* Θ<sup>v</sup> Γαβαθα = 3 Bagatha, 12, 1, = אבנתא אבנתא; also ὁ Ἀχαθαῖος = Ἀθαχαῖος = אבנתא אבנתא, 4, 9, and Γαβουζα = Γαζουβα = עזובה, *Kings* 176, 33) may have been influenced by the Greek names Ἀγαθας, Ἀγαθος, &c. According to Jewish tradition Harbonah was a good man; he is blessed with M and E after the reading of the Megillah at the Feast of Purim. The transposition in אבנתא אבנתא may represent a similar adaptation; אבנתא אבנתא suggested the verbs מִשְׁפָּטִים, to have pity and compassion; *cf.* מִשְׁפָּטִים מִשְׁפָּטִים, compassionate and merciful; מִשְׁפָּטִים מִשְׁפָּטִים, tender-hearted and benign. For ב = מ = פ *cf.* AJSL 23, 235, n. 46; also n. on 9, 9. The name אבנתא אבנתא suggested destruction; *cf.* מִשְׁפָּטִים and מִשְׁפָּטִים = מִשְׁפָּטִים (SG<sup>2</sup> § 128, B). *Cf.* the remarks on μονχαῖος and βονγαῖος in the nn. on v. 14.

§ reads למִדְמוֹנִים, to the eunuchs, instead of אבנתא אבנתא (for אבנתא אבנתא *cf.* the remarks on אבנתא אבנתא) adding after אבנתא אבנתא the name תרש which corresponds to the third name in Θ<sup>v</sup>, Θαρρα. The names in §, after the prefixed למִדְמוֹנִים, are: אבנתא אבנתא אבנתא אבנתא. Apart from the preservation of תרש, which is omitted in אבנתא אבנתא, and the interpretation of אבנתא אבנתא as למִדְמוֹנִים, to the eunuchs, the names in § are practically identical with those in אבנתא אבנתא. The differences consist in transpositions and other slight graphic variations (ב for כ & c). For אבנתא אבנתא §<sup>a</sup> has אבנתא אבנתא. For the transposition אבנתא אבנתא *cf.* Θ<sup>a</sup> Ἀρεσαῖος = אבנתא אבנתא, v. 14; Γαβαθα = Βαγαθα = אבנתא אבנתא; Γαβουθας = Βονγαθαν = אבנתא אבנתא; also Θ<sup>a</sup> Αβαν for Αβαν (3, 1).

3 Mauman, Bazatha, Harbona, Bagatha, Abgatha, Zethar, Charchas follows אבנתא אבנתא; so, too, ט.

The derivation of כָּרִיס from Assy. ša reši (ZDMG 53, 116) seems to me impossible; for ס = Assy. ש cf. אֶחָדִי = Istar; see *Kings* 270, 26.

(12) Heb. בִּיאָן, *to refuse* (cf. Syr. ܒܝܐܢ, *it is not tedious to me, I do not mind*, Eth. ሙላኑ: mannána, *to reject*; Arab. مماننة mumā'ana, *deliberation*) may be a secondary Piel derived from the interrogative pronoun מִן, *what?* (cf. Assy. minū, *how?* and minū, *what?*) i.e. a compound of the interrogative pronoun מִי, *who?* *what?* and the interrogative particle לָ: nu (cf. n. on 7, 5). Heb. וַתִּבְאֵן meant originally *she said, What!* Cf. AJSL 22, 259 and WdG 1, § 67, d, also וַיִּהְיֶה (Num. 13, 30) from הָיָה.

וַתִּבְאֵן is scribal expansion; cf. the remarks on הַמִּלְכָּה דָּוִד in nn. on v. 1. <sup>5v</sup> has Ἀστὺν ἡ βασιλισσα for וַתִּבְאֵן; in v. 11 <sup>5v</sup> has simply τὴν βασιλισσαν for אֶת הַמִּלְכָּה.

(13) וַתִּבְאֵן דְּבַר means here *procedure*; cf. v. 17 and דְּבַר מִדְּבָרִי (3, 4) also דְּבַר הַצִּוּוֹת (9, 31) and דְּבַר הַפְּרִים (9, 32).

In דָּת וּדִין (ט אוריתא ודינא, § 5, <sup>5v</sup> νόμον καὶ κρίσιν, 3 *leges ac iura majorum*, AV *law and judgment*, LB *Recht und Händel*) the term דִּין is not added as an explanation of דָּת (S). The meanings of the two terms are entirely different: דָּת denotes especially a *personal* or *executive act*, while דִּין denotes a *legislative act*; דָּת is a *royal decree* (דְּבַר מַלְכוּת, v. 19; cf. כֹּדֶת 1, 8; 2, 12; 4, 16 and the last paragraph of un. on 1, 14) or *edict*, and דִּין means *consuetudinary law* including the *ecclesiastical* (ceremonial, ritual) *law*; in Arabic the term دین dīn is therefore used for *religion*. The term דָּתִים corresponds to the decisions of the Roman emperors, which were called *decrees* (Lat. *decreta*) and formed part of the *imperial constitutions* (Lat. *constitutiones principum*). Cf. v. 19: יֵצֵא דְבַר מַלְכוּת וַיִּפְתַּח בְּדָתִי פֶּסֶחַ וּמִדֵּי Heb. דָּת is a Pers. loanword (cf. *Ezra* 63, 18) and means lit. *what is given* (Lat. *datum*). Heb. דִּין, on the other hand, is a Babyl. loanword (KAT<sup>3</sup>, 650 below) which may ultimately be, not Semitic, but Sumerian (SD 527, 1). Babyl. dīnu corresponds to Sumer. di=din, just as qanū, *reed* is derived from Sum. gi=gin (CV 9). For the vanishing of final consonants in Sumerian see SFG 49; ASKT 136, l. 7; CV 8; and for the preservation of silent final consonants in loanwords cf. *Pur.* 16, 32 (also גִּנְיָ = גִּנְיָ).

(14) For וַיִּקְרָב we must point וַיִּקְרָב, *he caused to come near*, i.e. *he summoned* (cf. Josh. 7, 16; 1 S 10, 20; Jer. 30, 21) or *he had summoned* (cf. the n. on עֲשִׂיתָה, v. 9). S's conjecture וַיִּקְרָב (1 K 5, 7) is not good. <sup>5v</sup> καὶ προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ (<sup>5v</sup> προσῆλθον) does not presuppose a different consonantal text; the Hiphil וַיִּקְרָב may be

intransitive; cf. Ex. 14, 10 and *Kings* 174, 27; nor need we read the plural, הקרבו, (see *Kings* 170, n. \*) or וַיִּקְרְבוּ. לַיהוָה. ט. וְקָרְבוּ לַיהוָה. ט. וְקָרְבוּ לַיהוָה.

The names of the seven councilors are just as doubtful as the names of the seven chamberlains in v. 10; שֶׁתָּר might be identical with the first part of the name שֶׁתָּר בּוֹזֵי, but the initial שֶׁ may be a corruption of בּוֹ; see *Ezra* 34, 5.—For תְּרִישִׁי cf. 1 Chr. 7, 10 where this name is followed by אֲדִישָׁהּ which has been combined with the cuneiform Axšeri given in the cuneiform account of the fourth campaign of Sardanapalus (KB 2, 177, l. 126) as the name of the King of Man (or Van; cf. n. on וְשֶׁתָּר, v. 9) between Lake Van and Lake Urumiah; cf. Ninth Annual Report of the Johns Hopkins University (Baltimore, 1884) p. 28. According to TBAI 166 שֶׁתָּר and תְּרִישִׁי are corruptions of אֲשֶׁתָּר, while אֲדִישָׁהּ is a slightly modified form of אֲשֶׁתָּר!—אֲדִישָׁהּ may be a shorter form of the following name מִרְסָנָה (cf. n. on מִרְסָנָה, Nah. 35) just as בִּנְתָּא (= בִּנְתָּא = בִּנְתָּא) is a shorter form of the following אֲבִנְתָּא (v. 10).—The name מִיְּבֹזֵן appears also in vv. 16 and 21.

For the seven names of אֲדִישָׁהּ (3 *Charsena*, *Sethar*, *Admatha*, *Tharsis*, *Mares*, *Marsana*, *Mamuchan*) ט<sup>v</sup> has but three, viz. Ἀρκεσαῖος, Σαρσαθαῖος (Σ<sup>a</sup> Σαρσεσθεος) and Μαλησεαρ. In vv. 16, 21 Σ has ὁ Μουχαῖος for מִיְּבֹזֵן; this may be a Greek adaptation, just as φρουραί, vigils for פְּרוּרִים (see nn. on 9, 23) and βονγάιος, braggart for Γωγάιος = גִּאגִּי (see n. on 3, 1). For the article cf. the remarks on ὁ Μαρδοχαῖος = מִרְדָּכִי (2, 5) and GK<sup>27</sup>, § 125, d. Μουχαῖος, it may be supposed, was regarded as a dialectic by-form of μοιχικός, adulterous; cf. Æolian Μοῖσα = Μοῦσα, Μοισαῖος = Μουσαῖος. This councilor may have been called ὁ μουχαῖος, because he advises the King to divorce the Queen; cf. Matt. 5, 32 and the remarks on § רַחֲבֹנָה for אֲדִישָׁהּ in nn. on v. 10. Σ<sup>l</sup> has βονγάιος for ὁ μουχαῖος; cf. nn. on הָגָה (2, 3) and הָאֲנָנִי (3, 1).—Σ Ἀρκεσαῖος corresponds to אֲדִישָׁהּ; cf. the transposition of the ר in § רַחֲבֹנָה = אֲדִישָׁהּ and the omission of the נ in מִרְסָנָה = בִּנְתָּא. The form of the name in Σ may have been influenced by Greek names like Ἀρκεσος, Ἀρκέσας &c; cf. the remarks on Σ<sup>l</sup> Αγαθας (7, 9) in nn. on רַחֲבֹנָה, v. 10.—The third name in Σ, Μαλησεαρ, evidently corresponds to אֲדִישָׁהּ (מִרְסָנָה) with l for r, and r for n; cf. my remarks on Δάρσινα = Rēš-īni (Heb. רִשְׁנָה) in ZDMG 61, 284 and Nah. 45, below. —Consequently the three names in Σ correspond to מִרְסָנָה, מִרְסָנָה, and מִיְּבֹזֵן in אֲדִישָׁהּ. Σ omits שֶׁתָּר אֲדִישָׁהּ תְּרִישִׁי after מִרְסָנָה, and מִרְסָנָה before מִרְסָנָה. Σ may have regarded שֶׁתָּר אֲדִישָׁהּ

חַרְשִׁישׁ as appositive to כַּרְשָׁנָא (= שָׁטַר אֲדָמָה חַרְשִׁישׁ)\* and מִרְסָא as undeleted corrigendum (cf. גֹּב גֹּבִי, *Nah.* 35) for מִרְסָנָא. For various spellings of the same name cf. *Kings* 275, 29. In  $\mathfrak{G}^1$  four of the names of the ten sons of H have dropped out. It is possible, however, that the additional names of  $\mathfrak{M}$  in the present passage are due to scribal expansion. Cf. also  $\mathfrak{T}^2$  (238, 24).

§ reads בְּרֹנְשִׁי וְאַשְׁתֵּר רְמוֹס חַרְשִׁישׁ מִסְרִיא מַעֲוֹךְ. Here the names חַרְשִׁישׁ and מִרְסָא are transposed, חַרְשִׁישׁ appearing after רְמוֹס (= מִרְסָא) instead of preceding it. Apart from the transpositions and other slight graphic variations, the names in § are again (cf. v. 10) practically identical with those in  $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{T}$ . The corruption בְּרֹנְשִׁא (for כַּרְשָׁנָא) is obvious; §<sup>A</sup> has בְּרֹשְׁנִי. The prothetic א of וְאַשְׁתֵּר is not found in §<sup>A</sup>; for אֲרִימֹת §<sup>A</sup> has אֲרִימָה; for רְמוֹס: מִרְסָא. See also Marquard, *Fundamente*, pp. 68-73, cited EB 1402, n. 2.

(15) The סֹרַח פִּסְקָא at the end of v. 14 must be inserted after כֹּתֶה at the beginning of v. 15; כֹּתֶה (כְּאוֹרִיתָא  $\mathfrak{T}$ ) belongs to the preceding clause (contrast n. on 2, 6). We must read: הַשְׁבִּיבִים רֵאשֶׁנָּה בְּמַלְכוּת כֹּתֶה, who held the first rank in the kingdom according to a (royal) decree (patent). Cf. n. on דִּת וְדִין (v. 13) and כִּי כֵן צִוָּה לוֹ הַמֶּלֶךְ (3, 2). The prefixed כֹּתֶה before the question מַה לַּעֲשׂוֹת would be very strange. There is no כֹּתֶה before מַה לַּעֲשׂוֹת in 6, 6; nor do  $\mathfrak{G}^1\mathfrak{I}$  express it in the present passage. § اعنہ منہ لا یستحق لہ الصلحہ is merely a free rendering of מַה לַּעֲשׂוֹת בְּמַלְכוּהָ. Contrast Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, 3, 34.

(16) K<sup>ethiv</sup> מוּמִיכֵן; Q<sup>ere</sup> מִמִּיכֵן, as in vv. 14, 21.  $\mathfrak{G}^v$  ὁ μονυχαῖος,  $\mathfrak{G}^l$  βονυαῖος, § مومحی,  $\mathfrak{I}$  Mamuchan.  $\mathfrak{G}^s$  Μαμουχαῖος is a subsequent correction for μονυχαῖος.

(17)  $\mathfrak{M}$  דְּבַר means *procedure, behavior, attitude*; cf. v. 13. The following הַבִּלְכָּה is not *genitivus objectivus* (GK<sup>21</sup>, § 128, h; cf. n. on 4, 11).  $\mathfrak{G}^v$  τὰ ῥήματα τῆς βασιλείας, καὶ ὡς ἀντίπε τῆ βασιλείᾳ is a doublet; cf. the rendering of רָצִים (3, 13) in  $\mathfrak{G}^l$ . For the explicative καὶ see *Pur.* 16, 15.†  $\mathfrak{I}$  sermo,  $\mathfrak{T}$  פתגם גזירת מלכותא (cf. v. 19:  $\mathfrak{T}$  פתגם דְּבַר מַלְכוּתָא = גזירת מלכותא).

For  $\mathfrak{M}$  עַל read אַל; cf. 4, 5: וְחִצְוָהוּ עַל מִרְדְּכִי (for אַל) and contrast 7, 7: אֱלִיז (עַלִּיז) also 9, 10: אֱלִיז (עַל) (for אַל). See *Nah.* 20, ad v. 9.

The suffix in בְּאִמְרִים does not refer exclusively to the women; both men and women will say: The King commanded Queen Vashti to

\*Assyr. šapātu (HW 684a) = שַׁפֹּט or axṭā for axṭā (HW 273a, l. 2) do not prove interchange of ט and ת; cf. n. on טַפְסַר. *Nah.* 35. In קַטַּל = חָטַל = חָטַח = טַח, קַשַּׁט = שָׁחַט = שָׁחַט; טַחַט = טַחַט = טַחַט. &c the ט is due to partial assimilation; see AJSJ 23, 248, below.

†See also Moses Schorr, *Altbabyl. Rechtsurkunden* (Vienna, 1907) p. 171, below.



appear before him, and she did not come. But even if באַמִּירִים referred exclusively to the women, it would not be necessary to substitute באַמִּירִין; see *Kings* 83, 35.

(18) For נְבִיטָה (ט) וְכָדִי we must read וְכָדִי, *whenever*; cf. v. 22 בִּלְשׁוֹן for בִּלְשׁוֹן and 3, 4 (K"thiv באַמִּירִים, Q'rê נְבִיטָה) also Nah. 47 (כָּדִי for בָּדִי) and § כְּרִשְׁנָא for כְּרִשְׁנָא, v. 14. The ו prefixed to קִצָּה is the *Waw apodosis* (GK<sup>27</sup>, § 143, d) cf. וַיִּפְדֵּי, 3, 4; וַהֲיָה, 4, 11; וַיִּשְׁתָּח, 5, 3, 6; וַיִּפְתָּח and וַיִּתְּשֵׁן, 5, 6; 7, 2; 9, 12; וַיִּמְלֹא, 5, 9; וַיִּסְיִי, 6, 14; וַיִּהְיֶה, 9, 1; also the gloss in Eccl. 5, 6: כִּי־יִבְרַח הַלְמוֹת וַיִּבְרַח בְּזִיוֹן, *in many a dream there are vanities*. The phrase וְכָדִי בְּזִיוֹן וְקִצָּה means: *Whenever there is contempt* (disrespect, disobedience, on the part of the women) *there is wrath* (on the part of the princes). Heb. בָּדִי, *whenever* (Job 39, 25) means lit. *in the sufficiency, abundance, frequency*; for דִּי cf. *Proverbs* 61, 6. The Versions did not understand the phrase: ט וּמִן יִיכֹל לְסוּבְרָא כְּמִיסַת הָדָךְ דִּין וְרִגּוֹן § וּמִן יִיכֹל לְסוּבְרָא כְּמִיסַת הָדָךְ דִּין וְרִגּוֹן, I unde regis justa est indignatio. B's sie werden reden, und zwar nach Genüge Verachtung und Zorn is impossible. AV, *Thus* (shall there arise) *too much contempt and wrath*. Similarly Wd (following R in K) *und nach Genüge Verachtung und Verdruß* (wird es geben) and S *und es wird dem entsprechend Geringschätzung und Ärger* (geben) but in his nn. S states correctly that the בְּזִיוֹן will be on the part of the ladies, and the קִצָּה on the part of their husbands.

(19) For the phrases וַיֵּשֶׁב בְּעִנִּי אִם עַל הַמֶּלֶךְ טוֹב (cf. 3, 9) and וַיֵּשֶׁב הַמֶּלֶךְ see *Kings* 137, 17.

The omission of הַמֶּלֶכָה after וַיֵּשֶׁב is intentional; Ὡ, however, has ἡ βασιλίσσα instead of וַיֵּשֶׁב; § סִמְלָא מַלְכָּא. Contrast n. on הַמֶּלֶכָה instead of אַחֲרֵי in 4, 4.

מִלְּעִוְתָהּ (§ לְעִוְתָהּ) means simply *to another woman*; cf. רָע 1 S 28, 17 (לְדוֹד is gloss) and Neh. 2, 1 (see *Kings* 74, 7).

מִלְּעִוְתָהּ does not mean *who is more beautiful than she* (this would be טוֹבָה מִמֶּנָּה; cf. v. 11; 2, 2, 3, 7) but *who is better than she*, who is superior to her. Ὡ γυναικὶ κρείττονι αὐτῆς, Ὡ ἀλλῇ κρείττονι αὐτῆς, I altera quae melior est illa, AV *unto another that is better than she*. The new queen is to be just as beautiful as Vashti, but of a sweeter disposition, not so ill-tempered. The idea of the author was no doubt that Vashti's refusal to obey the King's command was simply due to her bad humor (so, correctly, S, *ad* v. 12) although N (EB 1403) says, It has been well remarked by A. H. Niemeyer that the most respectable character in the Book is Vashti who declines to exhibit her charms before the crowd of revelers. According to ט<sup>2</sup> (224, 27; 237, 30) the King commanded the Queen to appear *naked* (עֲרִילָחָא) before his guests.



(20) The clause **כִּי רַבָּה הִיא** (omitted in  $\mathfrak{S}^v$ ;  $\mathfrak{S}$  **يَعْلَمُ عَظِيمًا**) is concessive: *although it is great*, however great it be; cf. *Proverbs* 39, 35; *OLZ* 10, 65, n. 3; *Nah.* 39 (*ad Jer.* 50, 11).  $\mathfrak{S}$  renders correctly: *so gross es ist*; but the explanation given in his nn. is not satisfactory (*cf.* n. on 4, 7).

According to B the phrase **לְבַגְדוֹל וְעַד קָטָן** means here, not *noble and mean* (so, correctly, Schultz and  $\mathfrak{S}$ ; *cf.* **הַשִּׁירִים** and **הַעֲמִיּוֹם**, v. 16) as in v. 5, but *old and young*.  $\mathfrak{S}^v$  **ἀπὸ πτωχοῦ ἕως πλουσίου**,  $\mathfrak{S}^L$  **ἀπὸ πτωχῶν ἕως πλουσίων**.

(22) Heb. **סֵפֶר** (*i. e.* *sēfr*; see *Nah.* 29, below) is an Assyrian loan-word and means originally *message* = Assyrian *šipru*; see *Kings* 198, 47. Assyrian *šapāru*, *to send* is a Šaphel of **פָּר**; see *Nah.* 24, below; *cf.* n. on **שִׁקֵּל** (3, 9).

The last clause of c. 1, **וּמִדְבַּר כָּלשׁוֹן עִמּוֹ**, which is omitted in  $\mathfrak{S}^v$ , is a late gloss; in *Meg.* 12<sup>b</sup> (BT 3, 581) the phrase **שִׁיר בְּבִיתָן** is discussed, but there is no reference to **עִמּוֹ** and **וּמִדְבַּר כָּלשׁוֹן**. The meaning is: he is to talk plainly to her, as we say *to talk plain English or United States*, Ger. *mit dem werde ich einmal Deutsch reden*, French *je vais lui parler français* or *je vous le dis en bon français*; *cf.* my remarks on **اَعْرَب**, *JBL* 19, 66. The modern Yiddish phrase is *mámme lóshen reden*, *to talk in the mother tongue* (*mámme* = *mamma*, *mother*, and *lóshen* = **לָשׁוֹן**, *tongue*). An Alexandrian Jew in such a case talked to his wife, not in Hebrew, but in the language of his people, *i. e.* in plain Greek, just as a Jewish rabbi in Berlin would talk to his wife in such a case, not in Hebrew, but in German; *cf.* the last n. on 8, 9. But **τῇ πατρίῳ φωνῇ** (2 Macc. 7, 8. 21. 27) does not mean *in der Landessprache* (so Kamphausen in K) but *in the paternal (or ancestral) language*, *i. e.* *in Hebrew (or Aramaic)*. The *language of the country* would be **ἡ ἐπιχώριος φωνή**. Lat. *patrius sermo* is in Greek: **ἡ ἰδία γλῶττα**.

*Et hoc per cunctos populos divulgari* (AV *that it should be published according to the language of every people*) is a guess.  $\mathfrak{A}$  **וּמִדְבַּר כָּלשׁוֹן עִמּוֹ** could not have this meaning, even if we pointed **מִדְבַּר** instead of **וּמִדְבַּר**. The emendation **וּמִדְבַּר כָּל שְׂוֵה עִמּוֹ** (proposed by Hitzig and accepted by Rawlinson, Reuss, Orelli, O, B, R, K; but not by Wd and S) is impossible (*cf.* n. on 5, 11). In the first place, we should expect **כָּל שְׂוֵה לוֹ** (*cf.* 3, 8; 5, 12) and even if we read **וּמִדְבַּר כָּל שְׂוֵה לוֹ**, it could mean only *and talk what is proper for him*, implying a restriction; **כָּלֵף כֹּהֵף** means *it is meet and right*. *To talk as he pleases* would be **וּמִדְבַּר כְּרִצּוֹנוֹ** (*cf.* 1, 8; 9, 5) or **כְּאֵיִת** **נִפְשׁוֹ** or **כְּהִפְצֵן לְבוֹ**. For **כָּלשׁוֹן** read **בְּלָשׁוֹן**; *cf.* **בְּדִי** for **כְּדִי**, v. 18.  $\mathfrak{S}$  **لَمَّا كَلَّمَ امْرَأَتَهُ** follows  $\mathfrak{A}$ .  $\mathfrak{T}$  interprets: **לְמַדְהִי מִמְּלֵלָא** **וּמִתְמַלֵּל הָדָא לִישָׁן עִמָּה**;  $\mathfrak{T}^2$  **כְּלִישָׁן גְּבֵרָא וּכְמִתְמַלֵּל עִמָּה**.

## ב

(1) **זכר את ושתי** *he remembered Vashti* means *he could not forget her*; he thought of her with affection and was inclined to reinstate her. The insertion of the negative in  $\Theta^v$  οὐκ ἔτι ἐμνησθη is just as gratuitous as in Eccl. 11, 9 or in **לֹא יִדְרֶה בִּשְׂבָּךְ עוֹד** in *Nah.* 26.

(3) **את כל נערה** is correct; contrast S and GK<sup>27</sup>, § 117, d; *cf.* the three Pharisaic glosses in Eccl. 3, 15: **וְהָאֱלֹהִים יִבְקֹשׁ אֶת־נִירָה**; **וְיִאָּבֵד אֶת־לֵב מִתְנָה** 7, 7; **גַּם אֶת־הַגִּלָּם נָתַן בִּלְבָם** 3, 11; see *Nah.* 32. For **את** *cf.* *Proverbs* 51, 17. According to B. Luther (in IN 79, 119) **את בת לוי** (Ex. 2, 1) means, not *a daughter of Levi*, a Levitess, but *the daughter of Levi*, so that Moses would be a grandson of Jacob.

For **הַגִּי** (in the scribal expansion derived from v. 8)\* read **הַגִּי**, as in v. 8.  $\mathfrak{J}$  *Egeus*,  $\mathfrak{S}$  **הַגִּי**;  $\Theta^v$  *Gal*, as though the initial **ה** were the article, while  $\Theta^L$  substitutes in the present gloss: *Γωγαῖος*, and in the original passage (v. 8): *βουγαῖος*. For these two names in  $\Theta^L$  see below, *ad* 3, 1; *cf.* the remarks on *βουγαῖος* = *μουχαῖος* = **מִיּוּכָן** in nn. on 1, 14.

(5) For the introductory clause *cf.* the beginning of the Book of Job. **היה** is pluperfect; *cf.* n. on **עשתה** (1, 9). We must translate: *Now there had been* (for a long time) *a Jewish man in the Acropolis of Susa*.

The name **מִרְדָּכִי** is derived from the name of the chief god of Babylon, Marduk (*Pur.* 10, 26) = **מִרְדָּךְ** instead of **מִרְדָּךְ** (with **ךְ**; *cf.* **מִרְדָּךְ**). *Cf.* the remarks on the transposition of vowels in nn. on **אֶחָדָשׁוֹשׁ** (1, 1). The form **מִרְדָּכִי**, given in Baer's **היה**, is better than the usual punctuation **מִרְדָּכִי** (**عبدوخلی**) but the original pronunciation must have been **מִרְדָּכִי** (**مردوخلی**) =  $\Theta$  *Mapδοχαῖος*,  $\mathfrak{J}$  *Mardochæus*; see *Ezra* 58, 41.  $\mathfrak{T}$  combines the name with **מִירָא דְכִיָּא**, *pure myrrh*.  $\Theta$ , as a rule, prefixes the article,  $\delta$  *Mapδοχαῖος*; *cf.*  $\delta$  *Μουχαῖος* = **מִיּוּכָן** (1, 14) and  $\delta$  *Ἀχαβαῖος* = **הַתֵּךְ** (4, 9) also  $\delta$  *Αμυρ* in  $\Theta^{VL}$  (5, 9) where  $\Theta^A$  omits the article, and  $\delta$  *Γαζι* = **גַּזִּי** (see *Kings* 192, 23). The Herodotean prototype of M is Otanes; the Maccabean prototype is Jonathan (see *Pur.* 8, 22; 6, 36) but the name M is Babylonian. The author of E would not have given his Jewish hero and heroine (for E = Ištār see above, p. 119) names connected with heathen deities, unless M ( $\delta$  *Mapδοχαῖος*) and E had been the familiar names of some favorite characters in the popular festal legends and dramatic plays (*Pur.* 38, 31) for the

\* *Cf.* the scribal expansions (derived from 3, 13) at the end of 8, 11 and 8, 3 (derived from 9, 25) also the glosses at the end of 9, 2 and 3 (derived from the end of c. 8) and the two scribal expansions (derived from 9, 22 and 10) in 9, 16. See further nn. on **דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים** and **שְׁמֵרֵי הַסֵּס** (6, 2) and second n. on 6, 8.

(Babyl. and) Persian New Year's festival (*Pur.* 11, 31). According to Ch (EB 3198) M derived his name, not from Marduk (so, too, C 50, below) but from Jerahmeel: Abihail is most probably a popular corruption of Jerahmeel, Kish = Cushi, and the true name of M may have been Carmeli; cf. the Jerahmeelitish explanations of the names Vashti (1, 9) and Shethar, Tarshish (1, 14) and contrast IN 400, 1.

(6) מֵיִר אִישׁ יִבְיִי אִשֶּׁר מֵא refers to מִרְדֵּכִי; the כֹּהֵן צִסְקֹן should be after קִישׁ; contrast last n. on 1, 14. The genealogy, בֶּן יֵאִיר בֶּן קִישׁ, is parenthetical. Jair (about 600 B.C.) is M's father; Shimei (about 1000 B.C.) and Saul's father, Kish (about 1050) are two of his famous ancestors; cf. the complete genealogies of M in ט 7, 6; ט<sup>2</sup> 2, 5. C 52 deems it impossible that Kish in the present passage represents the father of Saul. ט inserts between Shimei and Kish the name of Shimei's father, Gera. Shimei is named, because he considered himself at least as good as David; just as M, the descendant of the first king of Israel, considered himself at least as good as the barbarian H (see *ad* 3, 4). M is introduced as a descendant of Saul, not as a son of David, because under the reign of the Maccabean princes descendants of David were not *personae gratæ* (see *Pur.* 23, 31). For מֵיִיר = מֵיִיר, the Heb. form of the Jewish name *Meier*, *Meyer*, &c, see BA 1, 170, below.

For נְבוֹכַדְנֶצַּר we had better read נְבוֹכַדְנֶצַּר = ♂ Ναβουχοδονοσορ = Babyl. Nabû-kudurri-uṣur. For the correct pronunciation of mispointed cuneiform names see *Kings* 270, 16. The best form is the Kethiv in Jer. 49, 28: נְבוֹכַדְנֶצַּר. The *o* of the final syllable seems to be preserved also in נְבוֹכַדְנֶצַּר (Ezr. 2, 1) unless the ך is merely due to dittography of the ך; cf. the remarks on אֶשְׂרֵירוּשׁ (1, 1) for אֶשְׂרֵירוּשׁ. The ך (which was assimilated to the preceding consonant; cf. הֶטֶט = xiṭṭ = xiṭ', SFG 11, below; VG 127, δ) is found also in the spelling נְבוֹכַדְנֶצַּר; the ך instead of ך (cf. nn. on אֶיֶס, 1, 8, = Assy. urāsu) in נְבוֹכַדְרֶצַּר. The *n* instead of *r* is due to dissimilation (contrast Aram. תִּנְיָן for תִּרְיָן). We have no right to restore throughout נְבוֹכַדְרֶצַּר (with ך and ך) just as it would be pedantic to substitute in the text of an English author *sycamore* for *sycamore*, or *Nazirite* for *Nazarite*. The omission of the ך and the substitution of ך for ך no doubt represent the actual pronunciation. The ך is certainly not due to graphic corruption, while the alleged preservation of the *o* in the final syllable צִיר (Ezra 26, 51) may be due to dittography of the ך.

(7) מֵהֶדְסָה, *Myrtle* (cf. Μυρρίνη, Μυρτάς, &c) corresponds to the Babyl. xadaššatu, *bride*; for הֶה = ח and ס = cuneiform ש see *Pur.* 39, 20.\* This name is not given in ♂<sup>VL</sup>; 3 *Edissa*; 5 הֶהֶט. The

\*According to TBAI 166, n. 3, הֶדְסָה is doubtless derived from [א]שְׁהר. Cf. Ch's explanation of רֶשֶׁתִּי (1, 9).

stems of Assy. xadaššatu (with  $\text{خ}$ ) and Syr.  $\text{ܕܚܬܐ}$  ( $\text{ܕܚܬܐ}$ , SG<sup>2</sup>, § 26, B, with  $\text{ح}$ ) are not identical; but Aram.  $\text{ܕܚܬܐ}$ , *myrtle* may be a contraction of xadaššatu (see *Pur.* 39, 23) and  $\text{ܕܚܬܐ}$  may be connected also with  $\text{ܐܕܥܐ}$  (=  $\text{ܕܚܬܐ}$ , *Nova*) i.e. the name of the place where Nicanor, the prototype of H (*Nah.* 26, 1; 30, 4) was defeated on the 13<sup>th</sup> of Adar, 161 B.C. (*Pur.* 9, 26). *Alasa*, the name of the place where Judas Maccabæus was slain, may be an intentional alteration of *Adasa*; see *Pur.* 38, 39.

$\text{בַּת הָדוֹד}$ , the daughter of his uncle (the brother of his father) means, of course, his *cousin* (cf. the extract from Maqrizî in L, *Purim*, p. 13) not his *niece*. Wd (169, below) calls E *M's cousin*, but in the introduction to c. 2 he refers to her as *M's niece*; so, too, p. 181, l. 10; on p. 186 (*bis*) he calls M *E's uncle*. The same mistake is made by N (EB 1400-7) and S (149, l. 8 from the bottom). Cf. also W 17, 18; C 49, 10; 57, 17; 78, 15. In C 53, 8 E's father, Abihail, is said to be a cousin of M. B (400) has correctly *cousin*, not *niece*.  $\text{Θ}^v$  inserts between  $\text{θυγάτηρ}$  and  $\text{ἀδελφοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ}$  the name  $\text{Ἀμεινυδαβ}$ ; see nn. on v. 15.

$\text{בַּת הָאֵלֶּיךָ}$  refers to the figure;  $\text{טוֹבַת מִרְאֵה}$ , to the face;  $\text{תֵּאֵר}$  cannot be derived from  $\text{רָאָה}$ , it is a secondary modification of  $\text{תָּוֵר}$ , *turn* in the sense of *form, shape*; cf. n. on  $\text{הַמְּבִיקִי}$  (Cant. 7, 2) AJSL 18, 217. The *a* in  $\text{תֵּאֵר}$  is on a par with the Pathah furtive. Cf. also *Kings* 167, 37.

Instead of  $\text{לְבַת לֹד מִדְּרָגִי}$  ( $\text{לִקְחָהּ לֹד מִדְּרָגִי}$ )  $\text{Θ}^v$  ( $\text{ἐπαίδευσεν αὐτὴν ἑαυτῇ}$ )  $\text{εἰς γυναικα}$  seems to have read  $\text{לְבִית}$ . According to Rabbi Meir (Meg. 13<sup>a</sup>, quoted C 62, below; J 46, below) we should read  $\text{לְבִית}$  instead of  $\text{לְבַת}$ ; cf. BT 3, 58<sup>a</sup> ( $\text{לְבִית אֵלֶּיךָ לְבַת אֵלֶּיךָ}$ ). The word  $\text{בֵּית}$ , *house* is used in the Talmud for *wife*. The original form of  $\text{בֵּית}$ , *house* was *ba't*, see AJSL 22, 258, below; for *bat*=*bint*, *daughter* see *Pur.* 50, 25.  $\text{Ἀ}$ , correctly, *Mardochæus sibi eam adoptavit in filiam*;  $\text{נִסְבָּה מִדְּרָגִי לִיה לְבִרְחָה}$ ,  $\text{نَسَبَتْ مِدرَجِي لَهَا لَبْرَحَا}$ ,  $\text{Ṭ}^2$ .

(9)  $\text{וַיַּהֲרֹץ}$  ( $\text{וַיַּהֲרֹץ}$ ; cf.  $\text{تَوَحَّى}$  *tauāhḥā*) does not mean *he hastened* ( $\text{Ἀ}$  *accelerare*,  $\text{سَهِى}$ ) but *he took a special interest*; cf. French *s'empresser* (S, *betrieb eifrig*). The cosmetic treatment could not be *hastened*; a period of twelve months was prescribed by a royal decree (v. 12) and E had to await her turn (v. 15). Nor did Hegai *hasten* to send E her meals; she was not starving. But he took a special interest in E and gave special orders concerning her cosmetic treatment and her meals; cosmetic treatment without proper diet does not help very much. Hegai also devoted special attention to the selection of E's seven maids. His experienced eye saw that E was likely to become queen (contrast C 58, 12).

For the position after the object of the infinitive לַחַת לָהּ (which is more Aram. than Heb.) see K's *Aram. Gr.* §§ 75, 84; GK<sup>27</sup>, § 142, f, n. 2. Cf. Dan. 2, 46: וּמִנְהָה וּנְיָהֲחִין אֲמִיר לְנִסְכָּה לָהּ; — 2, 10: לֹא אִתִּי אִישׁ עַל יִשְׁתָּא דִּי מִלַּת מַלְכָּא וּכְנַל לְהַחְיָה; — 6, 24: לַחַת לָהּ מִבֵּית הַמֶּלֶךְ. The clause אֲמִיר לְהַחְסֵקָה מִן גְּבָא, which appears in 𐤀 after הַנְּעִירִים הָרְאִית, is more appropriate after מִנְחָה; 𐤀 לַחַת לָהּ מִבֵּית הַמֶּלֶךְ is probably a misplaced correction of לַחַת לָהּ 1; cf. *Pur.* 47, 41.

(10) 𐤀 הַבִּידָה is pluperfect; cf. n. on עֲשֵׂתָה (1, 9). The objection raised by several commentators, that the Persian officers could not fail to discover E's Jewish extraction, is not valid. The officials in charge of a royal harem pay very little attention to the race and faith of an odalisque; any girl יִפֶּת הָאֵר וְטוֹבוֹת בִּירָאָה is eligible.\* E was not asked any questions; but, at the advice of M, she did not talk of her Jewish extraction, because this might have spoiled her chances of becoming Queen. *I quae noluit indicare ei populum et patriam suam* is misleading. See also nn. on 3, 4.

(11) 𐤀 לְפָנֵי הָצִיר means *opposite (or in front of) the forecourt*, 𐤀 קָדָם דְּרַחַת דִּי בְּבֵית נְשִׂיא 𐤀, 𐤀 מִן 𐤀. M did not enter the forecourt of the harem; cf. 4, 2, 6. Wd raises the question how it was possible that a man could talk to a girl from the royal harem, and how her Jewish extraction could be kept secret under those circumstances. Similarly N (EB 1401) says that M was able to communicate freely with his niece (contrast n. on בֵּת 𐤀, v. 7) in the harem. S states: *über die Schürerigkeit, wie M (S, throughout, Mordehai, as though it were בִּירָאָה! cf. n. on 4, 7) ohne Eunuch† zu sein im Frauenvorhofe sich blicken lassen durfte und E dort sprechen konnte, geht der spät-jüd. Erzähler leicht hinweg*. The narrator, it may be supposed, knew more about Oriental manners and customs than did S; the author did not overlook this difficulty, but S overlooked 𐤀 לְפָנֵי. M did not talk to E; in c. 4 E sends Hatach to M, and M sends his answers through this eunuch. If M walked in the place before the forecourt of the royal harem, he could easily get some news concerning the inmates of the harem from the eunuchs. By some diplomatic questions he could even obtain some special information concerning E without revealing the fact that she was his cousin and foster-daughter. He could simply ask, How is that beautiful girl in whom Hegai takes so great an interest? See also n. on 6, 10.

\* Cf. e.g. F. Marion Crawford's love story of Old Constantinople: *Arethusa, a Princess in Slavery*, and n. 42 to my lecture on *Ecclesiastes* in the *Oriental Studies* (Boston, 1894). See also C 63, 3.

† M may have been an eunuch just as Nehemiah; see *Ezra* 67, 10 and *Pur.* 52, 15, also BL 118, l. 9. Cf. the conclusion of n. on 4, 8.



(12) For the striking similarity of the first clause of this verse (*cf.* also v. 15) and the statement in Herod. 3, 79 see *Pur.* 9, 2. *Cf.* also n, on 4, 13.

The שֶׁנֶן הַמֶּלֶךְ had an antiseptic effect, and purified the skin; the בְּשִׁימִים perfumed the body; the חֲמִירִיקִים (*i.e.* lotions, rubbing, massage, &c) made the skin white and soft, and improved the figure.

(13) וְכֵן אֵל means *and then* (Ⓢ καὶ τότε, Ⓢ בְּחַר זְמַן וְכֵן אֵל) not *in this condition* (Ⓢ בְּכֵן) although Wd thinks that it may have this meaning; וְכֵן (4, 16) on the other hand, means *and in this condition*, not *and then*. We find וְכֵן, *and thus* also in Eccl. 8, 10; *cf.* AJSL 22, 255, below; contrast GK<sup>27</sup>, § 119, ii; GB<sup>14</sup>, 174<sup>b</sup>, 316<sup>b</sup>; BDB 486<sup>b</sup>, 3. When one of the new inmates of the harem was sent to the King, she could get anything she required for this purpose, *e.g.* dresses, jewelry, &c. These things were, of course, not provided while she passed from the harem to the palace of the King (as S supposes) but before she left the harem; and when she came back from the King, she was probably obliged to return the jewelry &c to Shaashgaz or Hegai.

(14) אֵל שֵׁנִי cannot mean *a second time* (B). It does not stand for שְׁנִית (*cf.* n. in Baer's edition, p. 72, below). Nor need we, with S, emend: הַשְּׁנִית (= Ⓢ τὸν δεύτερον) or מִשְׁנָה. אֵל שֵׁנִי, *a second* (not *the second*) is a gloss (omitted in Ⓢ) just as שְׁנִית in v. 19, and גַּם בְּיוֹם הַשְּׁנִי in 7, 2, or הַשְּׁנִית in 9, 29; *cf.* the שְׁנִית in Josh. 5, 2. The odalisques who had spent a night with the King were not transferred to another harem, as the glossator supposed; they returned to the same house, but they were henceforth under the care of another chamberlain (Ⓢ, however, has Γαι = הַגִּי, not שְׁעִנְגִּי). They were probably treated with special consideration, inasmuch as any one of them might become the mother of a royal prince.

The name שְׁעִנְגִּי (Ⓢ Susagazus, Ⓢ שְׁעִנְגִּי) should be pronounced ša'-šē-gāz, not Sha'ashgaz; just as יַעֲמִידָה represents ia'-mē-dû, not ia'amdû. In the same way שְׁעִנְגִּי, *insel* should be pronounced ša'-tē-néz,\* not ša'-at-nez (AJSL 22, 258).

Ⓢ has Γαι (not שְׁעִנְגִּי) also in the present verse; Ⓢ Tε for Γε, see *Pur.* 42, 18; *cf.* φασγα for φαστα (9, 7). For Γαι = הַגִּי see nn. on v. 3. The gloss שֵׁנִי presupposes the reading שְׁעִנְגִּי.

(15) בַּת אֲבִיחַיִל הָיָה מִרְדְּכָי אֲשֶׁר לָקַח לוֹ לְבַת אֵל is a subsequent addition (derived from v. 7 and from the gloss 9, 29) which severs

\*According to TBAI 566 שְׁעִנְגִּי should obviously be שְׁנִיעִרִית, *a Shinarite woman*. On the preceding page Ch states that we must substitute for *Thou shalt not see the a kid in his mother's milk* (Ex. 23, 19) *Thou shalt not clothe thyself with the garment of a Jerahmeelite woman*. *Cf.* Acts 26, 24.



the connection between אֶחָד and לְבוֹא אֶל הַבֵּלֶךְ. If the author had intended to give the name of E's father, he would have mentioned it in v. 7.  $\Theta^v$  calls E again (cf. nn. on 7)  $\theta\upsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\rho \text{ Αμειναδαβ}$  ἀδελφοῦ πατρὸς Μαρδοχαίου.  $\Theta$  Αμειναδαβ = עֲמִינַדָב; cf. Cant. 6, 12 where  $\Theta^v$  has  $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\acute{o} \mu\epsilon \acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\alpha\tau\alpha \text{ Αμειναδαβ}$  for שְׂמִינִתִּי מִנְחֹבֹת עֲמִינַדָב. For שְׂמִינִתִּי we must read שְׂמִינִתִּי, *ye have placed me*; עֲמִינַדָב means *kinsmen of a noble man*; see AJSL 18, 214; BL 26, †. Both אֶחָד and Αμειναδαβ = עֲמִינַדָב are fictitious names emphasizing the fact that E's father was a distinguished man, an *ابن الاكابر*; cf. the names מְחֻלֵּן and פְּלִיֵּן in the Book of Ruth.

The fact that E did not ask for anything, but took only what Hegai suggested, does not show her wisdom and her modesty (B) but her superior beauty. S thinks this incident illustrates E's modesty; he adds, however, *zugleich machte ihre Schönheit allen weiteren Schmuck überflüssig* (similarly Wd).

אֶל הַבֵּלֶךְ seems to be scribal expansion, derived from v. 14.

For נִסְתַּח see *Kings* 119, 24; cf. VG 49, β.

(16) For טֵבֶת (Babyl.  $\text{Ṭebētu}$ , stem  $\text{ṭebē}$ )\* see my *Assyr. E-vowel* (Baltimore, 1887) p. 11; cf. ZDMG 61, 284, below. For the *tenth* month, *Tebeth*,  $\Theta^v$  has the *twelfth* month, *Adar*. In  $\Theta^s$   $\delta\omega\delta\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega$  has subsequently been corrected to  $\delta\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega$ , and  $\text{Αδαρ}$  to  $\text{Τηβῆθ}$ .  $\text{ס}$  substitutes  $\text{חַנֵּךְ}$  for טֵבֶת ( $\text{חַנֵּךְ} = \text{January}$ ,  $\text{חַנֵּךְ} = \text{December}$ ) just as  $\text{ס}$  uses  $\text{סִיוֵן}$  for  $\text{סִיוֵן}$  (8, 9).

For אֶל הַבֵּלֶךְ  $\text{שֶׁבַע בְּשַׁת שָׁבַע}$   $\text{ס}$  has  $\text{שֶׁבַע בְּשַׁת שָׁבַע}$ .

(18) For the scribal expansion אֶחָד אֶת בְּשַׁת אֶחָד  $\text{ס}$  reads  $\text{אֶת בְּשַׁת אֶחָד}$ .

אֶת הַנְּחָה,  $\Theta^v$   $\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$  ( $\Theta^s$   $\acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\varsigma$ ) means neither *rest* ( $\text{נִסְא}$ ,  $\text{I requies}$ ) nor *a day of rest, holiday* (B, S) nor *exemption from military service* (cf.  $\text{בִּשְׁלֵחָה}$ , *discharge from the ranks, furlough*, Eccl. 8, 8, and Her. 3, 67) nor *remission of taxes* ( $\text{שְׁבוּק כְּרֵמָא}$ ; so W 16, below; cf. 24 and C 73, 6) but *release of prisoners* (Matt. 27, 15). Demetrius I (162-150 B.C.) promised to release all Jewish captives in his kingdom (1 M 10, 33). If  $\Theta$   $\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$  meant *remission of taxes*, it would be an Alexandrian adaptation, just as  $\Theta$   $\epsilon\theta\rho\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\eta$  (1, 2). Remission of taxes at festive occasions was customary under the reign of the Ptolemies, but not in the Persian empire or in the Seleucid kingdom. The promises of Demetrius I (1 M 10, 25-45) were extravagant, and Jonathan and his people gave no credit unto them.  $\text{Ἀνεσις}$  ( $\text{φόρων}$ ) would be more appropriate than  $\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ . Oriental kings are, as a rule, loath to relinquish any

\* Cf.  $\text{ṭebētu}$ , *signet* = Heb.  $\text{טֵבֶת}$ ; see e.g. Moses Schorr, *Altbabyl. Rechtsurkunden* (Vienna, 1907) p. 117.

taxes; nor would an Oriental monarch ever give 10,000 talents to his grand vizier (see *ad* 3, 11). Release of prisoners, even a general pardon, or amnesty, is less costly.\* **ח** **הַנְּהִיָּה** is inf. abs. instead of the finite verb (GK<sup>27</sup>, § 113, z) as in 2, 3; 6, 9; **וַתִּתֵּן**; 3, 13; **וַתְּסַלֵּחַ**; 8, 8; **וַתַּחֲסִיחַ**; 9, 1; **וַתַּחֲסִיחַ**; 9, 16; **וַתַּחֲסִיחַ** and **וַתַּחֲסִיחַ**; 9, 18; **וַתַּחֲסִיחַ** and **וַתַּחֲסִיחַ**; cf. *Nah.* 25, below; 27, below, and contrast n. on **וַתַּחֲסִיחַ** (9, 6). The infinitives **הַנְּהִיָּה** (4, 14) and **בְּקִשָּׁה** (5, 3; 7, 3) are Aramaic rather than Hebrew. Cf. however Arab. **إِرَادَة** *irāda*, **إِقَامَة** *iqāma*, &c.

Instead of the singular **בִּשְׂמֵחָה** (Wd, S: *Getreidespende*; cf. Jer. 40, 5) we must point **בִּשְׂמֵחַת**, *portions* (cf. **מִנּוֹת**, 9, 19, 22) *i.e.* dishes from the royal table or *messes* (see *Pur.* 47, 11). The nouns **בִּשְׂמֵחָה**, **בִּשְׂמֵחַת** have often been mispointed in **ח**; see *Nah.* 42. **ἡ ἀκ δὸνὰ largitus est juxta magnificentiam principalem**; **סִטְרָה מַגְדָּלָה**. B says, **בִּשְׂמֵחָה** means according to Am. 5, 11; Jer. 40, 5 *gift of grain or food*. The rendering *gift of food* (**ἡ τῶν σίτων θεραπεία**, Xen. *Cyrop.* 8, 2, 7; cf. *ibid.* 3 and *Anab.* 1, 9, 25) is correct, but not *gift of grain* (**σιτοδοσία**). In Jer. 40, 5 **בִּשְׂמֵחָה** is preceded by the gloss **אַחֲרָהּ**, *portion, ration*.

A glossator who misunderstood **בִּשְׂמֵחָה** to mean *tribute* (cf. 2 Chr. 24, 6, 9)† added the gloss which we find in **ח** at the beginning of c. 10, where it is connected neither with what precedes nor with what follows, just as we find at the end of the Book of Canticles two disconnected misplaced glosses, *viz.* 12, 13 (belonging to 2, 14) and 12, 14 (which belongs to 2, 17). See remarks on misplaced incorrect glosses in ZDMG 61, 297, l. 20; *Nah.* 43 (vv. 11, 6) and 41; also 30 (v. 4) and 25 (v. 11). Cf. nn. on 3, 7; 9, 16.

According to AoF 3, 26 the King levied the tax after he had repealed the decree to exterminate the Jews, because he wanted the money which H had promised to pay for the privilege of exterminating the Jews. AoF 3, 27 the statement **וַתִּתֵּן לְמַדְנֵיחַ עֶשֶׂה וַתִּתֵּן בִּיד** **בִּיד** is said to be meaningless; it is suggested that we should read instead of **לְמַדְנֵיחַ** the singular **לְמַדְנִיחַ**, referring to the capital, *i.e.* Seleucia; **בִּיד** (or **בִּישָׂא**) is supposed to be merely a variant of **בִּישָׂא**, meaning *impost*; v. 18 is taken to be the introduction to 10, 1, which should therefore be transferred to c. 10, the elevation of E to the queenship being the final climax.—This is all gratuitous.

\*Even in 1 M 10, 34; 13, 34 *ἀφεσις* does not mean *remission of taxes* (*ἀτέλεια*). Cf. 13, 39: *ἀφίεμεν δὲ ὑμῖν ἀγνοήματα καὶ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας* and 10, 33 where *ἀφίεμι* is used of the release of prisoners; cf. however vv. 29–31.

†The terms **בִּישָׂא**, **בִּישָׂא**, **בִּישָׂא** = Assyr. *mandattu* (for *mandantu*, from *nadānu*, *to give* = **נָתַן**, SFG 43, 2) are euphemisms; cf. AJSL 23, 231, n. 27; *Pur.* 47, 31.

(19) VV. 19 f. is not an *ἐπάνοδος* or *retrogressio*, as Grotius says, but a gloss added by some one who deemed it necessary to explain the clause **וּבְהֶקְבֵן בְּחוֹלוֹת שְׁנֵית**.  $\mathfrak{G}^v$  omits **שְׁנֵית**, also the final clause of the preceding verse, **וְרִיתָן נִשְׂאָח כִּיד הַמֶּלֶךְ**; for **וּבְהֶקְבֵן בְּחוֹלוֹת שְׁנֵית**  $\mathfrak{G}^v$  has  $\delta\ \delta\epsilon\ \text{Μαρδοχαίος}\ \epsilon\theta\epsilon\rho\alpha\pi\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\nu\ \epsilon\nu\ \tau\eta\ \alpha\upsilon\lambda\eta$ , which means, according to W 18, below, *he had a high position at the royal court* (cf. 11, 3; 12, 5) but *θεραπεύειν* may mean also *to pay a visit* (cf. *θεραπεύειν τὰς θύρας τινός*) &c. It is not necessary to suppose that M had an official position at the royal court (cf. C 75, 8; contrast 135, below). He may have been a **שְׂלֵחָה** or *τραπεζίτης*, i. e. he may have had a money-changer's table at the King's Gate, i. e. apparently (according to 4, 2, 6) the gateway\* leading from the City to the Acropolis; cf. last n. on c. 3. The *King's Gate* of Susa, it may be supposed, corresponded in some respects to the *Propylæa* of Athens. But according to  $\mathfrak{T}^2$  (259, 27) the gate was between the royal palace and the harem (**תַּרְשָׁא הַעֲלֹן מִבֵּית נִשְׂאָ וְעַד בֵּית מַלְכָּא**). The translation of **וְנִשְׂחָה כֵן לְמִדְרֵנִי הַדְּהוּרִי הַזֶּה בְּשַׁעַר הַמֶּלֶךְ** (6, 10) in  $\mathfrak{G}^L$  *καὶ ποίησον Μαρδοχαίω τῷ Ἰουδαίῳ τῷ καθημένῳ ἐν τῷ πυλῶνι* is more correct than the rendering in  $\mathfrak{G}^v$  *οὕτως ποιήσον τῷ Μ. τῷ Ἰ. τῷ θεραπεύοντι ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ*.

$\mathfrak{H}$  **שְׁנֵית** is a tertiary gloss; cf. nn. on **שְׁנֵי**, v. 14, and 3, 7.

(20) This verse contains two tertiary glosses to **וְהָאֲמִיר אַחֲרַי** **וּבְהֶקְבֵן בְּחוֹלוֹת שְׁנֵית** at the end of v. 22 (cf. n. on 3, 7).

(21)  $\mathfrak{H}$  **נִשְׂחָה** ( $\mathfrak{G}^v$  *οἱ ἀρχισωματοφύλακες*,  $\mathfrak{J}$  *janitores*,  $\mathfrak{S}$  **נִשְׂחָה**) seems to be misplaced; it should be inserted in v. 22 (see below). According to 1, 10 (where **תַּרְשָׁ** has been displaced by the gloss **וְהָאֲמִיר אַחֲרַי**) Bigthan and Teresh were not **נִשְׂחָה**, but belonged to the **שְׂבָעַת הַחַיִּטִּים הַמְּשִׁירִים אֶת פְּנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ**. There is a difference between chamberlains and members of the body-guard.

Heb. **סָפֵ** is a loanword = Babyl. *sippu*; for **סָפֵ** instead of *sippu* cf. the remarks on **בִּת**, *daughter* = *bint* in nn. on v. 7.

According to AoF 3, 5 the discovery of the conspiracy is out of place in this connection; it should have been given in the beginning, as in  $\mathfrak{G}$ . This theory, however, is gratuitous. Cf. the last but one paragraph of nn. on **אֶהְיֶה** (1, 1).

(22)  $\mathfrak{H}$  **וְהָאֲמִיר אַחֲרַי לְמִדְרֵנִי בְּשַׁעַר הַמֶּלֶךְ** cannot be the original reading, although the Ancient Versions have practically the same text:  $\mathfrak{G}^v$  *καὶ ἐδηλώθη Μαρδοχαίῳ ὁ λόγος, καὶ ἐσήμανεν Εὐσθηρ, καὶ αὐτὴ ἐνεφάνισεν τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς*. If we substitute for  $\mathfrak{H}$  **וְהָאֲמִיר אַחֲרַי לְמִדְרֵנִי בְּשַׁעַר הַמֶּלֶךְ** the name **לְהַבֵּן**, everything becomes perfectly natural and consistent; see *Pur.*

\* Cf. the cut on p. 178 of the translation of Ezekiel in SBOT.

37, 20. We may add to להבין the statement הנאני from 3, 1 (see below) and בשניי הסך (see *Pur.* 38, 5). How the received text originated I cannot tell. We have a similar confusion of names\* in 7, 9 where 6<sup>va</sup> have Βογθαβ (= בנתן; 6<sup>s</sup> Βογζαβ = בזתן) instead of הרבונה, and we find a similar transposition in 1 K 10, 1 where the clause לשם יהוה belongs to v. 25 of c. 9; see *Kings* 114, 36; cf. also the remarks on misplaced glosses in *Nah.* cited above, in nn. on v. 18 and the remarks on transpositions, *Nah.* 37.

(23) ויהלך means *they were impaled* (see *Pur.* 6, 22) or *crucified* (B) not *they were hanged* (Reuss, Wd, S). Cf. Herod. 3, 159; also Josh. 8, 29; 10, 26. The King says in 7, 9: תלהו עליו, i. e. *impale him upon it*. Nor does הוקע mean *to hang* (see *Numbers* 59, 51). טסן אסע זעסען ח' וטען ס, ואצטליבו חרוהון על קיסא. It is true that אסע means, as a rule, *to be crucified* † (especially in the NT; אסע = אסע,) but Assy. zuqqupu means *to impale*; cf. KAT<sup>2</sup>, 378. 616. Gibbeting of the offender, or part of the offender, after death is in Assyrian ina gašiši alālu, *to tie to a stake* (AJSL 1, 230; HW 70<sup>b</sup>. 207<sup>b</sup>. 261<sup>a</sup>, below). Greek σταυρός means not only *cross*, but denotes also the upright *stake* to which the delinquent was bound, when no tree was at hand, or on which he was impaled (see *Pur.* 6, 23).

In the clause ויפתח בספר דברי הדינים לפני המלך § inserts the negative: ס' אסע אסען אסען אסען אסען; cf. n. on v. 1. The negative is, of course, impossible (cf. 6, 2) but § אסע shows that the translator realized the difficulties in the received text.

אסע לפני המלך does not mean *in the presence of the King*, but *to be presented* (or *submitted*) *to the King*; *at the disposal of the King* (cf. Gen. 24, 51) or *for the King*, so that they might be נקראים לפני המלך (6, 1). The King had given orders to record all important events so that he might have an accurate account of all that had happened whenever he called for it. If extracts from newspapers are collected לפני המלך, the King does not superintend the clipping; nor does he read all the clippings. Similarly we find in the gloss 3, 7: הפיל לפני המלך . . . . פור, i. e. *the lot was cast for H*; he had given orders that the lot be cast so that he might learn the result, but it is not necessary to suppose that H was present while the lot was cast; contrast *Pur.* 15, 5. Cf. also BL 117, below, and Mal. 3, 16; Is. 65, 6.

\* Cf. also the confusion of names discussed in AJSL 23, 227, 1, 6 and the confusion between H and M (see *Pur.* 3, 26) in S, referred to in n. on 7, 8. See also *Daniel* 29, 15; ZDMG 61, 294, l. 12; and Weissbach's article *Euphrates* in Pauly-Wissowa's encyclopædia, § 4 (according to Hesychius the Jews called the Euphrates Εὐδκεαλ).

† Cf. also L, *Purim*, p. 9, below (صلب).

We must add at the end of c. 2 the statement **והנילך לא ידע כי מרדכי הנד להמן**; see *Pur.* 37, 20-43. It is not necessary to say **הנד את הדבר** (cf. 3, 4; 4, 4; GK<sup>27</sup>, § 117, f). Nor need we substitute **ניצא את הקשר** (2 K 17, 4).

## ג

(1) For the omission of **המן בן המדתא האגגי** after **המן** in the present passage see *ad* 2, 22.  $\mathfrak{S}^v$  has simply  $\text{Αμαν}$  for **המן בן המדתא האגגי** in v. 10; so, too,  $\mathfrak{S}^l$ . H represents the name of the principal deity of the Elamites (contrast n. on **מרדכי**, 2, 5)  $\text{Humba}$ ,  $\text{Humman}$ ,  $\text{Amman}$ , &c (see *Pur.* 10, 24). The double m of this ancient Elamite (or Susian) name is preserved in certain MSS of  $\mathfrak{S}^l$  ( $\text{Αμμαν}$ ). Also the name of H's father (**המדחתא**),  $\mathfrak{S}$   $\text{Ἀμαδάθος}$ ,  $\mathfrak{I}$  *Ama-dathus*) is not Persian, but connected with the name of the chief deity of the Elamites. The initial **ה** of **המדחתא** is certainly not the article (LB *Medathā*) cf.  $\mathfrak{S}^v$   $\Gamma\alpha\iota$  for **הגגי** (see *ad* 2, 3). The u-vowel of  $\text{Humman}$  appears in Strabo's  $\text{Ῥμανὸς καὶ Ἀνάδατος}$  (*Pur.* 26, 10). Rawlinson combined H with  $\text{Ῥμάνης}$ .  $\mathfrak{S}^l$   $\text{Αμαν}$  in Tob. 14, 10 is a subsequent corruption or adaptation (*Pur.* 51, 5).  $\mathfrak{S}^v$  has there  $\text{Αδαμ}$ ,  $\mathfrak{S}^s$   $\text{Ναδαβ}$ . *Nadab* is given also in the *Vetus Latina*, while the Syriac Version has *'Akab*; cf. EB 5112 and the various readings in Tob. 11, 18.

H is neither Persian nor Hebrew (*Pur.* 12, 16). In the apocryphal letter of the King (16, 10)  $\text{Αμαν Ἀμαδάθου Μακηδών}$  ( $\mathfrak{S}^l$   $\delta$  *βουγάϊος*) is called  $\delta\lambda\lambda\omicron\tau\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \tau\omega\upsilon \nu \text{Περσῶν αἵματος}$  ( $\mathfrak{S}^l$  *φρονήματος*) and in M's prayer (13, 12) H is called *ὑπερήφανος* (cf. AJSL 23, 235, l. 6) but in the corresponding verse of  $\mathfrak{S}^l$  (5, 15 in L's edition) *ἀπερίτμητος*. He may have been an officer of the (colored) Susian body-guard of the Persian kings (*Pur.* 38, 5).

$\mathfrak{H}$  **האגגי** (§  $\text{L}^{\circ\circ\circ}$ ,  $\mathfrak{I}$  *de stirpe or de progenie Agag*,  $\mathfrak{T}$  **בזרעית אגג**; cf. below) is a subsequent adaptation of the original **הגאגגי**, the *Gagean* or *northern barbarian*; see *Ezekiel* 99, 32. Cf. the remarks on  $\delta$  *Μονχαῖος* = **מניכין** (1, 14). In Num. 24, 7 (a Messianic passage added during the Greek period) all the Greek Versions have  $\Gamma\omega\gamma$  = **גאגג** instead of **אגג**. In  $\mathfrak{S}^v$  the correct rendering of **גאגגי**,  $\Gamma\omega\gamma\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$ , which we find in some MSS (*Pur.* 42, 14) of  $\mathfrak{S}^l$  has been replaced by *βουγάϊος*, which is not a *gentilicium* (*Bougaïos*) but the Homeric term of reproach *βουγάϊος braggart*, lit. *boasting like a bull*; see *Pur.* 13. H's contemporary prototype (*Pur.* 12, 3. 9) Nicanor (see *Nah.* 26) was a braggart; cf. 1 M 7, 34. 47 and the Talmudic passage Taanith 18<sup>b</sup> (*Pur.* 5, 27) also the remark on *ὑπερήφανος* in the preceding paragraph of the present n. In 5, 12  $\mathfrak{S}^l$  has instead of  $\mathfrak{S}^v$   $\text{καὶ εἶπεν Ἀμαν, Οὐ κέκληκεν ἡ βασίλισσα κτλ.}:-\text{καὶ ἐκαν-χᾶτο λέγων ὡς οὐδένα κέκληκεν ἡ βασίλισσα κτλ.}$



Nicanor is a common Macedonian name. In 9, 24; 16, 10  $\Theta^v$  substitutes  $\delta$  Μακεδών for  $\text{האגגי} = \text{האגגי}$ .  $\text{האגגי}$  means *the Agagite*, i. e. *the descendant of Agag*, the king of the Amalekites ( $\text{הבן בר עמלק}$  ( $\text{הבדחא די מזרעית אגג בר עמלק}$ ) who was spared by Saul, but hewn in pieces before JHVH at Gilgal by Samuel (1 S 15, 33) whereas M is introduced as a descendant of the first king of Israel (see *ad* 2, 6). Josephus, therefore, calls H an *Amalekite*; cf. L, *Purim* 50 and IN 389. The reading  $\text{אגגי}$  instead of  $\text{גאגגי}$  must have been established in the first cent. B. C.

For Γωγαῖος =  $\text{גאגגי}$  and Γωγ =  $\text{גאג}$  (for  $\text{גאג}$ ) Ez. 38, 2 cf. טב = טב (for  $\text{tāiāb}$ ) *good*;  $\text{אֵת} = \text{אֵת}$  (=  $\text{āiat}$ ) *sign*;  $\text{אֵת} = \text{Assyr. āti, iāti, Aram. יתי}$  (see *Proverbs* 51, 7) *me*; post-Biblical נדר = נדר = נדר, Assy. nādu (AJSL 20, 170) *skin-bottle*; דר = דר, Δωρα; רש = רש (Deut. 32, 32) = ראש = rāš, *poison*; כס = כס (Arab. كأس) *cup*; לא = לא, *not*; זאת = זאת, Eth. zātī;  $\text{באזנים}$ , *balances*;  $\text{בזכר}$  =  $\text{בזכר}$ , *fetter*;  $\text{בזל} = \text{בזל} = \text{בזל} = \text{Assyr. mālu} = \text{ma'ālu}$  (stem  $\text{אול}$ ; see *Pur.* 17, 1) *front*;  $\text{צאן} = \text{צאן}$ , Aram.  $\text{צאן}$ , *flocks*; ראש = rāš, rā'sh, *head*; סנך, i. e. סנך for סנך, סנך, Eth.  $\text{שנך}$ ;  $\text{שנך}$ , Assy. šēnu, *shoe*; see *ad* 1, 5.

For Wn's untenable combination of  $\text{אגגי}$  (=  $\text{גאגגי}$ ) with Assy. agāgu and Arab.  $\text{حاج}$  ḥajjāj, *tyrant* see *Pur.* 42, 21.

From the Greek point of view the Macedonians were northern barbarians, and the Jews regarded the Samaritans as northern barbarians. This explains why H is called both a *Macedonian* and a *Gagean*; it also throws some light on the epithet of John Hyrcanus (cf. W 36, below). This Maccabean prince conquered the Samaritans and destroyed the temple on Mt. Gerizim in 128 B. C. Hyrcanus may mean *Conqueror of the Hyrcanians*, i. e. *Samaritans*; cf. *Scipio Africanus*, &c.\* The Samaritans, it may be supposed, were called *Hyrcanians* owing to the admixture of foreign colonists from the North (cf.  $\text{משך}$  in  $\psi$  120, 5).† In the Talmud the Samaritans are called *Cutheans* ( $\text{כותים}$ ) i. e. inhabitants of Cutha, NE of Babylon. H corresponds, in some respects, to Sanballat, Tobiah, and Geshem; see *Pur.* 52, 16.

(2) For the meaning of  $\text{כרע}$  cf. JAOS 22, 73.

\*The founder of the dynasty of Reuss, Henry I, was called *Ruzze*, *Reusse*, or *Ruthene* owing to his exploits against the Poles or Western Russians about 1247; cf. Resch, *Über den Ursprung des dynastischen Namens Reuss* (Gera, 1874). The *Gymnasium illustre* at Gera is known as *Ruthenium*. Cf. the title of the Czar: *Selbstherrscher aller Reussen*, French *autocrate de toutes les Russies* (i. e. Great Russia, Little Russia, White Russia, &c).

†Similarly the Greeks used *Hyperboreans* as a general name for the inhabitants of northern countries, and the Hungarians are often called *Huns*; contrast THCO 162.



אח לו means *concerning him*; עלוהי. H received this high rank כרת; see *ad* 1, 15.

(4) The Kethiv באמרים (במללותהון) is better than the Qerê כאמרים. The Qerê would mean *as soon as they said* (cf. כשן, 2, 1; לראות, 5, 2, 9) but באמרים means *in (spite of) their saying*; cf. בכל זאת, &c. For כ = כ cf. n. on וכדי, 1, 16.

אח כי הפיד להם אשר הוא יהודי is an erroneous explanatory gloss to דברי מרדכי which does not mean *the words of Mordecai* (as in 4, 9) but *the attitude of Mordecai*; cf. n. on דבר המלכה, 1, 17. For incorrect glosses cf. *Nah.* 41, 1, 3; 43, 1, 7; ZDMG 61, 297, n. 115. אח היעמדו דברי מרדכי is equivalent to *whether M would persist in his attitude* (*Utrum perseveraret in sententia*; LB *ob solches Thun Mardachais bestehen würde*). M's Jewish extraction was probably unmistakable so that it was unnecessary for him to tell any one that he was a Jew. He was known as מרדכי היהודי הושב בשער המלך (cf. 6, 10 and n. on 2, 19)\*. E, on the other hand, may have been an Oriental beauty without any pronounced Jewish features so that she was able to conceal her extraction (cf. n. on 2, 10). The fact that M was a Jew would be no satisfactory explanation for his refusal to prostrate himself before H. The ancient Israelites did not object to the προσκύνησις; cf. e. g. 2 S 14, 4; 18, 28; 1 K 1, 16. The reason for M's refusal to bow before H was different (see *Pur.* 37, 40; cf. n. on 7, 6). Similarly M's ancestor, Shimei, of the family of Saul, refused to bow before David, and threw stones at him, although the King was surrounded by his body-guard; and the King did not punish him, just as H disdains to punish M, fearing, perhaps, that M's services in connection with the discovery of the conspiracy against the King would become known, if he tried to punish M (see *Pur.* 12, 40). If H succeeded in obtaining permission for a general massacre of all the Jews (cf. AJSL 23, 225, n. 4) the killing of M would attract no attention (cf. also C 93, 21). Certain Russian officials would adopt the same course in the 20<sup>th</sup> century; see *Pur.* 35, 9; 43, 18, 27, 32, 46; 44, 1.

(6) The clauses כי הפידו לו אח עם מרדכי, after לבדו, and אח כל היהודים, at the end of this verse, are glosses to עם מרדכי; cf. second n. on v. 4. Both glosses are omitted in G<sup>v</sup> which reads for v. 6 of אח simply: καὶ ἐβουλεύσατο ἀφανίσαι πάντας τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν Ἀρταξέρξου βασιλείαν Ἰουδαίους :: במלכות אשר היהודים אח כל היהודים ריבקש להשמיד את כל היהודים אשר במלכות. It is certainly unnecessary to read עם מרדכי instead of עם מ'.

\*A Schnorrer is said to have introduced himself to a distinguished Jewish banker of Berlin, stating, *Mein Name ist Hirsch*, whereupon the banker replied, *Das seh' ich*. See the cut representing Jewish captives in Assyria on p. 206 of Wellhausen's translation of the Psalms in the Polychrome Bible.

(7) V. 7 is a misplaced\* later addition (to בְּשִׁלוֹשָׁה עָשָׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ in v. 13) introducing a subsequent popular etymology of פֻּרִים, which is just as fanciful as the Biblical explanations of בָּבֶל, נָח, פֶּסַח, אִשָּׁה, &c or the interpretation of מִנָּה מִנָּה תִּקַּל וּפְרִסְתָּךְ in Dan. 5, 26-28; see *Pur.* 2, 37; 15, 21; 18, 17; SFG 25, below; BAL 99, n. 1. Also the second passage in E (9, 25) where פֻּר is explained to mean *lot* is a subsequent addition.

The emendation of Grotius and Fritzsche, κλήρων instead of ὑμῶν in the apocryphal addition 16, 22, is very doubtful; it is not probable that the characteristic κλήρων should have been corrupted to ὑμῶν (cf. the remarks on the emendations ὀργῆς for αὐλῆς in 7, 4; רִנְקִים for נִרָה in 9, 16; רַכֵּב for רַכֵּשׁ in nn. on 8, 10; also AJSL 22, 197, l. 15 and *Nah.* 26, below). ὁ ἐν ταῖς ἐπωνύμοις ὑμῶν ἑορταῖς is generally interpreted to mean *among the feasts named after yourselves* (i.e. according to C. J. Ball,† *among your own Persian festivals* or *as if the word Purim were connected with the word Persians*) but ἐπωνύμοι ἑορταῖ may refer to the days on which the ἄρχων ἐπώνυμος was appointed (cf. ἐνιαυτὸς ἐπώνυμος &c). This institution existed among the Assyrians and Babylonians. The cuneiform term for *eponymy* is *limu*; see HW 379<sup>b</sup>; cf. the Lists of Eponyms in KB 1, 204-214; also AoF 3, 10, 12; KAT<sup>3</sup>, 331 (l. 9) and 518; OLZ 10, 332; see also Delitzsch, *Mehr Licht* (Leipzig, 1907) p. 9.

According to a tradition recorded by Berṭni Purim may be the day on which the offices were assigned (اليوم الذي يتقلد فيه الاعمال) and Purim (البوري)‡ is said to mean *allotting* (مساعدة) or *distribution by lot*; see ZDMG 61, 275. Assy. karāru ša pāri (*Pur.* 20, below) seems to mean *to set up the urn* (καδίσκος) holding the lots to be drawn for the various offices, and this cuneiform pāru (HW 169<sup>b</sup>: būru) *urn* (κάλπυς) may be connected with Heb. פָּרָר, *pot*, lit. *boiler* (a form פֶּלֶל of פָּרָר יִפְּרֹר) and פֶּאֶרֶר, *glowing hotness* (see *Nah.* 43; cf. the remarks on وَفِيرَة, نَقِير, قَارورة, AJSL 23, 245, 244) also with פָּרָה, *wine-press*, originally *vat*; cf. the cut in the translation of *Joshua* (SBOT) p. 68 and my translation of Is. 63, 1-6 in JHUC, No. 163, p. 49<sup>a</sup>. According to J. D. Michaelis Nicanor's Day might have been called פֻּרִים, because the Syrian army was crushed at Adasa as grapes are pressed in a wine-vat; see *Pur.* 51, 38.

\* Cf. the last but one paragraph of nn. on 2, 18 and the misplaced glosses in 2, 19, 20, also the gloss מְאִיבִיהֶם in 9, 16.

† See the *Variorum Apocrypha*, London (Eyre & Spottiswoode).

‡ The original form of this word is not פֻּרִים, but פֻּרִי for פֻּרְדִּי = Ved. pārti, *portion*; see n. on 9, 26.

For פורה, *wine-vat* cf. also Hag. 2, 15. 16 where we must read:—

מִן־הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה וְיָעֵלָה	וַעֲתָה שִׁמְרֵנָּה לְבַבְכֶּם	15
בְּהִיכֹל   מִי הִי'תָם'	מִשְׂרֵם שׁוֹם־אָבָן 'ע־ל־אָבָן	
וְהָנָה' הִתָּה עֲשֵׂרָה	בָּא אֶל־עֲרֵמֵת עֲשָׂרִים	16
מִפֹּרָה וְהִתָּה עֲשָׂרִים:	בָּא <sup>β</sup> לַחֲשֶׁק הַמִּשִּׁים	

אל היקב 16 (β)

15 יהרה (α)

For מִי, *how?* cf. מִי אֵת בָּתִּי (Ruth 3, 16) and Assy. *mī-nu*, *how?* (see n. on בִּיאָן, 1, 12). For בָּא, in the second couplet, read בָּא (cf. Hag. 1, 9). The omission of הָנָה in the second hemistich of v. 16 is due to the omission of הָנָה in the last hemistich; contrast לִבְיָעַט וְהָנָה (1, 9) where the prefixed ל is emphatic; cf. n. on לִכְבִּישׁ (7, 8). The omission of the prefixed מ before פֹּרָה is due to haplography; for the *enjambement*\* in the last line cf. AJSL 23, 240 and the second line of Nah. 2, 11 (Nah. 50).

The plural of פֹּרָה may have been פֹּרִים (Pur. 20, 24; 51, 26) and הפִּיל פֹּר הוּא הַגּוּרֵל in the present verse is rendered in 3: *missa est sors in urnam quae Hebraice dicitur phur*. The translation of הפִּיל פֹּר הוּא הַגּוּרֵל in 9, 24, ἔθετο ψήφισμα καὶ κληρὸν, means *he cast a ballot, that is a lot*, καὶ in this connection is explicative and corrective (cf. n. on 1, 17). For 6's translation of הפִּיל פֹּר הוּא הַגּוּרֵל in the present passage see below, n. on הפִּיל.

There is no Persian word for *lot* from which פֹּר = גּוּרֵל could be derived; Pers. باره, پاره, بهره do not mean *lot* (see Pur. 45, 42) nor could they appear in Heb. as פֹּר. The Iranian word for *lot* is پشک pišk. There may have been a word פֹּר (connected with פֹּרֵר, *pot* and פֹּרָה, *vat*) = Assy. pūru, *urn*; but if פֹּרִים was combined with פֹּר, *urn* it was merely a subsequent popular etymology which may have been suggested to a glossator by the use of מִנְחָה, *part, portion* in the sense of *lot, destiny*† as well as by the oracular practices observed on New Year's eve (Pur. 17, 38; 18, 27; 21, 33; cf. also C 101, 8) and the allotting of offices at the beginning of the year (AoF 3, 10).

*Lostage* (Days of the Lots) is the Ger. term for days on which it is possible to forecast the future (Pur. 18, 28). At the Chinese New Year's

\* Contrast Budde's *Geschichte der althebr. Litteratur* (Leipzig, 1906) p. 26, l. 8.

† According to Glaser (OLZ 9, 320) Heb. בֵּר (see Kings 163, n. \*) may mean *part, portion, lot, oracle* (cf. Pur. 45, 3). As to אֶפֶר, Glaser thinks, it is not a *loin-cloth* = غُرْطَة fôṭa or مَقْطَب maqṭab (see the translation of the Psalms in SBOT, p. 224, fig. s) but a *band or scarf* like the *stole* worn by Roman Catholic priests, or the *pall* of the Pope, archbishops, &c, and the טָלִית of the Jews. Cf. the Byzantine ἀμφοφόριον.

festival the priest produces a box with small ivory chips variously inscribed. If the lot marked *wisdom* comes out, it means more wisdom for the man for whom the lot is drawn. Similar oracular practices may have prevailed at the celebration of the Persian New Year (Naurôz) in the times of the Maccabees. Cf. the statement of Berûni, quoted in ZDMG 61, 277, on the same day (Naurôz = Purim) the happy lots are distributed among the people of the earth (وَيْبَةُ تَقْسَمُ السَّعَادَاتِ) (أهل الأرض). The casting of the lots for the two goats on the Day of Atonement\* may be a purified form of some Babyl. oracular practice at the beginning at the second half of the year (*Pur.* 3, 39; 4, 2. 20. 26. 33; 33, 14; 49, 26).

E is a festal legend for Nicanor's Day, just as the Book of Nahum is a festal liturgy for the celebration of that great victory gained by Judas Maccabæus over Nicanor on the 13<sup>th</sup> of Adar, 161 B. C. (OLZ 10, 64; ZDMG 61, 275). This commemoration of Nicanor's Day was combined with the observation of the Persian New Year's festival (celebrated at the time of the vernal equinox) which is no doubt based on the Babyl. New Year's festival (*Pur.* 3, 3; 4, 39; 11, 27; 19, 10). In the Talmud the cuneiform name of the New Year's Festival, akitu, aqitu† appears as אֶקִּיטָא (which is an adaptation of אֶקִּיטָא) while Naurôz is corrupted to מוֹהֲרֵן (for מוֹהֲרֵן, מוֹהֲרֵן). See ZDMG 61, 276.

The original meaning of פֻּרִים (= Naurôz = Akitu) is not *lots*, but *portions*, Heb. מִנְחָה; see n. on 9, 26.

In casting lots in order to determine what day would be most unlucky for the Jews and therefore most auspicious for the general massacre planned by H (cf. L, *Purim*, p. 8, l. 13) they did not try every single day of the year until they finally hit on the 13<sup>th</sup> day of the 12<sup>th</sup> month. They might have put 12 lots, marked from 1 to 12, into the urn (Assyr. pûru) and 30 lots marked from 1 to 30; then it was only necessary to draw two lots. But the phrase מִיּוֹם לִיּוֹם וּמִיּוֹם לַחֹדֶשׁ shows that this simple procedure was not used at that time. They tried first the first day, then the second, and so forth; when the lot decided in favor of the 13<sup>th</sup> day, they tried to determine the month. In this way it was necessary to cast the lot 25 times before they hit on the 13<sup>th</sup> day of the 12<sup>th</sup> month. Cf. my remarks on *Urim* and *Thummim* in JBL 19,

\*For the reason why the Day of Atonement was observed during the Babylonian Captivity on the 1<sup>st</sup> of Tishri, while the New Year was to be celebrated on the 10<sup>th</sup> of Tishri, see conclusion of n. on 9, 31.

†In the new texts found during the German excavations at Ka'at Shergât (Aššur) Assyr. akitu appears as a synonym of kirêtu = כִּרְהָ (2 K 6, 23) and قِیر qiran (see *Kings* 208, 15; MDOG, No. 33, p. 34; cf. the photograph of the bit akiti, *ibid.* p. 30). This shows that the etymology of akitu, given in *Pur.* 31, 3, is correct. Akitu appears in the Talmud as אֶקִּיטָא, while קִרָּא appears in Assyrian as כִּרָּא; cf. VG 122, also the remarks on קִרָּא = kârû (BL 132) and טַפְסָר = tupšarru in *Nah.* 34, and AJSL 23, 246.

73, n. 61 and *Numbers* 57, 41. *Adar* means *λυγαῖος* in Assyrian; the 13<sup>th</sup> of *Adar* was a *dies ater* κατ' ἐξοχήν (*Pur.* 32, 33).

אִשׁל הַפִּיל is impersonal; so Keil, Schultz, R in K, S; LB *ward das Loos geworfen vor H*; cf. the translation in *3*, quoted above, *missa est sors*, and the translation of *Leviticus* (SBOT) p. 62, l. 54; see also *Kings* 289, 19 and nn. on וַיַּעַשׂ הַעֵץ (5, 14) and וַיִּכְתֹּב &c (8, 10). It is not necessary to read, with O, הַפִּילוֹ; contrast 6, 9 where O reads וְהַלְבִּישׁ instead of וְהַלְבִּישׁוֹ. According to B, הַפִּיל refers to H, and the explanation of פִּיר is not merely הוּא הַגּוּרִל, as in 9, 24, but הוּא הַגּוּרִל לַפְּנֵי הַמֶּנֶן. הַגּוּרִל לַפְּנֵי הַמֶּנֶן, however, must be connected with הַפִּיל פִּיר (הוּא הַגּוּרִל) לַפְּנֵי הַמֶּנֶן: הַפִּיל פִּיר. Even if we read הַגּוּרִל instead of לַפְּנֵי הַמֶּנֶן, as Wd suggests, the phrase הוּא הַגּוּרִל לַפְּנֵי הַמֶּנֶן would be very strange. For לַפְּנֵי הַמֶּנֶן see n. on לַפְּנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ (2, 23). According to *T*<sup>2</sup> the lots were cast by the scribe Shimshai (cf. *Ezra* 4, 8, 17, 23 and C 103). *T*<sup>2</sup> also states (*ad* 6, 1) that the King commanded the scribe Shimshai to bring the Book of Records. *S* has אִשׁל בִּילְתָּא הוּא עֲדָבָא קִדָּם הַמֶּנֶן; *T* אִשׁל עֲדָבָא קִדָּם הַמֶּנֶן; *S* is apparently a transposition of ψῆφος; see *Pur.* 45, 11). For the translation of this clause in *S*<sup>v</sup> and *S*<sup>a</sup> see *Pur.* 16, 1. *S*<sup>l</sup> has καὶ βάλλει κλήρους εἰς τὴν τεσσαρεσκαδεκάτην τοῦ μηνὸς Ἀδαρ Νισαν κατλ. Here Νισαν represents a variant (cf. last n. on 1, 4) to Ἀδαρ (it may be derived from אִשׁל נִסָּן at the beginning of this verse).

After אִשׁל בִּילְתָּא we must, with B, R in K, Wd, following *S* καὶ ἔβαλεν κλήρους ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας καὶ μῆνα ἐκ μηνὸς (ὥστε ἀπολέσαι τὸ γένος Μαρδοχαίου) καὶ ἔπρεσεν ὁ κλήρος εἰς τὴν τεσσαρεσκαδεκάτην τοῦ μηνὸς ὃς ἐστιν Ἀδαρ, insert וַיַּפֵּל הַגּוּרִל עַל שְׁלֹשָׁה עָשָׂר. The Heb. scribe skipped this clause owing to the repetition of the word בִּילְתָּא. Keil, Rawlinson, Schultz regard this *plus* of *S* as an interpolation from v. 13; nor has S inserted it in his translation. The clause ὥστε ἀπολέσαι τὸ γένος Μαρδοχαίου (which I have enclosed in parentheses) seems to be a subsequent addition in *S*, which we need not insert in the Heb. text. O, however, prefixes לַפְּנֵי הַגּוּרִל to לֹאֲבַד אֶת בֵּית מִרְדֳּכַי בְּיוֹם אֶחָד. עַל יוֹם שְׁלֹשָׁה עָשָׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ.

In the same way, the *fourteenth* day, given in *S*<sup>v</sup>, may be a subsequent correction for the *thirteenth* day (so *S*<sup>l</sup>; see above). In 8, 12; 9, 1 *S*<sup>v</sup> has the *thirteenth* just as אִשׁל. In the apocryphal additions *S* has the *fourteenth* day in 13, 6; but the *thirteenth* in 16, 20 (*Pur.* 15, 11). Cf. also n. on 9, 17.

(8) For וַיִּשְׁנֶה we must point וַיִּשְׁנֶה; see *Numbers* 57, 36; cf. ZA 14, 347.

For מִפְּזָר וּמִפְּזָר (*T* מִבְּדָר וּמִתְפָּרֵשׁ, *S* مَصْفُوفٌ مَصْفُوفٌ) *S* has simply διεσπαρμένον, but it would be a mistake to suppose that one of these



participles in **מִן** was due to scribal expansion. **ע** repeatedly substitutes one verb for two or three verbs of **מִן**; cf. n. on v. 13.

For **עִם** **וְדַחֲהֵם** **שְׁנוֹת** **מִכָּל** **עַם** cf. the *comparatio decurtata* (GK<sup>27</sup>, § 133, e).

(9) The conjecture (AoF 3, 26) that **לְאַבְדָם** is a gloss, and that we should read **לְשַׁקֵּל** (as in 4, 7) instead of **אֲשַׁקֵּל**, is not good; **יִפְחָב** **וְעִשְׂרֵת** **אַלְפִים** **כֶּפֶר** **כֶּסֶף** **לְשַׁקֵּל** is not Heb. What Wn has in mind would be:—**יִפְחָב** **וְיִשְׁקְלוּ** **הַיְּהוּדִים** **עִשְׂרֵת** **כֶּפֶר** **כֶּסֶף**. But the suggestion that **הַכֶּסֶף** in v. 11 is a gloss is correct; see below and cf. above, ad 2, 18. The interpretation (W 17) that H offers the King 10,000 talents to make up the financial loss involved in the extermination of the people (loss of taxes) is unwarranted; cf. below, ad 7, 4.

Heb. **שַׁקֵּל** *to pay*, properly *to weigh*, may be a Babyl. loanword; cf. KAT<sup>3</sup>, 649. The stem is a Šaphel of **קָל**; cf. n. on **סָפַר** (1, 22). The initial **ש** is therefore a **שִׁ** (SFG 20, 3; ZDMG 34, 861; BAL 100; contrast AG<sup>2</sup>, § 63) = **ש**, **ס**. For the **ל** in **לְשַׁקֵּל** and the **נ** in **נָחֵן** cf. **فَأَثَرُ** = **فَأَثَرُ** = Assy. *paššūru* = Sum. *banšur* (BA 1, 161) and **اِشْأَر** = Assy. *Aššūr*; **عِشْتَر** = *Ištar*, &c; see my paper on the name *Istar* in JAOS 28, 118, below.

**עֲשֵׂי** **בִּלְאֻכָּה** **מִן** (cf. 9, 3) means here *officials*, especially *revenue officers* (cf. the remarks on **الاعمال**, ZDMG 61, 275). Also in 1 K 11, 28; 2 K 12, 12 (contrast *Kings* 240, 20) as well as in Neh. 13, 10; Ezr. 3, 9 &c **עֲשֵׂי** **בִּלְאֻכָּה** means *business man* (cf. ψ 107, 23) especially *financier*, *tax-gatherer*, *collector*, &c. Cf. also 1 S 8, 16; Dan. 8, 27; 1 Chr. 29, 6.

(10) For **בִּיעֵקָא** **דִּיהוּדָא** **עֲשֵׂי** **צִיר** **הַיְּהוּדִים** **עֲשֵׂי** **צִיר** **הַיְּהוּדִים** **בֵּן** **הַמֶּלֶךְ** **הָאֲגִנִּי** **צִיר** **הַיְּהוּדִים**, which is omitted in **ע**<sup>VL</sup>, seems to be a scribal expansion; see n. on v. 1.

(11) In **הָעַם** **נָחֵן** **לֶךְ** **וְהָעַם** **וְגו'** the two words **הָעַם** and **נָחֵן** should exchange places (cf. n. on 1, 6) and **הָעַם** should be relegated to the margin (*Pur.* 6, 33) as the question of a reader who was anxious to know what became of the enormous amount of money (10,000 talents, i.e. about \$18,000,000). Cf. for this gloss *Kings* 137, 35; *Isaiah* 19, β; 81, 18; *Ecc.* 20, γ; 21, ε; 25, κκ; BL 3, γ. The King takes it for granted that H will pay the money into the royal treasury; he therefore deems it unnecessary to refer to it, saying simply: **הָעַם** **נָחֵן** **לֶךְ**. It is extremely unlikely that an Oriental monarch should be so generous as to turn over eighteen million dollars to his prime minister; cf. n. on 2, 18.

(12) For the Pers. loanword **אַהֲדַרְפָּנִים**, *satraps* (**στρατηγοί**, § **אֲחֲשֵׁרִשׁ**, **אֲחֲשֵׁרִשׁ** = *στρατηλάτης*) see n. on **אֲחֲשֵׁרִשׁ** (1, 1) also n. on **אַהֲשֵׁרִינִים** (8, 10).



Heb. פְּחֹת is a Babyl. loanword. The singular פְּחָה must be pronounced pēxxāh (GK<sup>27</sup>, § 27, q) not pēxāh (AOG 25). The doubling of the ח, however, is secondary, just as in אֶחָד, *brothers*; אֶחָד, *one*; אַחֵר, *after*, &c. In Assy. paxātu, pixātu (HW 519<sup>b</sup>) the guttural is not doubled.

רַב־בְּנֵי עַם שָׂרֵי עָם refers to the *native chiefs*; רַב־בְּנֵי עַם חֲמִשָּׁה, רַב־בְּנֵי עַם יְמִינִי.

(13) Heb. רָצִים, רַב־בְּנֵי עַם, רַב־בְּנֵי עַם, רַב־בְּנֵי עַם, רַב־בְּנֵי עַם means originally *runners*, then especially *foot-soldiers*; see *Kings* 232, 34. Here it is used for *couriers* (ἄγγαροι, cf. Her. 8, 98) who were (according to 8, 10) mounted. ἑῖς χείρας τρεχόντων ἱππέων (var. ἱππων) is a doublet; cf. ἑῖς Ἀδὰμ Νύσαν in 3, 7 and n. on 1, 17. In Assyrian, rakbu (= רַכְבּ) is used for *envoy*, and allaku xanṭu for *courier* (HW 619<sup>b</sup>, 281<sup>b</sup>). The stem xamāṭu, *to burn* is identical with the stem xamāṭu, *to hasten*; the original meaning is *to flash*; cf. ZDMG 61, 297, n. 115 and modern Arab. رمح = لمع, رمح = لمع; also Nah. 41 (purīdu, *courier* = فريد).

לְהַשְׁמִיד לְהַרְגַּם וּלְאַבְדַּם (so, too, 7, 4; 8, 11) is not pleonastic; לְהַשְׁמִיד, *to exterminate* is the general term (cf. v. 6 and 4, 18). This extermination could be effected either by a general massacre (לְהַרְגַּם) or by forcing the surviving Jews to flee from the country like wild beasts; cf. Arab. توحش = ابد and my remarks on the last line of ψ 1 in AJSL 19, 141, below. See also n. on וּלְאַבְדַּם (9, 6) and C 121, below. At the time of the Syrian persecutions under Antiochus Epiphanes and his successors the orthodox Jews were either massacred (1 M 1, 57, 63; 2, 38; cf. Pur. 35, 6 and n. on לְאַבְדַּם, 4, 7) or forced to flee (1 M 2, 28, 29, 43; cf. Pur. 34, 39). ἑῖς simply ἀφανίσαι for לְהַשְׁמִיד לְהַרְגַּם וּלְאַבְדַּם, just as בִּירְדִּי לֹא כִרַּע וְלֹא יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה (v. 2) is rendered ὁ δὲ Μαρδοχαῖος οὐ προσεκίνει αὐτῷ, or as we find for בִּשְׂפָר וּבִשְׂפָר (v. 8) simply διεσπαρμένον. For the accumulation of synonyms, which is by no means indicative of a late date, cf. ZDMG 61, 295, n. 97.

Heb. שָׁלַל, *to plunder* (cf. 8, 11) is a Babyl. loanword. The noun שָׁלָל (שָׁלָל; cf. AJSL 3, 107) means here *household effects, personal property*, just as Ger. *Plunder* means *household effects, trumpery, baggage*, while the verb *plündern* means *to pillage*. In certain parts of the United States the term *plunder* does not mean *pillage, spoil, booty*, but *household or personal effects, baggage, luggage*. Ger. *plündern* is a privative denominative like our *to skin* &c (AJSL 22, 251; Nah. 32). Assy. šalālu (HW 662<sup>b</sup>) means *to carry off*; so שָׁלָל denotes *movables*; French *meubles*; cf. the Ger. privative denominative *vermöbeln*. See also Pur. 34, 18.

\* שָׁ has שָׁלָל also for סְרִיסִי in 6, 14.



or **וַיַּעַז** (cf. v. 3). If we see *e.g.* that **ש** renders **כִּי אֵין לְבוֹא אֶל** **כְּלָמַת הַסֵּן**, **שְׂעַר הַמִּלְךְ בַּלְבוּשׁ שֶׁן**, at the end of the following verse, **וַיַּעַז וַיִּלְבַּשׁ וַיִּשְׁפֹּךְ אֶשָּׁה**, we cannot attach much importance to the insertion of **וַיַּעַז**. The verb **לָבַשׁ**, to put on is not used only of dresses; **לָבַשׁ אֶפֶר** is just as possible as **לָבַשׁ בְּשָׂרִי** (Job 7, 5) or **יִלְבְּשׁוּ בָשֶׁת וּכְלִמְיָהּ** (ψ 35, 26). Cf. also 2 S 13, 19: **וַתִּקַּח חֲמִיר אֶפֶר עַל רֹאשָׁהּ**. For the symbolical meaning of the rendering of garments and the sprinkling of ashes &c see *Pur.* 25.

**וַיַּעַז** **לְבוֹא אֶל שְׂעַר** means *to come to the gate*, i.e. *to approach* the gate; *to enter* the gate would be **לְבוֹא בְּשַׁעַר**, see *AJSL* 21, 134, below; *3 aulam regis intrare* is inaccurate.

(3) The clause **שֶׁן וְאֶפֶר יָצַע לְרַבִּים** (AV, *many lay in sackcloth and ashes*) means *Most of them had a sack-cloth (or coarse loin-cloth) and overspread (Ger. aufgeschmierte) ashes (i.e. spread over the body)*. Heb. **לְרַבִּים** would mean *Many had* (**וְרַבִּים הָיוּ**) but (**וְרַבִּים וְרַבִּים**) means *Most of them had*; cf. **πολλοί** and **οἱ πολλοί** (GK<sup>27</sup>, § 133, g). C's rendering (even) *the great ones* is impossible. The **אָבֵל גָּדוֹל וְצוֹם** **וְרַבִּים** were universal among the Jews, and most of them even put on the loin-cloth and sprinkled ashes on their head. Instead of **יָצַע** we must point **יָצַע** (as participial attribute to **אֶפֶר**) = **יָצַע** (GK<sup>27</sup>, § 53, s). For **וַיַּעַז** instead of **יָצַע** cf. conclusion of n. on 1, 5. The **ל** in **לְרַבִּים** is not the **ל** discussed GK<sup>27</sup>, § 121, f (cf. n. on 5, 12) but the **ל** explained in *WdG* 2, 149, D; nor is **יָצַע** verbal predicate to both **שֶׁן** and **אֶפֶר**, but attribute to **אֶפֶר**. B and Wd (following *3 sacco et cinere multis pro strato utentibus*) think that they spread a garment of hair-cloth, sprinkled with ashes, on the ground and sat down on this garment; so too, S: *Sack und Asche hatte die Menge (der Juden) untergebreitet*; cf. **Ἡ σάκκον καὶ σποδὸν ἔστρωσαν ἑαυτοῖς**. But this spreading of the sack-cloth on the ground would be at variance with the disregard for personal comfort, which is characteristic of mourning. The sack-cloth was not spread on the ground, but put on as a loin-cloth, and the ashes were not sprinkled on the loin-cloth, but over the body. **Ἡ** has for **וַיַּעַז וַיִּלְבַּשׁ שֶׁן וְאֶפֶר** in v. 1: **καὶ περιεβάλετο σάκκον καὶ σποδοῦς ἐξήλθεν**; cf. also **Ἡ** 14, 2: **σποδοῦ καὶ κοπρίων** (**Ἡ** **κόπρον**) **ἔπλησεν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς**. The mourners originally tore off their garments and put on a loin-cloth. This explains why persons in mourning were not allowed to approach the King's Gate. Afterwards they simply tore

\* Heb. **בָּכִי** = *silent weeping*, **מִסְפָּד** = *loud wailing*; **מִסְפָּד** is more demonstrative than **בָּכִי** or **צוֹם** or **אָבֵל**; and **וְאֶפֶר שֶׁן** more demonstrative than **מִסְפָּד**.

their garments at the breast for a hand's breadth and put on the loin-cloth under their ordinary garments (*Kings* 210, 7).

(4) The K<sup>ethiv</sup> תְּבוּאַתָּה (Q<sup>ere</sup> תְּבוּאַתָּה) is based on the analogy of the verbs לָהֵא and לָא; cf. תִּגְלִיתָה, תִּמְצַאָה, and סְבוֹתָ which is based on the analogy of the verbs לָי (see n. in the paper on the name *Istar* in *JAOS* 28, 113).

וְהַתְּהַלְחֵל הַמִּלְכָּה בְּיָדָהּ (AV *then was the queen exceedingly grieved*) means *the Queen was very much shocked*. The use of הַמִּלְכָּה instead of אֶסְתֵּר is intentional, just as the omission of הַמִּלְכָּה in 1, 19 is designed. M was stripped of all clothing save the coarse loin-cloth.\* This was distasteful to the Queen (cf. 2 S 6, 20). She therefore tried to induce M to put on the garments she sent him. E<sup>v</sup> has ἐταράχθη for וְהַתְּהַלְחֵל; in 7, 6 E<sup>v</sup> ἐταράχθη is used for נִבְעַת, and at the end of c. 3 E<sup>v</sup> has ἐταράσσερο for נִבְכָּה. I renders *consternata est*. The stem הַתְּהַלְחֵל is derived from הָלַךְ, just as הַתְּשַׁקֵּשֶׁק (for הַתְּשַׁקֵּשֶׁק) is derived from שָׁק; see *Nah.* 41.

The verb קָבַל (ס 𐤒𐤍, 𐤒𐤍 קָבַל) is Aramaic; cf. the glosses in 9, 23, 27 and n. on וְאֵלֶיךָ (7, 4). Assy. qablu, *midst* (BL 97) = Arab. qalb, *heart* (AJSL 1, 227); cf. last n. on 7, 9.

(5) For הֶחָךְ (ס 𐤇𐤊 with 𐤒 misread 𐤒) has Ἀχραθαῖος. This is a transposition of Ἀθαχᾶιος, the ρ emphasizing the guttural (velar) character of the 𐤒; see BA 1, 257, l. 18. For ὁ Ἀχραθαῖος (v. 9) cf. n. on ὁ Μονχαῖος (1, 14) and for the transposition cf. the remarks on Ἀγαθός = Γαβουθός = Βοργαθός in nn. on 1, 10. Ἀχραθαῖος may be influenced by Greek names like Ἀχάτης, Ἀχράδης, &c.

וְהַעֲמִידָהּ (I *quem rex ministrum ei dederat*, AV *whom he had appointed to attend† upon her*) just as הַקָּרֵב in 2, 14; it could also be intransitive (ס 𐤒𐤍𐤁). Cf. AJSL 22, 204, l. 5; *Psalms* 83, 50.

For עַל read אֵל, as in v. 10 (ס 𐤀𐤋). Cf. עַל גַּמְדִּי (v. 7) for אֵל גַּמְדִּי and nn. on 1, 17. The phrase צוּהָ עַל, which means *to enjoin upon*, is correct in vv. 8, 17 and in 2, 10; אֵל צוּהָ means *to order to, to order to go to*. This is a *constructio praeagnans* (GK<sup>27</sup>, § 119, ee) like אֵל . . . קָם גַּת הַבֵּיתָן (7, 7).

(7) The translation (AoF 3, 26) *M told him everything, and the amount of money which H had commanded to pay to the Jews‡ in order to annihilate them; he gave him also the tenor of the edict which he had issued in Susa in order to exterminate them*, is impossible.

\* Cf. the fifth footnote to nn. on 3, 7.

† Cf. n. on וְהַעֲמִידָהּ (5, 1).

‡ German(?) *welchen H befohlen hatte zu bezahlen den Juden sie zu vernichten*. Wn means, I suppose, *welchen H den Juden zu bezahlen befohlen hatte*, i. e. *which H had commanded the Jews to pay*.

Heb. לשקול ביהודיים cannot mean *to pay to the Jews*; \*ב is the ב pretii (see Kings 224, 5) 3 pro Judæorum nece. In his nn. S explains the ב as ב pretii (so, too, Wd; cf. n. on 7, 4) stating that ביהודיים means properly *als Preis für die Juden*, but in his translation he renders *in Betreff der Juden*. There are several discrepancies between the translation and the nn. in S's commentary, which would, perhaps, have been eliminated, if S had been able to revise his work; cf. nn. on 1, 20; 5, 1. 8; 6, 6; 7, 8; 8, 11; 9, 2. 16. 26; also S's transliteration Mordehai (as though it were מרדהי) and Pur. 29, 26.

For the Kethiv ביהודיים the Qerè substitutes the contracted form ביהודים; cf. 8, 1. 7. 13; 9, 15. 18.

לֹאבָדָם means here *to ruin them*; this includes killing and proscription, banishment, expulsion with confiscation of property (cf. n. on 3, 13).

(8) The Athnah in ולהגיד לה is correct; להגיד לה must not be connected with the following ולצוות עליה (against B). The inf. ולהגיד is coordinated to the preceding להראות: Hatach is to show E the document and to tell her about it, explain it to her (AV *to show it unto E and declare it unto her*). Hatach told the Queen the substance of the edict, although he presented a copy of the decree. Even if E could read the copy, she was probably satisfied with the verbal report. An official who submits a letter to his superior will often give the substance of it, so that the letter is not read, although it is produced. The clause ולצוות עליה represents the final request: M requests Hatach to urge E, in view of all the evidence submitted, to go to the King. The eunuch Hatach may have been a Jew; cf. C 145 and the second footnote to n. on 2, 10.

(11) For the etymology of פנימית cf. AJSL 22, 258, below.

For אהה דתו, *there is but one decree for him*, cf. Dan. 2, 9: הקא דהא דתו. The suffix in דתו represents the *genitivus objectivus* (so S): *his decree = the decree against him*; contrast n. on 1, 17. The loanword דת is feminine; cf. 3, 8. 15 (דתיהם שנות) and SG<sup>2</sup>, p. 57, below.

The ל in להמית (הא היא גזירת דיניה למית ט) may be the *Lamed inscriptionis*, as in Is. 8, 1 (GK<sup>27</sup>, § 119, u). This is a variety of the emphatic ל (cf. n. on לכבוש, 7, 8) just as Assy. mā before the *oratio directa* is a variety of the emphatic ma (see Proverbs 68, 7). 𐤌<sup>v</sup> renders אהה דתו להמית freely: οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ σωτηρία, 3 *absque ulla cunctatione statim interficiatur*; LB *der soll stracks Gebot sterben*.

Baer reads שַׁרְבִּיט, with *Raphéh*; but שרביט = Assy. šabbīṭu, so the r is merely resolution of the doubling (VG, § 90) as in Assy.

\*Nor can אמר לשקול ביהודים mean *he commanded the Jews to pay*.







accidental (N) but intentional (Wd). According to N (EB 1403) it is due to the coarse and worldly spirit of the author; but the avoidance of the name of God is no evidence of coarseness or worldliness: a man may be absolutely irreligious, yet use the name of God in an oath &c. The phrase *הַצֶּלֶה יַעֲמֵד בְּמִקְוֵם אֲדָר* is a reverential allusion to intervention on the part of the Supreme Being, just as some one may say in Washington, The Secretary of State is in favor of it, but Somebody Else may object, alluding to the President.\* In post-Biblical Hebrew, *הַבְּיָקוֹם* is used of God (cf. JBL 24, 17) and *אֱלֹהִים* is substituted for *אֱלֹקִים*, just as we prefer to say *By Jove*, or *dear me*, or *Good gracious*, *Good by*, &c in order to avoid the name of God. Ger. *achherrje* is a corruption of *Ach Herr Jesus*, just as *Hullee gee* is a corruption of *Holy Jesus*.

*מִי יוֹדֵעַ אִם לָעַת כִּזְאֵת הַנֶּעֱשִׂית לְמַלְכוּת* means, *Who knows whether thou hast not attained royalty for a time like this*, i. e. *Perhaps thou hast been made Queen just for such a contingency*; cf. Gen. 45, 7; 50, 20. *Ἐ καὶ τίς οἶδεν εἰ εἰς τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἐβασίλευσας*; so, too, *Ἐ et quis novit utrum idcirco ad regnum veneris, ut in tali tempore paraveris?* *סַעֲדָה נָפְלָה מִלְּפָנֶיךָ וְכָל מַלְכוּתָא בְּיָמֶיךָ אֲפֻלָּה לְמַלְכוּתָא*, *וְכִיָּן הוּא הַנִּיבָא דִּי יִהְיֶה אִין לְשִׁחָא דִּאֲתִיָּא בְּעִידָא דְהָא אִם ט* *בְּשִׁיָּא לְמַחֲסָן מַלְכוּתָא*. Instead of the rhetorical question *Who knows?* Ethiopic uses a negative expression for *perhaps*, viz. *እንጹሕ*: *əndā'i*, lit. *not my knowing, haud scio*, *אֵינִי יוֹדֵעַ*; see Dillmann's grammar (1899) p. 343; English translation by J. A. Crichton (London, 1907) p. 387. For similarly clipped forms cf. my remarks on the causative prefix *שׁ* in nn. on 3, 9 and in the paper on the name *Istar* (JAOS 28, 114) also *Nah.* 24, below: VG § 44, d; and the remarks on *מִיָּדָר* (5, 8).

*מִי יוֹדֵעַ אִם* means *perhaps*, just as Lat. *haud scio an*; contrast *haud scio an non* = *perhaps not*. As soon as the negative is inserted (after *art*) in AV *Who knoweth whether thou art come to the kingdom for such a time as this*, the meaning is clear. LB, correctly, *Wer weiss, ob du nicht um dieser Zeit willen zum Königreich gekommen bist; C und wer weiss, ob du nicht (grade) für diese Zeit zum Königreich gelangt bist*. Similarly AV renders Jon. 3, 9: *Who can tell if God will turn and repent* instead of *Who can tell whether God will not turn and repent*. If we substitute *but* for *אִם*, we need not insert the negative.

\*In the German *Reichstag* Gen. Von Deimling, the commander of the colonial troops in German Southwestern Africa, said on May 26, 1906: *Darüber haben Sie hier nicht zu bestimmen, sondern ein Anderer* (i. e. the Emperor). In his novel *Tristram of Blent* (vol. 1, p. 255 of the Tauchnitz edition) Anthony Hope says: *And if by a miracle he [the prime minister] said yes, for all I know somebody else might say no. This dark reference to the Highest Quarters caused Southend to nod thoughtfully.*—Ibid. p. 270 we find: *There was now not only the very grave question whether Robert Disney [the prime minister]—to say nothing of Somebody Else—would entertain the idea; and on p. 117 of vol. 2: The last words had, presumably, reference to the same quarter that Lady Evenswood had once described by the words "Somebody Else."*

If the negative were inserted in Hebrew, **אם לא לעת וגו'**, the phrase would mean: *Perhaps thou hast not been made Queen just for a contingency like the present*. This statement would be possible only if E had not become Queen. If the King had given orders to kill the Queen, the father of one of the maidens who were not made Queen, might have said to his daughter:—**מי יודע אם לא הצעת למלכות לעת כזאת**. The negative in our *Who knows whether thou hast not been made Queen just for such an emergency* is on a par with our *not* in phrases like *Won't you come?* which is quite different from *Will you (really) not come?* The particles **הלא** or **מדוע** (B) could not be used in this connection. B's interpretation (which has been adopted by Reuss) *Who knows (what may happen) when thou hast come to the royal throne at that time or when thou hast appeared before the King's majesty at that time* (Ger. *Und wer weiss wenn du um diese Zeit hingekommen sein wirst zum königlichen Thron*) is impossible. This would be: **ומי יודע מה יהיה כבואך אל המלך בעת ההיא**. The words **יהיה מה יהיה** could not be omitted, and **בעת ההיא** would be appropriate only if a time had been specified; *e. g.* if E had been urged to go to the King at a certain time, then some friend, wishing to dissuade her, might say, *If I were you, I would not go; who knows what will happen when thou goest to the King at that time*. It is true that this phrase might also anticipate a favorable outcome; Naomi might have added to her instructions in Ruth 3, 3: **ומי יודע מה יהיה כבואך אל האיש בעת ההיא**, but without **מה יהיה** the statement would be meaningless.

(16) **א** means *for me* (*ἃ pro me*; see conclusion of n. on **ובכי**) *cf.* **על עמה** (v. 8) and **על נפשו** (7, 7) also **על נפשו** (8, 11).

For **לילה ויום** see *Kings* 104, 32.

In **אני ונעורתי אצום גם** the conjunction **ו** means *with*; in Arabic, **و** in such cases is construed with the accusative (WdG 2, 325, D; JAOS 22, 108, n. 5). *Cf.* **יבוא המלך והבן** (5, 4).

**א**, **כן**, thus means, not *for the same period*, i. e. *for three days* (B) but *in the same (strict) manner*, viz. *day and night*. Fasting was observed, as a rule, from sunrise to sunset, food and drink being taken each day after sundown, just as in the Mohammedan fast of Ramadan (رمضان).

For **ובכן**, and so (so, correctly, AV; but **ἔ καὶ τότε**, *ἃ et tunc*, **س** **وبحث** **כן** **و**; *cf.* Syr. **ܟܢ** = **ܟܢ**) see n. on 2, 13 (the **ܟܢ** is not the **ܟܢ** *essentia*, as B and Wd suppose; *cf.* n. on 7, 3). This statement expresses E's confidence in God's help. After having fasted for three days, both day and night, she could not be very attractive to the King, unless God wrought a miracle as in the case of Daniel and his friends (Dan. 1, 15). The fasting in the present case is not a sign of mourning,

but humiliation before JHWH in order to secure His help; cf. 2 S 12, 22; 1 K 21, 27; Jon. 3, 5. Post-Biblical חֲעִיית, *humbling*, means *fast*; cf. עָנָה נִפְשִׁי and nn. on the translation of Leviticus (SBOT) p. 82, l. 40. א has for צוּמוֹ עָלַי (so, too, §) *orate pro me*, and ט adds to וְצוּמוֹ עָלַי.

It is not necessary to suppose that the verb אָבַד in the phrase כָּאֲשֶׁר אֲבִדְתִּי אֲבִדְתִּי (cf. Gen. 43, 14 and GK<sup>27</sup>, § 106, n) means *to be banished* (see n. on אָבַד, 3, 13). E risks her life, just as Sheherazade and the Herodotean prototype of both, Φαυδρμύη (*Pur.* 8, 38). א *tradensque me morti et periculo*.

(17) אִם יִעֲבֹר does not mean *he transgressed* the Law by ordering a fast for the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> of Nisan (so J. D. Michaelis) but *he went over* (so C 162) to the City to call the Jews of Susa together and to urge them to fast for three days in order to crave JHWH's blessing on E and her hazardous undertaking in behalf of her brethren. The City, in which M's brethren lived, was separated from the Acropolis (cf. n. on 1, 2) by the Choaspes, Assy. Uknû (JHUC, No. 114, p. 111<sup>b</sup>; cf. JAOS 18, 145, n. 1).

## ה

(1) It is perhaps not necessary to insert (with B. R. Wd) לְבוּשׁ before מַלְכוּת (AV, put on *her* royal apparel) as in 6, 8; 8, 15. G<sup>v</sup> περιεβάλετο τὴν δόξαν αὐτῆς, but G<sup>b</sup> π. τὰ ἱμάτια τῆς δόξης, א *induta est regalibus vestimentis*, § לְבוּשׁ מַלְכוּת, ט ולבשת לְבוּשֵׁי מַלְכוּתָא, ט *לבשת לְבוּשֵׁי מַלְכוּתָא*. The abstract מַלְכוּת may mean *regalia*. Milton uses *royalty* for *emblems of royalty* (Assyr. simat šarrûti). LB *zog sich königlich an*; so, too, C 163. S translates: *da zog E das Königs'gewand' an*; but in his nn. he states that לְבוּשׁ מַלְכוּת is abridged for לְבוּשׁ מַלְכוּתָא; cf. nn. on v. 8 and 4, 7.

אִם וַתַּעֲבֹד does not mean *she stepped in, entered* (S) or *she stood* (so AV = א *stetit*) but *she waited*; cf. 6, 5; 7, 7 and our *stay* = Lat. *stare*, Arab. اقام (*Kings* 174, 27; cf. n. on הַעֲמִיד, 4, 5). To *stay* means to *come to a stand, stop, wait, remain*. Shakespeare says: *a servant that stays upon me*; cf. הַעֲמִיד לַפְנֵיהֶם (4, 5) also עָמַד in Eccl. 1, 4; Ex. 9, 28 (וַתֵּעַמַּד וְלֹא תִסָּפֵן לַעֲמֹד) and Josh. 3, 16 (וַתֵּעַמַּד) הַמַּיִם; cf. Ger. *stauen*).

אִם נָכַח פֶּתַח הַבַּיִת does not refer to E (as S states) but to the royal throne; נָכַח בֵּית הַמֶּלֶךְ refers to E, but not נָכַח פֶּתַח הַבַּיִת. The throne was opposite the entrance, so that the King, seated on his throne, could see who was waiting in the forecourt.

(2) אִם עֲבִידָה is a circumstantial accusative; see *Kings* 136, 37; 298, 3; and below, vv. 9, 14: שְׂמִיחָה; v. 13: יוֹשֵׁב; 6, 12: אֶבֶל וְחַפְזֵי רֹאשׁ. Cf. also Gen. 27, 6: הִנֵּה שְׂמַעְתִּי אֶת אֲבִיךָ בִּדְבַר אֵל עֹשֶׂה אֲחִיךָ;



contraction of <sup>אָהָר</sup> \*the part. Pual of <sup>אָהָר</sup>; but the initial <sup>בִּי</sup> is a remnant of <sup>יוֹם</sup>, *day*, just as the final <sup>ם</sup> in <sup>שְׁלִשִּׁים</sup>, *the day before yesterday*, lit. *the third day*; cf. the remarks on <sup>אָזְזָה</sup>: in nn. on 4, 14. The adverb <sup>בְּיָמָהּ</sup> is shortened from <sup>יוֹם אָהָר</sup> or <sup>יָמֵי אָהָר</sup>, for <sup>יוֹם אָהָר</sup>, <sup>יוֹם אָהָר</sup>; cf. Heb. <sup>יוֹם אָהָרָן</sup> (Prov. 31, 25; Is. 30, 8). For the long *a* cf. <sup>אָזְזָה</sup> = <sup>אָזְזָה</sup> + <sup>ה</sup>. The original meaning is *posterior day, subsequent day, following day*; contrast Fürst's dictionary (edited by R) 1, 724<sup>a</sup>. The form <sup>בְּיָמָהּ</sup> (constr. <sup>בְּיָמָהּ</sup>) must be a compound of <sup>אָהָר</sup> + <sup>יוֹם</sup>; the fem. form <sup>אָהָרָהּ</sup> may be a contraction of <sup>אָהָרָהּ</sup>; cf. <sup>אַחֲרָיִם</sup>, *at last* and <sup>מִפְּעֵי</sup>, *at first* (SG<sup>2</sup>, § 155) also <sup>פָּרָת</sup> (= <sup>פָּרִית</sup> *pāraiat*, ZDMG 61, 194, n. 2) Gen. 49, 22; see *Genesis* 111, 35 and GK<sup>27</sup>, § 80, g.

(9) In <sup>זֶה</sup> <sup>קָם</sup> <sup>וְלֹא</sup> <sup>זֶה</sup> the two verbal forms are participles in the accusative (<sup>קָם</sup> = <sup>קָמָה</sup>) not perfect forms. It is not necessary to say <sup>זֶה</sup> <sup>וְהָיָה</sup> <sup>לֹא</sup> <sup>קָם</sup> <sup>זֶה</sup>; see *Kings* 136, 38 and cf. n. on <sup>עֲבֹדָה</sup> (v. 2). <sup>καὶ μὴ προσκυνεῖ με</sup>, but <sup>סָלַח מִלִּי</sup> <sup>כֹל</sup> <sup>עֲוֹנוֹתַי</sup> <sup>וְלֹא</sup> <sup>זֶה</sup> (in 4, 4 <sup>זֶה</sup> has <sup>וְלֹא</sup> = <sup>וְלֹא</sup>). Nor does <sup>זֶה</sup> <sup>וְלֹא</sup> mean *er machte nicht Platz* (S). <sup>Ἰ</sup> *sed nec motum quidem de loco sessionis suae*; LB *noch sich vor ihm bewegte*; AV *nor moved for him*. In <sup>Σ</sup> we find the correction: <sup>καὶ οὐκ ἐξανεστῆσθαι οὐδὲ ἐπρόμνησεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ</sup>.

(10) For <sup>זֶרֶשׁ</sup> (<sup>זֶרֶשׁ</sup>, <sup>Ἰ</sup> *Zares*) <sup>Σ</sup><sup>VL</sup> read *Zωσάρα* (Vet. Lat. *Zosarra*) and <sup>Σ</sup><sup>A</sup>: *Σωσάρα*, i. e. <sup>זֶרֶשׁ</sup>; for the *ω* cf. <sup>Σ</sup><sup>V</sup> *Βωραζή* = <sup>בְּנֵתָא</sup> (1, 10). The form *Zωσάρα* is probably influenced by the Greek name *Zωσάριον*. Josephus reads *Zapasa* (with variants). Jensen conjectured that <sup>זֶרֶשׁ</sup> was a corruption of <sup>גִּרְשָׁה</sup> = *Qiri(ri)ša*, the name of an Elamite goddess; cf. <sup>וְשִׁתִּי</sup> (1, 9) and for <sup>ג</sup> = <sup>ר</sup>: *Ezekiel* 114, 31 and <sup>Σ</sup><sup>V</sup> *Αβαραζα* = <sup>אַבְנֵתָא</sup>, <sup>Σ</sup><sup>A</sup> *Ζηβαθαβα* = <sup>בְּנֵתָא</sup>; see nn. on 1, 10. For *Babyl.* <sup>ג</sup> = <sup>ק</sup> see VG § 45, t (cf. *ibid.* b, β). Jensen is now inclined to identify <sup>זֶרֶשׁ</sup> with the *Babyl.* goddess of wine, *Sirešu* (see *Genesis* 81, 34; *Pur.* 30, 34; 31, 25) just as he accepts Graetz's (or rather J. D. Michaelis') combination of <sup>פִּוּרִים</sup> and <sup>פִּוּרָה</sup> (see *Pur.* 50, 2; cf. n. on 3, 7) but his former explanation is preferable. According to <sup>Σ</sup>, <sup>זֶרֶשׁ</sup> was <sup>עֶבֶר</sup> <sup>פָּתַח</sup> <sup>בְּרֵת</sup> <sup>תַּחְנִי</sup> <sup>זֶרֶשׁ</sup>, *for* <sup>זֶרֶשׁ</sup> = <sup>וְשִׁתִּי</sup> cf. n. on <sup>הָיָה</sup> (1, 6). Ch thinks (EB 5411) that <sup>זֶרֶשׁ</sup> is a mutilated form of <sup>צִרְפַּת</sup>; cf. Ch's explanation of <sup>וְשִׁתִּי</sup> (1, 9).

(11) Hitzig's conjecture <sup>רַב פְּנִי</sup>, *die Fülle seines Anschus* (cf. <sup>وَجَبَّ</sup>) = *his great distinction* (endorsed by B) is just as gratuitous (contrast <sup>בְּרִשִּׁים</sup>, *Nah.* 2, 4) as his emendation <sup>וּמִדְבַּר כָּל שְׂפָה</sup> (1, 22). <sup>Ἰ</sup> *filiorumque turbam*, <sup>سَمْعًا</sup> <sup>وَعَلْمًا</sup> = <sup>רַב בְּנֵי</sup> (cf. 9, 10).

\*In BDB 563<sup>b</sup> <sup>מִתְרָה</sup> is connected with *Assyr.* *maxru*, *front*; but *front* means *past*, and *back* = *future*; cf. SFG 15, n. 3.



אֲשֶׁר גִּדְּלוֹ הַמֶּלֶךְ כל before is impossible; *all that wherewith he had advanced him* (B: *alles das womit ihn der König gross gemacht*) would require the insertion of *בו* after *גִּדְּלוֹ*; cf. *אֲשֶׁר לְבַשׁ בּוֹ הַמֶּלֶךְ* (see *Kings* 169, 33) 6, 8; also *נָחַם אֲשֶׁר נָחַם בָּהֶם* in 9, 22. Cases like *אֲשֶׁר קָרָהוּ* (4, 7; 6, 13) are quite different; cf. also 10, 2. S's explanation, *all with regard to which the King had advanced him* (LB *Alles wie ihn der König so gross gemacht hatte*; AV *all the things wherein the King had promoted him*) is not natural; cf. the remarks on the common mistranslation of the phrase *אֲשֶׁר . . . שִׁלְחָן*, *Nah.* 24, below, and n. on *אֲשֶׁר מִלְּפָנָיו* (7, 5). We must insert כל before *וְיָתֵר מִיָּתֵר מִלְּכָא וְיָתֵר מִלְּכָא*, following 3, 1 and *דְּזִקְפִּיה עֲלֵיו כָּל רַבְרַבְנֵי וְעַבְדֵּי הַמֶּלֶכָּא* *super omnes principes et servos suos*. In *כָּל (כֹּסְמִינֵהּ חֵלְּ עֵלְּ חִמְּיֵי מִלְּכָא)* appears before *עַבְדֵּי*, where it is less appropriate.

(12) *אֲשֶׁר קָרָה לָהּ* (S *אֲשֶׁר קָרָה לָהּ*; cf. SG<sup>2</sup>, § 279, A) means *invited by her* (so Wd) *not to her* (LB, AV, S) = *לְיוֹתָהּ*; cf. *אֲנִי מְזוֹמֵךְ לְיוֹתָהּ* (Ruth 3, 10) and n. on 4, 3.

(13) *אֲשֶׁר בָּכָל עַתָּה אֲשֶׁר* means *as long as* (LB, AV, S, K) *not whenever* (B). *ἄχρις ὅταν*, but *ἄχρις ὅταν*. *אֲשֶׁר* is construct state before the relative clause; cf. *מִקּוֹם אֲשֶׁר* (4, 2; 8, 17) and *Kings* 285, 5.

(14) *אֲשֶׁר יִעָשֶׂה* does not refer to H, but is impersonal; cf. the remarks on *הַפִּיל* in nn. on 3, 7 and n. on 6, 9. *Ἡ καὶ ἡτοιμάσθη τὸ ξύλον*, *Ἡ καὶ jussit excelsam parari crucem* (LB *und liess einen Baum zurichten*, AV, *caused the gallows to be made*) are free renderings. It is not necessary to read the passive *יִעָשֶׂה*. *Ἡ* has in 8, 7: *καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκρέμασα ἐπὶ ξύλου* for *וְאֵתוֹ חָלָו עַל הָעֵץ*.

## 7

(1) For *שִׁנְתָּה שְׁנַת הַמֶּלֶךְ* (S *שִׁנְתָּה שְׁנַת הַמֶּלֶךְ*; cf. *שִׁנְתָּה שְׁנַת הַמֶּלֶךְ*) *Ἡ* has *ὁ δὲ Κύριος* (*Ἡ* *δυνατός*) *ἀπέστησε τὸν ὕπνον ἀπὸ* (omission of *ἀπὸ* in *Ἡ* is a secondary correction) *τοῦ βασιλείως*, but *אֲשֶׁר* is no doubt more original. The omission of the name of God in the present passage is not designed, as Wd supposes; contrast n. on *בְּמִקּוֹם אֲהָרַר* (4, 14). The personification of sleep (AV<sup>m</sup> *the King's sleep fled*) is quite natural. *Den König flog der Schlaf* (but not *des König's Schlaf flog*) is idiomatic German; cf. our phrase *the color fled from her cheeks*. In Gen. 31, 40 LB has for *וַתִּפְּדֵן שְׁנַתִּי מֵעֵינַי* (*Ἡ fugiebatque somnus ab oculis meis*, AV *my sleep departed from mine eyes*): *und kam kein Schlaf in meine Augen*; but in the present passage LB has the prosaic translation *konnte der König nicht schlafen*; so, too, AV; *Ἡ noctem illam duxit rex insomnem*.



Ἐ reads καὶ εἶπεν τῷ διδασκάλῳ αὐτοῦ εἰσφέρειν κτλ, but א is more original. Ἐ τῷ διδασκάλῳ αὐτοῦ (cf. *Pur.* 7, 21) is just as secondary as the clause ὅτι θεὸς ζῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ at the end of v. 13, or καλῶς ἐλάλησας in v. 10, or καλέσατε αὐτόν instead of יבוא (س يبعث, יענל, א ingrediatur) at the end of v. 5.

א (מילי דיוניא ט) דברי הוינים is a gloss (so, too, J) derived from 2, 23 and 10, 2; cf. n. on 8, 14 and the remarks on the gloss שונ, *Nah.* 31.

(2) Similarly משמירי הס is a scribal expansion based on the received text of 2, 21. Cf. the scribal expansions in 2, 3, 8.

(3) In ביה נעשה יקר וגדולה the two nouns are genitives depending on ביה (א quid, *pro hac fide, honoris ac praemii M consecutus est*). In the same way we find in the cuneiform account of the Deluge, l. 174: ā'u-ma ūṣi napišti, *what soul has escaped?* cf. Arab. أي رجل āiḡu rájulīn, *what man?* (WdG 2, 220). Consequently we must read the ideograms at the end of ll. 82, 83, and 68 of the Flood tablet as genitives (not accusatives, HW 556<sup>a</sup>; nor nominatives, KB 6, 234) viz. mīma iṣṣu eḡēnši xurāṣi, i. e. *I loaded her (the ship) with all the silver I had, I loaded her with all the gold I had*; lit. (with) *whatever I had I loaded her of gold*; eḡēnši = aḡēnši from ḡēnu = בנק. Heb. טק (Gen. 45, 17) is an Aramaism; cf. פתרון in Gen. 40 (see *Nah.* 25, 2). The passages in Gen. 40, 45 belong to the Ephraimitic Document. AG<sup>2</sup>, 303 translates eḡēnši: *I filled it*; for the epenthesis of the *ē* in eḡēnši see my *Assyr. E-vowel*, p. 28; cf. AG<sup>2</sup>, 266, 94. In the same way we must read in l. 68 of the Flood tablet: III šar ḡābe nāš sussulša iḡābīlū šamni, i. e. *three σάρου of (sesame-) oil* (see *Pur.* 30, 39) *carry her stevedores* (lit. *κανηφόροι, basket-bearers*; cf. also Delitzsch, *Mehr Licht*, p. 39).

(4) For לחצר בא read אלהצר בא; the omission of the א is due to haplography; see *Ezra* 30, 27; *Kings* 245, 35; ZDMG 61, 289, 40.

(5) For עמיד (קאים ט, א) waiting (not standing, AV *standeth*) see n. on 5, 1.

(6) For לעשות ביה cf. n. on 1, 15.

א לעשות יקר יותר במני does not mean *to confer more honor than on me* (B *mehr Ehre als mir*; also Wd *mehr als, AV more than to myself*) but *to confer honor except on me* (Ἐ<sup>VL</sup> εἰ μὴ ἐμέ, א *nullum alium nisi*; LB *wem anders denn mir, K ausser*) S translates *ausser mir*, but in his nn. he says, יותר במני means *mehr als ich*; cf. n. on 4, 7. א יותר במני (יתיר בני ט, א) means *beyond me, beside me, in addition to me*. Nor does יותר מן mean *more than* in Ecclesiastes, as Wd states. In Eccl. 2, 15 יתר means *exceedingly, extremely, very*; in 7, 11 it means *exceeding; superior, better*; in 7, 16: *exceeding, over, too*; in 12, 9: *beyond, in addition to*; in 12, 12: *besides* (see *Eccl.*).

(7) The prefixed nominative absolute, at the end of this verse, **איש אשר המלך הפך ביקרו**, does not reflect the *verblendete Überstürzung* of H, as Wd supposes; this construction is by no means abrupt (B) in Semitic; cf. GK<sup>27</sup>, § 143, c, footnote; WdG 2, 256; SG<sup>2</sup>, § 317; Dillmann, Ethiop. gr.<sup>2</sup>, p. 446 (Eng. translation, p. 505).

(8) For the phrase **דו לבישו ביה ית** (אשר לבש בו המלך) (ט) see n. on כל (5, 11).

The last clause of this verse, **ואשר נתן כתר מלכות בראשו**, is a tertiary scribal expansion, derived (cf. n. on 8, 14) from the secondary addition in 8, 15 (**ויעשרת זהב גדולה**) and **אשר** is a quaternary gloss. If we omit **אשר**, the suffix in **בראשו** refers to the man who is to be honored (just as the Maccabean prototype of M, Jonathan, was honored by King Alexander Balas; see 1 M 10, 20, 61; Pur. 6, 35; cf. also third n. on 9, 16) but **ואשר נתן כתר מלכות בראשו** can mean only *on whose head* (referring to the horse) *a golden crown has been placed* (so ט, B, K, Wd, S). In ט **ורו אתיהב כלילא דמלכותא ברישיה** the suffix refers to the horse, the clause being coordinated to the preceding relative clause (**דעל למלכותא**) (**ביומא דעל למלכותא**). J, LB, and AV, however, do not refer the suffix to the horse: J *et (homo debet) accipere regium diadema super caput suum*, LB (*den Mann . . . soll man herbringen*) *dass man die königliche Krone auf sein Haupt setze*, AV *and the crown royal which is set upon his* (scil. the King's) *head* (this would require transposition of **אשר נתן מלכות**: **וכתר מלכות**—**אשר נתן בראשו**). M **אשר נתן** was inserted by a reader to whom the **כתר מלכות** on the head of M seemed too gross an exaggeration; cf. n. on the gloss **ימים רבים** (1, 4). If the final clause, **ונתן כתר מלכות בראשו**, were original, we should expect a reference to **כתר מלכות** in v. 10, after **את הלבוש ואת הסוס**; also in v. 11. It is possible that this gloss **ונתן כתר מלכות בראשו** stood originally after **והלבשו ביקרו**. **את האיש אשר המלך הפך ביקרו**. M **נתן** is, of course, perfect Nif'al, not impf. Qal (Maurer) for **נתן** (see Judges 57, 42). Nor is it necessary to read **ויתנו** or **ויתנו** (B) for **ונתן**, especially if this gloss stood originally after **והלבשו וגו'**. In G<sup>v</sup> this clause is omitted; in G<sup>s</sup> a hand of the 7<sup>th</sup> cent. has added in the margin (after the clause **דעל למלכותא**) the correction *καὶ δοθῇτω διάδημα βασιλείας ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ*.

(9) It is better to read, with O, for **והלבשו** (ט) and **וקראו** (ט) (**והרכיבוהו**) the singular, **והלבש**, **וקרא**, in the same way **והרכיבוהו** (ט) (**והרכיבוהו**) should be pointed **והרכיבוהו**; cf. the singular forms in v. 11 and G<sup>v</sup> *στολισάτω . . . ἀναβιβασάτω . . . κηρυσσέτω* (G<sup>s</sup> *στολισά-*

τωσαν . . . . κηρυσσέτωσαν are secondary). The incorrect plural forms והלבושו &c are due to the preceding הפיתמים. The author no doubt believed that M did not merely superintend these functions, but that he performed them himself; cf. especially ט<sup>2</sup> (260, 23). The statement at the end of c. 5, ויעש העץ (cf. also אשר עשה המן and אשר הכין in 7, 9, 10) is somewhat different.

יהוה העיר (פתחה דקרחא ט) is the *forum of the city* (Keil) not the place before the royal palace (Schultz, B, Wd). M was led on horseback through the City, not through the Acropolis; cf. last n. on c. 3. This forum may have been before the Acropolis which contained the royal palace, but not immediately before the royal palace.

(10) For הושב בשער המלך (I *qui sedet ante fores palatii*) see n. on 2, 19.

The question raised by J. D. Michaelis, *Had the King forgotten that all the Jews were doomed to destruction?* is easily answered. The King might have honored M, even if all the Jews were to be massacred in a few months; a soldier (or sailor) may be decorated before he is put to death. But the King had probably decided to discard H and his sanguinary policy, as soon as he learned from the official records that M had saved his life, not H. The order to honor M, which he gives to H, is the first instalment of the punishment he intends to mete out to H (cf. n. on 7, 7). Nor is it reasonable to ask, *How did the King know that M was a Jew at the King's Gate?* This was probably stated in the records; if not, the attendants of the King could easily supply this information, just as Harbonah told the King that H had put up a stake for M. If the King asked, *Who is this M?* some one was no doubt present who could answer: *He is a Jew* (who has a stand) *at the King's Gate*. But M may have been a familiar figure in Susa, so that he was known to the King. Cf. nn. on 2, 10, 11; 3, 14.\*

(12) Ὡς κατὰ κεφαλῆς for הפני ראש (מתעטף על רישיה ט) *operto capite* is corrected in Ὡς to κατακεκαλυμμένος κεφαλῇ. J's conjecture, that the original text was not ראש or רש, but ררה, is destitute of all probability.

(13) The *Dagesh forte conjunctivum* (GK<sup>2</sup>, § 20, k) is due to the enclitic character of לו; cf. the Dagesh in אקומה-נא &c for אקומה-נא (Cant. 73, ad Cant. 3, 2; Proverbs 67, 41) also Arab. لا يا ما qalilúmma; لا يا ما fi-kúlli-mâ 'âmin; فاما الناس ما حاشا قريشا la'îamma, *with great difficulty*;

\*I believe, of course, that E is entirely fictitious (see *Pur.* 21, 35). I merely try to defend the author of E against unwarranted criticisms of modern expositors (cf. e.g. nn. on 2, 10; 3, 14; 7, 7; 8, 11, 13; 9, 3) just as my paper on *Jonah's Whale* (cf. *AJSL* 23, 255) in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 46, pp. 151-164 (1907) is not a vindication of the historical character of this Sadducean apologue (about 100 B.C.) but a refutation of some unfounded objections raised by modern students of the Bible.

fa'ámmā 'n-nāsu-mā\* ḥāšā Quraiṣān (WdG 2, 224, D; 276, B; 343, B) &c. The *Dagesh orthophonicum* (GK<sup>27</sup>, § 13, c) in תּוֹכֵל־לִי (cf. 7, 3: אִם-מִצָּחִי) is different. For enclitic words in Heb. see *Nah.* 19; cf. VG 70, below; 94, l. 4. Contrast ZAT 3, 17–31.

We need not suppose that H's wife and his friends were familiar with the Scriptural passages concerning the Amalekites (Ex. 17, 16; 1 S 15, 2–7; Gen. 32, 26, &c). A person who lived in Susa might have seen with his own eyes that it was hard to accomplish anything against a Jew. Cf. the parallels between E and the Book of Nehemiah referred to at the end of nn. on 3, 1.

(14) For the *Waw apodosis* in עוֹדִים מְדַבְּרִים עִמּוֹ וּסְרִיטִי וְגו' cf. Job 1, 16. 17. 18 (עוֹדִי זֶה מְדַבֵּר וְזֶה בֹא) and n. on כִּדִּי (1, 17).

## 7

(2) For the gloss אֶחָד בְּיוֹמָא (ἓν τῇ δευτέρῃ ἡμέρᾳ, ἓ) אֶחָד בְּיוֹמָא (חֲזִינָא) see n. on 2, 14.

(3) The preposition בַּשְּׁאֲלֹתִי (so, too, 5c) and בִּבְקִשְׁתִּי is not the ב essential (see *Numbers* 57, 46) as Wd supposes; nor have we the ב essential in וּבִבְנֵן (4, 16). אֲנִי בַשְּׁאֲלֹתִי means simply *at my request* (so AV) just as בְּדַבְּרִי (1, 12) means *at the command*. This is a variety of the ב *instrumenti*; ב in this connection means *through the force of*; cf. our *in* or *by virtue of* and *by order* &c. ἓ δοθήτω ἡ ψυχὴ τῷ αἰτήματι μου; 3, freely, *dona mihi animam pro qua rogo*.

(4) אֲנִי וְאַחִי (so, too, 5) is Aramaic; cf. the last but one paragraph of nn. on 1, 8.

The clause כִּי אֵין הָצָר שָׁמָּה בְּנוֹק הַמֶּלֶךְ means: *It is not worth while to annoy the King on account of the enemy* (so, too, Reuss).—The sense is correctly given by B (431, 13): *der Feind ist nicht werth, dass ich seinetwegen den König verletze oder betrübe*, except that *verletze* or *betrübe* is not the proper word; it should be *belästige, behellige* (see below). The literal translation would be: *The enemy is not equivalent to the annoyance of the King*. The ב in בְּנוֹק is the ב *pretii*: the enemy is no equivalent *at the cost of* the annoyance of the King; cf. Josh. 6, 26: בְּבָנֵי יִסְכְּנָהּ וּבְצִעְרֵי יָצִיב דְּלֹתֶיהָ, *he shall lay the foundation thereof at the cost of* (AV *in*) *his first-born, and at the cost of* (AV *in*) *his youngest son shall he set up the gates of it*; i. e. *The laying of the foundation shall cost him his first-born, the setting up of*

\* Mā in such cases must be connected with the preceding word, not with the following حَاشِي. Also in حَيَّةٌ خَبِثَةٌ مَا هِيَ ḥājjatun xabītatun mā hīja, *a very dangerous snake* and similar cases (WdG 2, 276, D) mā emphasizes the preceding word; the original meaning is: *A snake—dangerous indeed she (or he)*. For the emphatic -ma in Assyrian see also Moses Schorr, *Altbabyl. Rechtsurkunden* (Vienna, 1907) p. 60.

*the gates shall cost him his youngest son* (see the translation of this passage in the Polychrome Bible and cf. above, n. on 4, 7). To annoy the King would be too high a price for the punishment of this enemy; the enemy is so utterly worthless that it would be a pity to give the King the slightest annoyance on his account. This statement implies the greatest respect and consideration for the King, and the utmost contempt and hatred for H. 𐤔 renders correctly: אָרוֹם לִית בְּעִל דְּבַכְיָהּ. The noun טַנָּא means not only *zeal*, but also *annoyance*; 𐤗𐤌𐤕 means *to be provoked* (cf. Ger. *sich ereifern* and Heb. קָנָא, Deut. 29, 19; Ezek. 5, 13; ψ 79, 5).

The ἀπαξ λεγόμενον נִזָּק does not mean *damage*, but *annoyance*. It corresponds to Arab. نَزَق *nāziqa*, *to be easily angered and easily pacified* (طاش وخف عند الغضب). The noun نَزَاة *nazāqa* means *a swell of sudden anger, a fit of disappointment or anger, a huff*. Also Assy. *nazāqu* (impf. *izziq*) means *to disturb, trouble, harass*. Barth's combination of נִזָּק with نَقَص *nāqqaṣa*, *to injure* is wrong (cf. BA 3, 81).

Dan. 6, 3, וְבִלְכַּח לֹא לְהָיָא נִזָּק, does not mean *that the King should have no damage*, but *that the King should not be annoyed, troubled* (with the administrative details of the government). 𐤓 renders correctly: ὁπως ὁ βασιλεὺς μὴ ἐνοχλῆται, *Et rex non sustineret molestiam*, LB *und der König der Mühe überhoben wäre*. Behrmann's rendering, *ne quis rex detrimenti capiat*, which is endorsed by Marti, is incorrect. 𐤔 translates: 𐤌𐤍 𐤏𐤍𐤔𐤏 𐤌𐤍 𐤏𐤍𐤔𐤏, *that they (the satraps) should not annoy the King*; 𐤗𐤌𐤕 (𐤗𐤌𐤕) means not only *to do harm*, but also *to annoy, molest, irritate*.

In Ezr. 4, 13 מְלָכִים חֲהִיזָק means: *she (Jerusalem) will give the great King* (cf. ZDMG 61, 289, 17; Nah. 30, below) *trouble*. Jerusalem cannot *injure* the great King, but the city may *give him trouble*. The clause וְאַפְתָּם מְלָכִים חֲהִיזָק certainly does not mean: *thou shalt endamage the revenue of the Kings* (AV). 𐤓 has here καὶ τοῦτο βασιλεὺς κακοποιεῖ, *Et usque ad reges haec noxa perveniet*, 𐤓 𐤏𐤍 𐤏𐤍𐤔𐤏 𐤌𐤍 𐤏𐤍𐤔𐤏, LB *und ihr Vornehmen wird den Königen Schaden bringen*; but 𐤓<sup>l</sup> reads 1 Esdr. 4, 13: καὶ πρὸς τοῦτοις βασιλεῦσιν ὀχλήσουσιν (cf. end of next paragraph).

In Ezra 4, 15 מִהֲנוּקָת מְלָכִין וּמִדִּינָן means, not *hurtful* (AV) but *troublesome for the great King* (ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς) *and the provinces* (the satraps) and לְהִנּוּקָת מְלָכִין, at the end of v. 22: *to the trouble (or annoyance) of the great King* (not *to the hurt of the kings*; so AV). 𐤏𐤍 𐤏𐤍𐤔𐤏 in Ezra 4, 13 is certainly not a noun meaning *revenue*, but an adverb with the meaning *eventually, finally, ultimately*. 𐤓 has in Ezra



4, 15: *κακοποιούσα βασιλεῖς καὶ χώρας* (so, too,  $\mathfrak{G}^L$  1 Esdr. 4, 15; but Ezra 4, 15: *βασιλεύει καὶ πόλειςιν ἐνοχλοῦσα*; so, too,  $\mathfrak{G}^V$  1 Esdr. 2, 19) and at the end of v. 22: *εἰς κακοποίησιν βασιλεύειν*; but  $\mathfrak{G}^L$  has here *εἰς τὸ μὴ ἐνοχλεῖσθαι βασιλεῖς*, and in 1 Esdr. 4, 22: *τοῦ ὀχλεῖσθαι βασιλεῖς*, cf.  $\mathfrak{G}^V$  1 Esdr. 2, 24 *εἰς τὸ βασιλεῖς ἐνοχλῆσαι* (see below).

In the present passage  $\mathfrak{G}^V$  renders כִּי אֵין הָצָר שְׁנָה בְּנוֹק הַמֶּלֶךְ:— οὐ γὰρ ἄξιός ὁ διάβολος τῆς αὐλῆς τοῦ βασιλέως. J restores the Heb. text on the basis of this corrupt translation as follows: כִּי אֵין הַשֶּׁנֶן שְׁנָה בְּחֶצֶר הַמֶּלֶךְ. This may be archaic Hebrew, but even Saul would not have understood it without the help of the witch of En-dor (cf. n. on 8, 1).  $\mathfrak{G}^V$  αὐλῆς is also supposed to be a corruption of ὀργῆς, but it is difficult to see how ὀργῆς should have been corrupted to αὐλῆς; cf. the remarks on the emendation κλήρων for ἑμῶν in nn. on 3, 7. C 197 thinks that αὐλῆς represents a Grecized form of עוֹלָא, *injustice*. The original reading may have been the abbreviated genitive of ὄχλησις, *trouble, annoyance* (cf. ὄχλον παρέχων, *to give trouble, &c.*).  $\mathfrak{G}^L$  καὶ ἤθελον ἀπαγγεῖλαι ἵνα μὴ λυπήσω τὸν κύριόν μου gives the sense of the passage correctly, but freely. *I nunc autem hostis noster est cujus crudelitas redundat in regem* (i. e. whose extreme cruelty will reflect on the King) is a mere guess. LB *so würde der Feind dem Könige doch nicht schaden* is entirely wrong; nor is the rendering in K's *Textbibel* any better: *da aber der König geschädigt werden soll, so verdient der Widersacher nicht geschont zu werden*. In  $\mathfrak{S}$  מִן עֲנִיָּהּ וְנִיָּהּ לְמַלְכָּא the participle מִן seems to be a corruption, not of עֲנִיָּהּ, as B-R suggest, but of עֲנִיָּהּ;  $\mathfrak{S}$  has עֲנִיָּהּ = שְׁנָה in 3, 8, but מִן in 5, 13. אִיוֹם לִית בְּעִיקָא אִיוֹם לִית בְּעִיקָא טִימִין וְרוּחָא בְּאוֹרִיקָא דְּמִלְכָּא. All these various renderings presuppose no different text. אִיוֹרִיקָא seems to be a transposition of אִיוֹרִיקָא; cf. conclusion of n. on אִהֲשִׁירֵנִים (8, 10).

אִי כִי אֵין הָצָר שְׁנָה בְּנוֹק הַמֶּלֶךְ is correct and means: *for the enemy is not worthy of troubling the King, i. e. the enemy is so contemptible that it is not worth while to trouble the King on his account*. All the emendations proposed are unnecessary. Oettli's conjecture, כִּי אֵין הָצָלָה שְׁנָה בְּנוֹק הַמֶּלֶךְ, *salvation (from this destiny) is not worth the damage of the King* (endorsed by Wd) is gratuitous and illogical. Nor can we accept O's emendation הָצָרָה שְׁנָה for הָצָר שְׁנָה (S: *solches Bedrängniss wäre nicht hinreichend den König zu betrüben*). GB<sup>14</sup>, s. v. שְׁנָה renders: *Der Feind verdient nicht, dass der König verletzt wird*; this should be *dass der König (seinetwegen) behelligt wird*.

The rendering of AV, *although the enemy could not countervail the King's damage*, has recently been defended by W who says (W 18) that



the meaning of our passage is, H would not be able to reimburse the King for the damage (loss of taxes &c) he would suffer, if he permitted H to exterminate the Jews. W 24 calls attention to the fact that there were a great many Jewish publicans in Egypt, and that the King (Euergetes II) would have suffered great loss, if the Jewish farmers of the revenues had been exterminated together with their coreligionists. But if the property of the Jews had been confiscated, the King would have received, not only all the taxes collected by the Jewish publicans (including their commission) but also their accumulated wealth; see also *Pur.* 28, 15.

(5) מִי וְאֵיזָהוּ 2<sup>o</sup> (so, too, ט) is superfluous. ℳ<sup>v</sup> has simply εἶπεν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τίς οὗτος κτλ.

מִי הוּא זֶה וְאֵיזָהוּ הוּא means *Who is it, and where is he?* (cf. מִי זֶה וְעַל מִי זֶה at the end of 4, 5). It is perfectly natural to say מִי הוּא זֶה in the first clause, and אֵי זֶה הוּא in the second: in the first clause, הוּא emphasizes the interrogative pronoun; in the second, הוּא is the subject and quite appropriate according to GK<sup>27</sup>, § 136, b; אֵי זֶה means here *where?* not *which* (Eccl. 11, 6). The demonstrative זֶה emphasizes the interrogative אֵי in the second clause (contrast GB<sup>14</sup>, 24, below) just as הוּא emphasizes מִי in the first clause (see *Nah.* 47, ad v. 12). For אֵי, *where?* cf. Is. 50, 1; 66, 1; Job 28, 12, 20; 38, 19<sup>b</sup>. Heb. אֵן *where?* Ruth 2, 19 (=Assyr. ānu, Arab. أين aīna; see *Kings* 203, 9) is merely אֵי with the interrogative particle אֵי: which we have also in mannu, *who?* (see n. on 1, 12). ℳ<sup>VL</sup> omit וְאֵיזָהוּ הוּא, in ℳ<sup>s</sup> a corrector has added καὶ ποῖός ἐστιν οὗτος, S מִי הוּא אֵיזָהוּ, ℳ<sup>s</sup> מִי הוּא דִּין וְבֵאֵר דִּין אַחֵר הוּא, ℳ<sup>s</sup> אֵי אֵלֶּה.

מִי הוּא זֶה וְאֵיזָהוּ הוּא means *whose heart has filled him* (so AV<sup>M</sup>) but not *welchen sein Herz erfüllt hat* (Wd) nor *der sein Herz damit erfüllt hat* (S) nor *dessen Herz ihn erfüllt hat* (B). Cf. the remarks on the common mistranslation of אֲשֶׁר . . . שִׁלְחָהּ in nn. on 5, 11. We must (with J) read מִי הוּא זֶה וְאֵיזָהוּ הוּא, *who has filled his heart*, i. e. *who has the audacity*, ℳ<sup>VL</sup> ἐτόλμησε, J *audet*, S מִי הוּא זֶה וְאֵיזָהוּ הוּא, ℳ<sup>s</sup> אֵיזָהוּ הוּא זֶה וְאֵיזָהוּ הוּא, cf. the Pharisaic gloss Eccl. 8, 11 and Acts 5, 3 where Peter says to Ananias: διὰ τί ἐπλήρωσεν ὁ σατανᾶς τὴν καρδίαν σου, ψεύσασθαί σε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. A man must fill his heart (i. e. his mind) with barefaced audacity in order to undertake such a venture; he must gather up courage in his heart.

(6) מִי הוּא זֶה וְאֵיזָהוּ הוּא does not mean *The adversary and enemy is this wicked H*, so AV; LB *der Feind und Widersacher ist dieser böse Haman* (similarly S and K). This would require the article, הַמִּי הוּא זֶה וְאֵיזָהוּ הוּא; cf. GK<sup>27</sup>, § 126, k; § 116, q. ℳ<sup>v</sup> ἄνθρωπος ἐχθρὸς Ἀμαν ὁ πονηρὸς οὗτος, omitting מִי; in ℳ<sup>s</sup> a corrector has prefixed ἐπιβουλος καὶ τοῦ ἐχθρὸς. J *hostis est inimicus*

*noster pessimus iste est Aman*, inserting *noster*; § אֲמָן חָסֵדָא מַלְכָּא דְּבִישׁ דְּהִיּוֹן, גְּבִירָא מִיַּעֲקֹב וּבִעִיל דְּבִישׁ דְּהִיּוֹן בִּישׁ דְּהִיּוֹן, אֲמָן הוּא הַטָּל עֲמָלָא. B's *ein Drangsal übender und feindseliger Mann ist dieser böse H da* is very awkward. The first clause, אִישׁ צָר וְאֵיּוֹב, represents the answer to the King's question מִי־הוּא זֶה, and the second clause, הָמֵן הִרַע הַזֶּה, answers the question וְאִי־הוּא הוּא (cf. n. on v. 5). The King asks, *Who is it? and where is he?* E replies: *A man, an adversary and an enemy: H, the evil one, there!* In L's edition (but not in Swete) we find the correct punctuation: ἄνθρωπος ἐχθρὸς· Ἀμαν ὁ πονηρὸς οὗτος. C xx translates: *Ein Widersacher und Feind ist es; H ist dieser Bösewicht*, but C 198 explains: *Jener Übelthäter und Feind ist H, dieser Bösewicht*.

E had invited H to the banquet in order to be able to give the King this answer. If she had accused H in his absence, the grand vizier would have had a better chance to defend himself (cf. C 168). Here he was confronted with the Queen, and he collapsed, not because he had tried to exterminate all the Jews, but because he knew the King was aware of the fact that M, not H, had saved the King's life, and that H's hatred against M and the Jews was chiefly due to his apprehension lest the trick to which he owed his sudden elevation might become known to the King (cf. n. on 3, 4). The situation was all the more desperate after the Queen had told the King that she was a Jewess and the foster-daughter of M who had saved the life of the King.

אִתְּרַבַּע means *he was surprised, taken by surprise, overtaken* (Ger. *überrumpelt*) not *he was afraid* (so AV). Arab. بَغَتْ means *to happen unexpectedly, to come or fall upon a person suddenly and unexpectedly* (بَغَتْ إِذَا جَاءَ). The noun بَغْتَةٌ denotes a *surprising event, a sudden attack*. ἔραπαχθη, which is used in 4, 4 for וַתַּחֲלֹחַל; Ἀ obstupuit. § אִשְׁתַּעֲמִים; so, too, in 4, 4 for וַתַּחֲלֹחַל. אִשְׁתַּעֲמִים.

(7) For the pregnant construction, וְהַמֶּלֶךְ קָם . . . אֶל גֶּנֶת הַבַּיִת, cf. the last paragraph of nn. on 4, 4. W's conception of this passage is entirely wrong. It is perfectly natural that the King leaves the room and goes to the garden. In the first place, he was very much incensed and did not like to give vent to his anger in the presence of the Queen; many a man who is enraged will get up and leave the room rather than speak out in the presence of his wife. Moreover, the King wanted to have time to think the situation over. H was grand vizier and had no doubt a number of powerful adherents; so he could not be disposed of without due consideration. B states that the King went to the park *um in der freien Luft die erste Hitze des Zorns verrauchen zu lassen und zu überlegen, welche Strafe über H zu verhängen sei*. The King's suspicion had been aroused as soon as he learned from the official records that M, not H, had discovered the conspiracy (cf. n. on 6, 10). The

statement that the King left the room and went to the garden, is not a *grober und geradezu unerklärlicher Compositionsfehler* (W 18; contrast C 181, below). In a dramatic performance (see *Pur.* 38, 31; 12, 1) the audience would wait in breathless expectation for the reappearance of the King. When the King returned, he knew, of course, that H had no idea of assaulting the Queen; his remark, *Is he going to assault the Queen while I am at home?* is a cruel jest (C 200 calls it *tödtende Ironie*). It showed how the King was disposed toward H (C 200 says: *In diesen furchtbar ironischen Worten lag H's Todesurtheil*).

For גנת הבית see nn. on 1, 5.

For עמד, *remained* (not *stood up*, AV; *ἤ surrexit*; *س* *عَمَدَ*) see n. on 5, 1.

For אָלוי read עָלוי; see n. on 1, 17. *אָלוי אַסְתַּקֶּפֶת עָלָיו בִּישָׁא מְלוּת מְלָכָא ט \*עָל מַלְכָא*.

(8) The pointing נָפַל implies that H threw himself at the feet of E (cf. 8, 3) when the King returned. The translation *had thrown himself* (AV *was fallen*, S *war niedergefallen*, K *war niedergesunken*, *ἤ reperit Aman super lectulum corruisse*) would require the pointing נָפַל; for the pluperfect cf. n. on 1, 9. The participle is more dramatic. Also שֶׁב is participle, not perfect.

After *על המטה* we may supply (but not insert) *להחזיק ברגליה* or *לנשק לרגליה*; cf. *והחזק ברגליו* (2 K 4, 27) and *ἐκράτησαν αὐτοῦ τοὺς πόδας* (Matt. 28, 9) also *נשקו בר* (ψ 2, 12) *kiss the ground* = Assy. *qáqqara núššiqû* (AJSL 19, 134; ZDMG 58, 630, n. 36). See e. g. KB 1, 28, 28; 32, 37: *šepé'a iḡbatû-ma arimšunûti, they clasped my feet, and I pardoned them*; KB 2, 178, 19: *unaššiq šepé'a rēmu aršišû-ma, he kissed my feet, and I granted him mercy*. If E was recumbent on a dining couch, H had to bow down *על המטה*, if he wanted to clasp, or kiss, the feet of the Queen. A man may kiss the hem of the garment of a lady to show his humble devotion to her; but her husband may misinterpret it. S's rendering *vor dem Divan* is inaccurate. If H had fallen down before the couch, the King could not have made his cruel jest. Heb. *על* cannot mean *before*; it might mean *close to, hard by*; cf. GB<sup>14</sup> 534<sup>b</sup>, 3, c. This *על* is different from *על שלחן* (cf. our phrase *to sit over a meal*) &c (*Kings* 134, 27). If a man sits very close to a lady in a crowded car, he sits almost *upon* her. *ס* has in 8, 3 *עָלָיו מְלָכָא* for *והתפל לפני רגליו*. For *מטה* = *lectulus convivalis* (Talmud. מִיטָב) see BL 68.

\*Syr. *גרם* is a transposed doublet (cf. *שְׁמִלָּה = שְׁלֹמָה*) of *גמל = גמל = גמר*; see last n. on c. 7; cf. AJSL 23, 245 (قعر = قعر) and 247 (مكر = مكر) also Arab. *تجرم = تجرم الحول اذا انقضى وتم تكلم*. Cf. last n. on 4, 4.

For הגם לכבוש את המלכה עמי בבית see conclusion of first n. on v. 7; גם corresponds to the Ger. *etwa gar* (so, correctly, S) cf. *etiam* (Cic. *Tusc.* 2, 7, 17) and האך Job 40, 8; Gen. 18, 13, 23; Am. 2, 11.

לכבוש is not inf. with the prefixed preposition ל, but impf. with prefixed emphatic ל; see *Proverbs* 52, 11; *AJSL* 22, 201, l. 18; contrast GK<sup>27</sup>, § 114, i, note 1; see also my paper on the *scriptio plena* of emphatic la- (לא) in *OLZ* 10, 305, and the remarks on Hag. 1, 9 in nn. on 3, 7.

W 18 remarks, the King does not say *the Queen*, which would be more correct and more impressive, he says: *soll denn dem Weibe in meinem Hause Gewalt angethan werden?* It is true that שׁ<sup>VL</sup> have τῇ γυναικα, but מ has את המלכה; so, too, טס. On the other hand, שׁ<sup>V</sup> has ἡ βασίλισσα in 1, 19 where the omission of this title in מ is intentional.

מ הדבר refers, of course, to the cruel jest of the King (see conclusion of first n. on v. 7) not to a special command to execute H, as B supposes; the order to put the grand vizier to death is given at the end of v. 9 in the words תלדו עלי.

For הפך (I *statim operuerunt faciem ejus*) read, with Condamin (*Revue biblique*, 7, 2, 258-261, cited by S) and Perles (*Analekten*, p. 32) הפך, as in ψ 34, 6, following שׁ<sup>V</sup> διετράπη τῷ προσώπῳ. The omission of the כ is due to haplography; for כ = ר = ד cf. פורחא (9, 8) = פרחא and end of second paragraph of nn. on אהשורוש (1, 1) also n. on ונדר for ונדר in *Nah.* 33. שׁ<sup>V</sup> אפכה, אפכה, but ט ואפך. הדכן אתהפאו בהחא. S *da stand H schmachbedeckt* follows ט; but in his nn. he says: Owing to the reference to 6, 12, the reading of the received text is preferable: there M (*sic!*) was הפך ראש; now H's head is covered. S adds: Cf. for the game of dice, that took place between H and M, 3, 7; 9, 24-26.—If S had been able to carry his own notes through the press, he would probably have suppressed these remarks; cf. n. on 4, 7.

(9) For הרבונה see nn. on 1, 10. According to שׁ<sup>V</sup> the eunuch who suggested the impalement of Haman was not הרבונה, but Βουγαθαν = בנתן who had been impaled according to 2, 23; see n. on 2, 22.

מ הגה does not mean *Huc accedit quod* (S). It implies an ellipsis, just as the גם in כי גם כי (Ruth 2, 21) *I might also state that*, or אז in אשר אז כי אשר (Gen. 3, 1) which corresponds to our *by the way* or *à propos*; cf. also לא הביאה in 5, 12. Harbonah thinks H is a בן מות; he ought to be impaled, and we have not only a malefactor worthy of impalement, behold! there is also (גם) the pole which H set up for M.\* If we render this גם by *Why*, we have again an ellipsis: *Why, there is the pole* means originally: *Why don't you impale him? There is the stake &c.*

\* H's pole is a May-pole; see *Pur.* 11, 23; *BL* 102.





The meaning of the Septuagintal phrase is that E had been taken into M's house and adopted by him; *οἰκεῖος* means a *member of the family*; instead of *αὐτῇ* we must read *αὐτῶ*. *מִן הוּא לָהּ* and *מִן הוּא לָהּ* follow *מִן*; *מִן* is due to a misunderstanding, but it does not seriously affect the sense.

(3) *מִן הַיְּהוּדִים* וְאֵת מִהִשְׁבָּתוֹ אֲשֶׁר הָשִׁב עַל הַיְּהוּדִים is a tertiary explanatory gloss to the preceding *אֵת רַעַת הַמֶּלֶךְ הָאֲנֹנִי*; it is derived from *יָשׁוּב מִהִשְׁבָּתוֹ הָרַעַת אֲשֶׁר הָשִׁב עַל הַיְּהוּדִים* 9, 25; cf. nn. on v. 5. For the prefixed *Waw explicative* see the remarks on *וְאִכְנָתָא* (1, 10) and n. on 1, 17; cf. also n. on 8, 6. For scribal expansions derived from parallel passages see n. on v. 14.

(5) *וְכִשֶּׁר הָדָבָר לִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ וְטוֹבָה אֲנִי בְעֵינָיו* This is corrected in the margin of *5*. *3S* omit *וְטוֹבָה אֲנִי בְעֵינָיו*, *S* transposing clauses 2 and 3. The fourth clause, *וְטוֹבָה אֲנִי בְעֵינָיו*, does not imply that E takes a personal interest in the matter (as *S* supposes) but it is a coquettish climax, equivalent to our *if you really care for me a little*.

The clause *מִהִשְׁבָּתוֹ הָרַעַת בֶּן הַמִּדְחָא הָאֲנֹנִי* (*מִהִשְׁבָּתוֹ הָרַעַת בֶּן הַמִּדְחָא הָאֲנֹנִי*) is a scribal expansion interrupting the connection between *אֵת* *הַיְּהוּדִים* and *אֲשֶׁר כָּתַב* (which may be impersonal; cf. n. on v. 10). It is derived from the end of v. 3.

(6) The first clause of this verse seems to be a gloss (or *variant*; cf. last n. on 1, 4) to the second; *אִכְנָתָא אוֹכֵל וְרֵאִיתִי* means *How could I see* (*5<sup>v</sup> πῶς γὰρ δύνησθαι ἰδεῖν*) not *How could I have seen* (B, Wd) lit. *How shall I be able and (how shall I) see*. For the perf. *וְרֵאִיתִי* after the preceding impf. *אוֹכֵל* see GK<sup>27</sup>, § 112, p.

The idea (AoF 3, 3, below) that the final *ן* in *אִכְנָתָא* is due to Persian influence is just as fanciful as the explanation of *בִּיתָן*; see conclusion of nn. on 1, 5. The constr. of *אִכְנָתָא* should be *אִכְנָתָא*, not *אִכְנָתָא*; similarly the constr. of *שְׁלָחָן* should be *שְׁלָחָן*, not *שְׁלָחָן*; cf. nn. on *בִּיתָן* (1, 5) and *שְׁרָבִיט* (4, 11).

(7) The clause *עַל אֲשֶׁר שְׁלַח יָדוֹ בַּיְּהוּדִים* is a gloss, just as *יָשׁוּב* *יָשׁוּב* (9, 25) is not original. The King did not give the order: *תִּלְחָדוּ עֲלָיו* (7, 9) because H had planned to exterminate all the Jews in the Persian empire; this plan had been sanctioned by the King. H was impaled because he had deceived the King (cf. second n. on 6, 10). The alleged assault on the Queen was merely a pretext (cf. n. on 7, 7). The gloss *עַל אֲשֶׁר שְׁלַח יָדוֹ בַּיְּהוּדִים* is derived from 9, 25 just as the scribal expansions in vv. 3 and 5.

(8) *מִן הַיְּהוּדִים* (so, too, *S*) means, of course, *concerning the Jews* (*בְּגִין יְהוּדָאִין*) not *to the Jews* (B). LB and AV *for the Jews*.



*S in Betreff der Juden.* Wd says, על היהודים may mean *in Betreff der Juden* or *an die Juden*; he thinks this equivocal phrase is intentional inasmuch as the letters were sent both to the satraps concerning the Jews and to the Jews themselves. But this view is erroneous; cf. third paragraph of nn. on v. 9.

Ⓢ<sup>v</sup> has for בשם המלך and בטבעת המלך:—ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος μου and τῆς δακτυλίου μου, but Ⓜ is no doubt more original. J, of course, prefers Ⓢ.

Ⓢ omits the first imperative כתבו and the ך before התנין, and reads בכתב instead of כי כתב (cf. n. on וכדי 1, 16) so that אין להשיב appears, not as predicate to כתב, but as a relative clause (וְאֵין) coordinated to the preceding relative clauses. Schultz misinterpreted אין להשיב in the same way: the new letters sent by M are to be just as irrevocable as the letters sent by H.

Ⓜ is not possible in a coordinated relative clause (J). Read נחתם as in 3, 12. If נחתום were correct, we might feel tempted to read it נחתום as a pass. part. = Arab. مفعول. I pointed out in BA 1, 180 that مفعول for نفعول was originally a Nif'al form, the initial *m* being due to the analogy of the participles of the other derived conjugations.

(9) V. 9 containing 43 words (192 letters) is the longest verse in the כתובים, longer even than its anti-Jewish pendant in 3, 12.

Ⓜ סיון = Babyl. Simānu (stem *وسم*). For ך = *m* see *Pur.* 23, 19; 32, 24; cf. n. on 1, 9. Simānu, *appointed time, season* has passed into Heb. as זמן with partial assimilation of the initial ס to the sonant nasal (AJSL 22, 202, n. 9) as in זקים, *fetters* for זנקים (Nah. 31, below). In Syriac the *v* = *m* is expressed by ܐܒܐ: ܐܒܐ (modern Syriac zōnā). For the *third month*, i. e. *Sivan* (ܣܝܒܐ *Siban*) Ⓢ<sup>v</sup> has the *first month*, i. e. *Nisan*. In the margin of Ⓢ this has been corrected in accordance with Ⓜ. Ⓢ has סין (which is connected with סין, *boar*; see KAT<sup>3</sup>, 398, n. 5) for סיון, just as Ⓢ uses סין for טבת (2, 16) and עין for את יום הנשיה עשר (9, 21). Jensen combines סין with the cuneiform name of a star (*Procyon*?) xabaḡirānu (HW 268<sup>a</sup>). The intervocalic *b* became *r* (ZA 19, 235; contrast AG<sup>2</sup>, § 57, a) and this may have been elided; cf. also Heb. אוצר for mōḡar = māḡar = maḡḡar = manḡar (stem נצר) and אסוך (2 K 4, 2) = מסוך = אשמורה = ממתחת = אמתחת; see *Kings* 241, 24.

For אל היהודים (לוח יהודאין Ⓢ, ἐργάφῃ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις) read, following Ⓢ, על ה', as in the preceding verse; cf. nn. on 7, 7 (אליו עליו) and 1, 17. This על ה' must be connected with the preceding



(or in automobiles) although *courier* means originally *runner*. We also have now *mounted infantry*.

𐤀𐤋 means *racers*; this might mean *race-horses* or *swift dromedaries*; but Herod. 5, 14; 8, 98 favor the meaning *race-horse*; see *Kings* 80, 45. Ἐ καὶ τοῖς ἄρμασι ולרכב instead of ולרכש (1 K 5, 8) is not good; no scribe would have corrupted רכב into רכש; cf. remarks on the emendation κλήρων for ἵμῶν in nn. on 3, 7. Heb. רכוש, *property* means originally *mount=animal for riding*; cf. Assyr. rukûšu (see *Ezra* 57, 38) whereas Syr. ܪܬܡ means originally *property* and then especially *animal for riding*. In Mic. 1, 13 רתם המרכבה לרכש but is corrupt; it cannot mean *bind the chariot to the swift beast*; but the meaning of the passage may be: *Abandon the chariot for the racer*, i. e. try to get away as quickly as possible, not in a chariot, but on the back of a swift horse. 𐤀𐤋 רתם may be a corruption of רתשי, although the reading of 𐤀𐤋 is confirmed by Ἐ ψόφος = רתם = ܪܬܡ (not = המור, as Marti supposes). ܣܢܐ ܡܢܥܥܠܐ ܢܥܡܐ; cf. Gen. 46, 29: ܣܢܐ ܡܢܥܥܠܐ = ܡܢܥܐ ܡܢܥܥܠܐ = ܡܢܥܐ ܡܢܥܥܠܐ. Heb. רש to cast down may mean *to cast off*; cf. 2 K 7, 15; Eccl. 3, 6, and תרשנה (Ex. 23, 11).

𐤀𐤋 is derived from Old Pers. khša tra, *dominium*; so it means *dominicus*. Instead of 𐤀𐤋 ܪܬܡ we must point ܪܬܡ ܬܪܡܝܢ (cf. n. on 3, 12). This was the name of the horses kept for the personal use of the King (cf. 6, 8: ܪܬܡ ܬܪܡܝܢ). The horses (saddle horses and teams) kept by a landed proprietor for his personal use are often called in Germany *Herrschaftspferde* (i. e. seigneurial or manorial horses) in distinction from the *Wirtschaftspferde*, i. e. the farm-horses, work-horses, &c. B (436, 3) correctly states: *Wir müssen wohl an herrschaftliche Pferde denken, welche in königlichen Gestüten gross gezogen wurden*; cf. the Ger. *Trakehner*. ערטיני ערטיני (naked) seems to be a corruption of ארטבלא, *courier*, and ארטבלא is a transposition (cf. footnote to n. on 7, 7) of טבלרא = Syr. ܬܒܠܪܐ = *tabellarius*. Cf. conclusion of seventh n. on 7, 4 (אויניקא = *auvinica*) and *Kings* 84, 3; see also last n. on 4, 4.

For בני הרמנים, which would mean *sons of the herdsmen* (cf. Syr. ܪܡܢܐ, *herdsman*) we must read בני רמנים,† *sons of the herds* or *studs*, i. e. *bred in the royal studs* for the special use of the King. In Syriac, ܪܡܢܐ means a *herd*, especially of horses; in the Talmud, רמנה seems to denote a cross between a jackass and a mare, i. e. a *mule*; instead

†In the same way פרשים, *horses* must be pointed פֶּרְשִׁים, not פֶּרְשִׁים; the latter form (Syr. ܦܪܫܐ) means *horsemen*. The objections raised by Arnold (*JBL* 24, 45) are not valid. It is true that we use *horse* for *horsemen*.

of רַמָּה it would be better to read רַמָּה (= rāmāk). Nor does Arab. مَكَّة, rāmaka denote a *blood-horse*, bred in a stud; in fact, it means an *inferior mare*. But such changes of meaning are not uncommon; the word *mare* means in German (*Mähre*) a *mean* or *poor horse*, a *jade*; هَجِين hajīn means in classical Arabic *of low origin*, a *mean* or *poor horse*, but in modern Arabic it is used for *fast dromedary*. The etymological equivalent of *knave* in German, *Knappe*, means *squire of a knight*, while in modern English, *knave* is used for *rogue*. J's objections against the interpretation *sons of the studs* are gratuitous. Cf. Fleischer in Levy's Talmudic dictionary, 4, 487<sup>b</sup>. The stem רַמָּה may be Semitic; it may be a transposition of כָּרִם; cf. Arab. كَرِيم karīm, *noble* and our *well-bred*. The primitive meaning is *dug* = *tilled, cultivated, cultured*; see AJSL 23, 247; cf. conclusion of preceding note.

(11) The clause אֲשֶׁר נָתַן הַמֶּלֶךְ לַיהוּדִים means, of course, *that* (AV, incorrectly *wherein*; so, too, C 217) H; S *wodurch*) *the King had given* (permission) *to the Jews* (cf. יָנַחַן, 9, 13, and *Kings*, 113, 7) *not which he had given to the Jews*, referring to the horses. S's statement that the King presented those horses to the Jews is unwarranted.

לְהִקָּהֵל does not mean *to assemble*, but *to organize themselves*, to take concerted action. G<sup>v</sup> interprets this to mean *χρησθαι τοῖς νόμοις αὐτῶν*; cf. 1 M 6, 59: *στήσωμεν αὐτοῖς τοῦ πορεύεσθαι τοῖς νομίμοις αὐτῶν*, 10, 37: *καὶ πορεύεσθωσαν τοῖς νόμοις αὐτῶν*. At any rate, the idea is not that they should assemble on the day of the massacre planned by H, but that they should assemble in advance to organize armed resistance for the 13<sup>th</sup> of Adar. If they had assembled on that day, they would have been unable to protect their property. Cf. n. on 9, 2.

The phrase לְעִמּוּד עַל נַפְשָׁם (לְחַמְצֵי חַמְצֵי) means *to defend their lives*, lit. *to stand up for their lives* (see *Pur.* 34, 1). *To make a stand* means *to take a position of defense and resistance*. The heading of c. 8 in AV correctly states: *Ahasuerus granteth to the Jews to defend themselves*. This is much more appropriate than the summary given in LB: *Die Juden haben Erlaubniss sich an ihren Feinden zu rächen*. The idea of the King is not, that the Jews may attack any one who is supposed to be unfriendly disposed toward the Jews; they only receive permission to resist any attack. The repetition of the terms used in the edict of H, לְהִשְׁמִיד וּלְהָרֵג וּלְאַבֵּד, implies that the Jews shall be permitted to resort to retaliatory measures: if any one attempts לְהִשְׁמִיד וּלְהָרֵג וּלְאַבֵּד אֶחָד, then יִשְׁמְדוּ וְיָהָרְגוּ וְיֹאבְדוּ אֶחָד. If the Russian Jews had been permitted to organize themselves for self-defense, the majority of the *pogroms* (see *Pur.* 35, 11) would never have happened; cf. n. on 9, 5. It is true that G<sup>v</sup> has instead of לְעִמּוּד עַל נַפְשָׁם וְגו' — *βοηθῆσαι τε αὐτοῖς καὶ χρησθαι τοῖς ἀντιδίκους αὐτῶν καὶ*

τοῖς ἀντικειμένοις αὐτῶν ὡς βούλονται, but this is not the original Heb. text; it seems to be derived from ויעשו בשנאיהם כרצונם (at the end of 9, 5) which is omitted in  $\mathfrak{G}^v$ . Even βοηθήσαι τε αὐτοῖς is not an accurate rendering of לעמד על נפשם. The Heb. phrase corresponds to Ger. *Nothwehr* (i. e. *self-defense*)\* while the Greek phrase corresponds to the Ger. *Selbsthülfe*. *Selbsthülfe* (taking the law into one's own hands) may be more aggressive than *self-defense*.

היל אֵל is a gloss; S: (alle) *Bewaffnete* (*des Volks und der Satrapien*). Cf. also third n. on 9, 16.

For הצרים אֵלם read הצרים אֵלם: cf. Num. 10, 9: הצר הצר אתכם. A participle may take a verbal suffix (cf. עֲשֵׂי &c, GK<sup>27</sup>, § 116. f) but the substantive צר cannot be construed with אֵלם. S has for את כל הילות עמא ופילא (כל היל עם ומדינה הצרים אֵלם יתחון) simply *למלכ, למלכ, למלכ*. LB *die sie ängstigten* is misleading; AV, correctly, *that would assault them*.

S's suggestion, that we should supply נתן המלך ליהודים after אתם is gratuitous; at any rate this addition would be just as superfluous as the second עשה after למדינות in 2. 18. It is probably due to his misunderstanding of the clause אשר נתן המלך ליהודים at the beginning of this verse.

S's note, *Die Lesart* (הצרים אֵלם instead of הצרים אֵלם) *ist zweifelhaft, da man nicht erwarten wird, dass diese Bedränger von Weibern und Kindern werden angegriffen werden*, is due to some uncorrected misunderstanding, just as the remarks referred to in n. on 4, 7. טה ונשים אֵלם is a scribal expansion derived from 3, 13 (see *Pur.* 34, 5) but S's remark, *von Weibern und Kindern hatte man schwerlich Gefahr für sein Leben zu befürchten* is unwarranted: a heathen woman might assault a Jewish woman, a heathen boy might attack a Jewish boy; some heathen children might kill an old Jew &c.

טה ונשים אֵלם is a gloss derived from 3, 13 (cf. n. on 14, v. 14). The phrase בניער ועד זקן is omitted by the glossator in the present passage.  $\mathfrak{G}^v$  omits בניער ועד זקן even in 3, 13. On the other hand,  $\mathfrak{G}$  adds τέκνα in 7, 4. In c. 3 these additions are appropriate, because all the Jews were to be exterminated, and H had promised to pay 10,000 talents into the royal treasury. Therefore all the Jews had to be killed, both young and old, women and children; and their property had to be confiscated, otherwise H would not have been able to pay the 10,000 talents. Here, however, the Jews received permission only to organize themselves and to defend their lives (לעמד על נפשם) by slaying, if necessary, all the people of the provinces who

\*In Moses Schulbaum's *Deutsch-Hebr. Wörterbuch* (Lemberg, 1881) עמירה על נפש is given as the Heb. equivalent of *Nothwehr*.



assaulted them (הַצִּיִּים אֹתָם). They had permission only לְשַׁלַּח יָד בְּמִבְקְשֵׁי יָרֵחָם (9, 2) i. e. to lay hands on those who attempted to do them harm; they were allowed forcibly to resist a forcible attack upon their persons or property. ὁ ἀμύνονται (16, 20) does not mean *they may be avenged on them* (so AV) but *they may repel them*. Wd's conception that the enemies of the Jews were to be massacred without being able to offer any resistance (*die Feinde der Juden sollen wehrlos von diesen umgebracht werden*) is unwarranted. B-R 360 (l. 13) correctly states, the Jews were granted permission, *alle welche . . . sie bedrängen, zu tödten*. Similarly S says, *Den Juden wird durch ein Decret das Recht gegeben, für den 13. Adar Schutzmassregeln gegen ihre Feinde zu treffen*; but he makes the gratuitous addition *und dieselben mit Weib und Kind auszurotten*. Even the received text speaks only of the slaying of their assailants.

Driver (LOT<sup>6</sup>, 486) says: If all these measures were taken *in self-defense*, they need no justification; but the terms of the narrative itself make it extremely difficult to think that this was the case. This statement, however, is incorrect, just as the statement that it seems impossible to acquit M of permitting an *unprovoked* massacre. Nor, continues Driver, can the request in 9, 13 be excused. But the gibbeting of H's ten sons and the second massacre in Susa may have been necessary in order to prevent further anti-Jewish outbreaks. The personal safety of the Queen and the Grand Vizier made it necessary in Susa to teach the enemies of the Jews a lesson.

(13) The phrase לְהַנָּקֶם מֵאֹיְבֵיהֶם (שׁ עַל־עַצְמָם) (לְהַנָּקֶם מֵאֹיְבֵיהֶם) does not mean *to take vengeance* (cf. also *Pur.* 34, 7) but *to inflict just punishment* (AV *to avenge themselves on their enemies*). The verb נָקַם is used in the Maccabean psalm *Nah.* 1, 2 of God; see *Nah.* 53, i; 52, vii (also vi). Cf. אֵל נִקְמָנוּ (ψ 94, 1) and *Is.* 1, 24: הָיָה אֹנֶחַם מִצָּרֵי וְאִנְקִיָּה מֵאֹיְבֵי (for ה = ק see *Kings* 187, 21). Injuries inflicted by the assailants of the Jews are to be avenged, but there is to be no revengeful spirit, no indulgence in resentful and malicious feelings, no unrestrained revenge. This may be too ideal a picture, but this explanation is no doubt in harmony with the view of the narrator; cf. וּבִבְהָא לֹא שָׁלַח אֶת יָדָם (9, 10). J's emendation לְהַנָּקֶם מֵאֹיְבֵיהֶם instead of לְהַנָּקֶם אֶת א' is gratuitous.

(14) J thinks that וְהַדּוֹפִים is a gloss to מִבְּהָלִים; but it is merely a scribal expansion derived from 3, 13; so, too, the following בְּדַבָּר מִבְּהָלִים וְהַדּוֹפִים (cf. footnote to n. on 2, 3). The combination מִבְּהָלִים וְהַדּוֹפִים would be an anticlimax, just as צִהְלָה וּשְׂמָחָה at the end of v. 15. If it were original (שׁ has simply עָנָה) we would expect הַדּוֹפִים וּמִבְּהָלִים; the passive participle הַדּוֹפִים means *pushed, urged, driven*, while מִבְּהָלִים means *eager*: in 3, 13 the couriers carried out the com-





## ט

(1)  $\Theta^v$  has here  $\tau\rho\iota\sigma\kappa\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta$  = **יום בשלושה עשר יום**; so, too, in 8, 12; contrast last n. on 3, 7. In  $\Theta^s$  a corrector has substituted  $\tau\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\rho\epsilon\sigma\kappa\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta$ .

For **ביום אשר שברו איבי היהודים לשלוט בהם** § has simply **לשלוט בהם**, depending (contrast SG<sup>2</sup>, § 249, D) on the preceding **לְהַעֲשׂוֹת = להעשות**. Both clauses, **ביום אשר שברו איבי היהודים** and **לשלטו היהודים המה בשנאייהם** and **לשלט בהם** seem to be scribal expansions.

The pronoun **הוא** does not refer to **יום**, as B and Wd state; **ונהפוך הוא** means *it was changed* (Keil) = **לְהַפְּכֵהוּ חֲסֵפָה**. AV *it was turned to the contrary*.

(2) **נקהלו** (so, too, 9, 16) is pluperfect; cf. nn. on **עשתה** (1, 9) and **להקהל** (8, 11). The apodosis does not begin with **נקהלו** (AV, K) but with **ונהפוך** (LB) cf. n. on **ובדי** (1, 17).

For **מבקשי רעתם** § has **עֲצֵבֵי שִׁמְמָהֶם**. The meaning of the Heb. phrase is undoubtedly *who tried to do them bodily harm &c*, not *who were unfriendly disposed*; cf. Num. 35, 23 (**והוא לא אויב לו**) and 1 S 24, 10 (25, 26).

The clause **איש לא עמד לפניהם** does not mean *no one stood up against them*. The enemies of the Jews attacked them, but could not prevail against them. There is a difference between **איש לא עמד לפניהם** and **איש לא קם לפניהם**, although Wellhausen reads **לְעִמְּדִי = קָמִי** in  $\psi$  55, 19. AV, correctly, *no one could withstand them*; so, too, S (*Niemand konnte vor ihnen bestehen*) but in the introductory remarks prefixed to his nn. on c. 9 he makes the unwarranted statement: *Die Judenfeinde werden am dreizehnten des Monats Adar ausgerottet. Vom Schrecken gelähmt wagen sie keinen Widerstand, sondern lassen sich im ganzen Reiche ruhig hinmetzeln* (cf. n. on 4, 7). The same mistake is found in  $\mathfrak{J}$  (*nullusque ausus est resistere*). Cf. n. on **ותעמד** (5, 1) and Nah. 53, iv: **זעקו מִיִּי־עֶקֶד לַפִּיךָ**, *who can endure His fury*. Heb. **עמד**, *to abide* may mean *endure, remain firm*, and **קם**, *to stand* may have the same meaning (cf. *to stand fire &c*). Nor is it necessary to read **בפניהם** (**באפיהון**) as in Josh. 10, 8; 21, 42; 23, 9. Wd's statement, *Es wird nicht gesagt, dass die Heiden anfangen; schon die, welche das Unglück der Juden suchten, wurden umgebracht. Jeder also, der im Rufe eines Judenfeindes stand, ward getödtet*, is gratuitous.

The clause at the end of this verse, **כי נפל פיהם על כל העמים** is an illogical scribal expansion derived from the end of c. 8; cf. n. on 8, 14; see also passages like Deut. 2, 25; 11, 25; Josh. 2, 9, &c. The reason why no one could withstand them was not, that all the gentiles were

frightened, but that the Jews were fully prepared for the attack and had organized a vigorous resistance and defense.

(3) For עֲשֵׂי מִלְחָמָה see n. on 3, 9.

מִשְׁתָּאִים does not mean *extolled* (3 *extollebant*, § עֲמִיץ, <sup>Ⓜ</sup> ἐτίμων, <sup>Ⓣ</sup> מִשְׁבָּחִים, LB *erhoben*) but *they supported* (AV *helped*).

Also the clause at the end of v. 3, כִּי נָפַל פָּחַד מִיָּדָם, is a scribal expansion. It is expressed in <sup>Ⓜ</sup>, but <sup>Ⓜ</sup> omits v. 4. § has בִּלָּךְ instead of מִיָּדָם. The reason why the satraps &c favored the Jews is given in v. 4.

(4) In the same way the clause at the end of v. 4, כִּי הָאִישׁ מִרְדֵּי הָהוּלָךְ וְגִדּוּל, is due to scribal expansion; הָהוּלָךְ is inf. absol. (cf. n. on הִנְחָה, 2, 18).

(5) הָרִגוּ . . . וְאָבַד וְהָרַג וְאָבַד is a scribal expansion, due to הָרִגוּ . . . וְאָבַד in the following verse (cf. n. on 8, 14).

The term כִּרְצוֹנָם (§ אִם, כִּרְצוֹנָהוּן, Ⓣ) at the end of v. 5 implies that the authorities did not interfere (cf. v. 3). If the authorities had allowed the Jews to organize armed resistance, the numerous massacres in Russia during the past few years would have been nipped in the bud (cf. n. on לַעֲבֹד עַל נַפְשָׁם, 8, 11). But, as a rule, the assailants of the Russian Jews were supported by the governors, military commanders, officers of the police, &c (see *Pur.* 35, 21; 43, 15. 22. 32. 38. 44. 46. 48; 44, 2). מִכִּרְצוֹנָם does not mean *to their hearts' content* (French *à cœur joie*: this would be כַּחצוֹת לָבָם or כַּחצוֹת נַפְשָׁם). It implies simply that the Persian Jews had free hands in dealing with their assailants owing to the non-interference on the part of the authorities. Syr. אִם נַחֲסָא means *in my opinion, in my judgment*. The Persian governors &c received no instructions to suppress all anti-Jewish demonstrations (the royal edict issued by H could not be repealed; cf. 8, 8<sup>b</sup>) but they did not support the assailants of the Jews, and allowed the Jews to defend themselves. In this way the permission granted by H's edict was not worth more than the pound of flesh which Portia\* allowed Shylock to cut from the body of Antonio.

(6) The addition of הַבִּירָה (§ עֲבָדָה) is due to scribal expansion; the fight between the Jews and their assailants did not take place in the Acropolis, but in the City of Susa (cf. nn. on 1, 2; 4, 17). In vv. 12-15 we find simply שׂוֹנֵן הַבִּירָה, not שׂוֹנֵן הַבִּירָה. The scribes did not know the exact meaning of הַבִּירָה; they regarded it as a kind of *epitheton ornans*; cf. Assy. Uruk supûru (JAOS 22, 8, n. 7). No importance can be attached to <sup>Ⓜ</sup> ἐν Σούσοις τῇ πόλει, for <sup>Ⓜ</sup> has the same rendering

\* Cf. the interesting appendix to part iii (Vienna, 1907) of D. H. Müller, *Die Mehri- und Sogotri-Sprache*, pp. 159-165, entitled *Die Wanderung der Portia-Sage*; cf. *ibid.* pp. 23-33: *Die Portia von Gischin*, and pp. 73-87: *Die Portia von Zafâr*; see also ZDMG 61, 495.

in 1, 2. For the occasional effacement by the scribes of characteristic diversities see *Nah.* 18 (*ad* v. 4) and *OLZ* 10, 307, below.

The addition of **וְאֶבֶר** implies that 500 were dead or missing; *cf.* n. on **וְלֹא־אֶבֶר לְהִרְגֵּם** (3, 13). In the present passage **ס** has simply **עֲבָה** = **הִרְגֵּם**, but in v. 12: **עֲבָה מְבֹא סֶלֶסֶף**. In both passages **וְאֶבֶר** seems to be due to scribal expansion, just as **וְהִרְגֵּם וְאֶבֶר** after **נִפְתָּ הָרִיב** (v. 5). The glossator, of course, did not intend **וְאֶבֶר** as *inf.* *absol.* (*cf.* n. on **הִנְחִיָּה**, 2, 18) but as perfect (for **וְאֶבֶר**). *Cf.* n. on **וְקִבֵּל** (v. 27).

(7) The names of the ten sons of H are just as doubtful as the names of the seven eunuchs (1, 10) or the names of the seven (?) councilors (1, 14). **ט** follows **מ**; also the names in **י** are almost identical with those given in **מ**; in **ס**, and especially in **ע**, the divergences (which are to some extent due to popular adaptation) are greater, as is evident from the following table:

<b>מ</b> <b>ט</b>	<b>ע</b> <sup>v</sup>	<b>ע</b> <sup>l</sup>	<b>ס</b>	<b>י</b>
1 <b>פֶּרְשֵׁי־נִדְחָא</b>	Φαρσαν καὶ Νεσταιν <sup>a</sup>	Φαρσαν (καὶ τὸν)	<b>פֶּרְשֵׁי־נִדְחָא</b>	<i>Pharsandatha</i>
2 <b>דֶּלְפֹּן</b>	Δελφον	ἀδελφόν <sup>f</sup>	<b>דֶּלְפֹּן</b>	<i>Delphon</i>
3 <b>אֶסְפָּתָא</b>	Φασγα <sup>b</sup>	Φαρνα	<b>אֶסְפָּתָא</b>	<i>Esphatha</i>
4 <b>פֹּרָתָא</b>	Φαραδαθα <sup>c</sup>	Γαγαφαρδαθα <sup>e</sup>	<b>פֹּרָתָא</b>	<i>Phoratha</i>
5 <b>אֲדַלְיָא</b>	Βαρσα <sup>d</sup>		<b>אֲדַלְיָא</b>	<i>Adalia</i>
6 <b>אַרִידָתָא</b>	Σαρβαχα		<b>אַרִידָתָא</b>	<i>Aridatha</i>
7 <b>פֶּרְמֶשְׁתָּא</b>	Μαρμασιμα	Μαρμασιμα	<b>פֶּרְמֶשְׁתָּא</b>	<i>Phermestha</i>
8 <b>אַרִיסַי</b>	Ρουφαῖον		<b>אַרִיסַי</b>	<i>Arisai</i>
9 <b>אַרִידַי</b>	Ἀρσαῖον		<b>אַרִידַי</b>	<i>Aridai</i>
10 <b>יֶזְעָתָא</b>	Ζαβουθαῖον <sup>g</sup>	Ιζαθονθ	<b>יֶזְעָתָא</b>	<i>Jezatha</i>

(a) Corrected in **ע**<sup>s</sup> to **Φαρσαννεσταν**, **ע**<sup>a</sup> **Φαρσανέσταν**.—(b) **ע**<sup>a</sup> **Φαγα** (L **Φασα**).—(c) **ע**<sup>s</sup> **Φαρααθα**, **ע**<sup>a</sup> **Βαρδαθα**.—(d) **ע**<sup>sa</sup> **Βαρελ** (L **Βαρσα**).—(e) **ע**<sup>s</sup> **Ζαβουδεθαν**, **ע**<sup>a</sup> **Ζαβουγαθα**.—(f) **ע**<sup>l</sup> **καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ** is, of course, a corruption of **Δελφον**.—(g) **Γαγα** may be due to dittography of **γα** in the preceding name in **ע**<sup>v</sup>, **Φασγα**; **ע**<sup>l</sup> reads **Φαρνα**, but this may be a corruption of **Φασγα**.—(h) **ע**<sup>a</sup> **זֶזַתָּא**.

**ע**<sup>a</sup> **Φαρσανεστας** may be more original than **מ** **פֶּרְשֵׁי־נִדְחָא**; the **י** in **מ** may be miswritten for **ז**. **ס** **פֶּרְשֵׁי־נִדְחָא** is a transposition of **פֶּרְשֵׁי־נִדְחָא** (so **ס**<sup>a</sup>) which may be a corruption for **פֶּרְשֵׁי־נִדְחָא** (**י** transposed, **ו** miswritten for **ז**, **א** miswritten for **ז**; see *SG*<sup>2</sup>, § 2, C). The form **פֶּרְשֵׁי־נִדְחָא** is no doubt influenced by the Syr. word **פֶּרְשֵׁי־נִדְחָא**, *beauty*; corruptions of names are often not merely graphic but also due to popular etymology and adaptation; *cf.* *ZDMG* 61, 195, 9; 276, 8. 22. 28. Syr. **פֶּרְשֵׁי־נִדְחָא** means *foolishness*.

Θ<sup>L</sup> Φαρσαν καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ is a corruption of Φαρσαν . . . ταν καὶ Δελφῶν. In § ܠܚܫ the ܠ is miswriting for ܥ. The ε in Δελφῶν may be due to the influence of Δελφοί, δελφίς, δέλφαξ. Δελφίς and Δελφίων are Greek proper names.

Φασγα may be transposed from Ασφαγ, and this may be a corruption of Ασφατ (with Γ for Τ; cf. last n. on 2, 14) = אַסְפַּת. § ܠܚܫ is phonetic spelling (see *Kings* 279, 52) for אַסְפַּת.

(8) Φαραδαθα may be more original than פֿורחא; the ܐ may stand for ܦ, and ܦ for ܕ; cf. note on ܚܦܐ (7, 8) for ܚܦܐ. The reading פֿורחא is favored also by Θ<sup>L</sup> (Γαγα)φαρδαθα and § ܦܚܚܐ (S<sup>A</sup> ܦܚܚܐ) for ܕܚܚܐ. The ܠ instead of ܕ in S<sup>A</sup> ܦܚܚܐ may be due to dissimilation; see ZDMG 61, 194, 13; 195, 4 (cf. also ܒܠܚܫܐ = Badakhshān; see JHUC, No. 114, p. 111<sup>b</sup>). The insertion of the ܐ in § ܦܚܚܐ may be influenced by the Greek words in Syriac which begin with ܦܚܚܐ; cf. Brockelmann's *Lex. Syr.* 286. Θ<sup>S</sup> Φαρααθα is miswriting for Φαρδαθα (with Α for Δ) cf. φουραι for φουρδι (see n. on v. 26).

אֶלְיָא is supported by § ܠܚܫ. The initial א of אֶלְיָא may be due to dittography of the final א of the preceding פֿורחא (for פֿורחא) just as the prefixed Γαγα in Θ<sup>L</sup> Γαγαφαρδαθα may be due to dittography (or rather *tritography*) of the second syllable of the preceding Φασγα; see above, n. g. The prefixed וּאח before each of the ten names may be secondary. Θ<sup>SA</sup> Βαρελ may be a corruption of Αρελ = אֶרֶל; the initial Β may be due to the preceding name, Θ<sup>A</sup> Βαρδαθα = Θ<sup>V</sup> Φαραδαθα.

§ ܠܚܫ corresponds to ܠܚܫ of אֶלְיָא; S<sup>A</sup> ܠܚܫ has preserved the ܬ. The transposition may be due to the fact that ܠܚܫ is more common in Syriac than ܠܚܫ. Owing to the vocalic character of the ܪ there is not much difference in Syriac between initial ܪ and ܬ; cf. SG<sup>2</sup>, § 52 (also § 32) and for the dropping of the final ܬ see § 26, C. Θ Σαρβαχα may be a corruption of Αρδαθα, the initial Σα is perhaps due to dittography of the second syllable of the preceding Βαρσα. Αρβαχα (for Αρδαθα) may be influenced by the Persian names 'Αρβάκης, 'Αρβάριος, 'Αρβιάνης, &c.

(9) § ܠܚܫ may be a corruption of ܠܚܫ (with ܬ for ܦ, ܡ for ܒ, and ܬ for ܬ) influenced, perhaps, by ܠܚܫ, *persuasion, supplication*. S<sup>A</sup> ܠܚܫ stands for ܠܚܫ, ܠܚܫ; the ܡ is due to corrupt dittography of the following ܒ. Θ Μαρμασµα = Βαρµαστα = Φαρµαστα; for ܡ = ܒ = ܦ see AJSL 23, 235, n. 46; cf. n. on § ܠܚܫ = אֶלְיָא (1, 10) and ܠܚܫ (Am. 4, 3) for ܠܚܫ (cf. § 32, 4 and BL 45, n. 1; also above, n. on 2, 7).

§ ܠܚܫ is miswritten for ܠܚܫ, and אֶלְיָא may be miswritten for ܠܚܫ = Πουφαίος. Cf. Πωπάρας.



§ אִנְיָ stands for אִנְיָ. Ὁ Ἀρσαίος seems to correspond to No. 8: אִרְיָ; it may be originally a variant of Πουφαίος = אִרְיָ which may be a corruption of רופי (see above).

§ זֶן seems to be shortened from Βαζονθαίος, in Ὁ transposed: Ζαβονθαίος. זֶן may be a corruption of וְזוּתָא, Vazutha (with י for ז and transposition) cf. אֶחָדָרֶשׁ (1, 1) for אֶחָדָרֶשׁ. Ὁ Ιζαθουθ may be a corruption of Ιζαβουθ = Ζαβουθ = Βαζουθ = וְזוּתָא = וְזוּתָא. Ch (EB 5245) thinks that וְזוּתָא is a corruption of צִרְפָּתִי. It seems to me more probable that all the names of H's sons are corruptions of Jerahmeel. Cf. footnote to n. on 2, 14.

All these explanations are, of course, entirely conjectural (see *Pur.* 27, 40, which might have been cited also in ZDMG 61, 195, 14) but it is important to show that all those divergences (apparently irreconcilable) may be derived from the same text. B's statement, that some of the names in Ὁ are entirely different, is an exaggeration; Wd even says that [all] the names of the sons of H appear in Ὁ in an entirely different form.

The Persian etymologies given by Benfey and Benary (quoted in B) are no doubt unsatisfactory (for Scheftelowitz see my remarks in AJP 27, 164; cf. J's preface) but J's Heb. etymologies are worse. J combines Βαρσα = אֶדְלִיָּא with the name of the King of Sodom, בִּרְשִׁי (Gen. 14, 2) and Πουφαίος is supposed to be רֶפָא יָה; for Ἀρσαίος J compares יֶרֶשֶׁיָה; Φάσγα, J thinks, may be a corruption of פֶּסְחִי; and Πρηνεσθάν (for Πρηνεσθάν) is supposed to be פֶּרֶשׁ נֶחֱדִים, *eques gloriæ*.

(10) It is hardly necessary to add that the καὶ before τοὺς δέκα υἱοὺς Ἀμάν in Ὁ is secondary, just as the ו before אֶחָדָרֶשׁ in 8, 9. Four of the ten names have dropped out in Ὁ (just as four of the names of the seven councilors are not represented in Ὁ; see nn. on 1, 14). Therefore the remaining six names were no longer felt to be identical with the ten sons of H.

Instead of בֶּן הַמֶּלֶךְ § has אֶלֶּל.

(11) Gen. 6, 13 affords no parallel to בָּא לְפָנַי הַמֶּלֶךְ which is equivalent to انتهى الى الملك, whereas בָּא לְפָנַי in בָּא לְפָנַי is synonymous with נתן בלבי and נִשְׁאָנִי לְבִי = Assyr. našanni libbi (HW 484<sup>b</sup>). It corresponds to the Assyr. ana šakān abūbi ūbla libbašun in l. 14 of the cuneiform account of the Deluge; see my remarks *ad loc.* in KAT<sup>2</sup> (cf. HW 231<sup>a</sup>)\*. The phrase בָּא לְפָנַי in Gen. 6, 13 means *it is put before my mind* (for consideration) or *suggests itself to me*; קָץ כָּל בָּשָׂר בָּא לְפָנַי cannot mean *According to me the end of all flesh is come*, i. e. *the extermination of mankind is at hand according to my opinion*. Ezek. 7, 6 does not prove that לְפָנַי does not

\*For Jensen's translation *die Sturmfluth zu machen* "brachte hervor" ihr Herz die grossen Götter (KB 6, 231) see my remarks in JAOS 22, 9.



depend on בא. Nor is it possible to derive קין from קיין, *to loathe* (AoF 3, 396: *taedet me generis humani*). This idea is expressed in vv. 6. 7. Cf. also Am. 8, 2: בא הקין על עמי.

(13) S omits אם על המלך טוב.

For the justification of E's request to gibbet the ten sons of H see last n. on 8, 11.

(16) מ נקהלו is pluperfect (as in v. 2) and means *they had organized themselves*; contrast ויקהלו in v. 15. A new קהלה was necessary as soon as the Jews learned that the edict was to be in force for one more day.

B proposes to read נקום instead of נזה (S<sup>v</sup> ἀνεπαύσαντο, S 221) and R (in K) proposes to read להנקם (8, 13) or נקום; also GB<sup>14</sup>, 44<sup>b</sup> states that we must read an inf. of נקם; see, however, AJSL 21, 141, n. 21 and the remarks on the emendation κλήρων for ἔμῳν in nn. on 3, 7. מ באיבהם נזה is a misplaced gloss (cf. n. on 3, 7) with *Waw explicative* (cf. n. on 1, 17) to נזה in v. 17; it is probably derived from v. 22 (cf. n. on 8, 14).

Instead of 75,000 (so, too, TSJ) S has 15,000 (μυρίους πεντακισχιλίους) מ is more original; S represents a subsequent mitigation. S's statement that S as well as TSJ have 15,000 instead of 75,000 is incorrect; cf. n. on 4, 7. We need not suppose that 75,000 represents the aggregate number of the enemies of the Jews (the soldiers of Antiochus Epiphanes and his successors) who were slain by the Jews in the Maccabean battles, although this may have been the opinion of the glossator who added the gloss מל in 8, 11. We read in 1 M 11, 47 that 3,000 Jews, which Jonathan (the Maccabean prototype of Mordecai; see second n. on 6, 8) had sent to Antioch, at the request of King Demetrius II, about the end of b. c. 145, slew 100,000 men there in one day. The whole city was at the mercy of the Jews (κατεκράτησαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῆς πόλεως ὡς ἡβούλοντο, cf. ויעשו היהודים כרצונם, v. 5). This, it may be supposed, is the historical prototype of the slaughter of the assailants of the Jews in the Persian empire under the reign of Xerxes.

(17) S's rendering, *Am dreizehnten Tage des Monats Adar da fanden sie Ruhe, und den vierzehnten machten sie zu einem Tage des Festmahls und der Freude*, is impossible. K connects ביום שלושה עשר לחדש וחרוג בשנאיחם המשה ושבעים אדר with the beginning of v. 17) with the intervening clause ובבזה לא שלחו את אלף in the preceding verse, the intervening clause ובבזה לא שלחו את אלף being regarded as a parenthesis. In S<sup>v</sup> this clause is transposed: ἀπώλεσαν γὰρ αὐτῶν μυρίους πεντακισχιλίους τῇ τρισκαideκάτῃ τοῦ Ἀδάρ, καὶ οὐδὲν διήρπασαν. For S<sup>v</sup> τρισκαideκάτῃ (= מ) S<sup>a</sup> has τεσσαρεσκαideκάτῃ (cf. last n. on 3, 7). The clause ובבזה לא שלחו את ידם, which severs the connection between וחרוג בשנאיחם המשה ושבעים אלף and ביום שלושה עשר לחדש אדר, seems to be a scribal expansion, derived

from the end of v. 10 (*cf.* footnote to n. on 2, 3). The סוף פסוק should be after אדר.

(18) V. 18 is omitted in S.

(19) K<sup>thiv</sup> הפְּרוּזִים, Q<sup>re</sup> הפְּרוּזִים (as though the ן were due to dittography of the ך; *cf.* n. on אֶשְׁוֹרוּשׁ, 1, 1) owing to the following הפרזות; but Talmudic פְּרוּז means *inhabitant of an unwallled place*, and הַיֹּשְׁבִים בְּעִיר פְּרוּזָה is merely an explanatory gloss to הפְּרוּזִים. In pre-Maccabean times Jerusalem was the only fortress; all the other towns were פְּרוּזָה; *cf.* W 96, below. According to B and S the K<sup>thiv</sup> is incorrect. S renders freely: *Hi vero Judæi qui in oppidis non muratis ac villis morabantur*. S has מְבָרַךְ מְבָרַךְ מְבָרַךְ מְבָרַךְ, just as S<sup>v</sup> renders οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι οἱ διεσπαρμένοι ἐν πάσῃ χώρα τῇ ἑξῆς. T יהודאי די הון בנפרוניה, יהודאין פציהא דחבין בקירוי פציהא די יתבין בקירוי דקוקתא. At the end of the verse S adds: οἱ δὲ κατοικοῦντες ἐν ταῖς μητροπόλεσιν καὶ τὴν εἰ καὶ ἰ τοῦ Αἰδάρ εὐφροσύνην ἀγαθὴν ἄγονσιν ἐξαποστέλλοντες μερίδας καὶ τοῖς πλησίον. This addition was originally omitted in S<sup>v</sup>.

For מנות (= מְשָׁאָה; see n. on 2, 18) *cf.* מנותיה (2, 9). Meg. 7<sup>a</sup> we read that Rabbi Jēhudah sent Rabbi Osha'yah a leg of veal and a pitcher of wine (רבי יהודה נשיאה שדר ליה לרבי אושעיה אטמא) (דעיגלא תלתא וגרבא דהמרא). T renders: מְשַׁדְרִין דוֹרֶן (δῶρον). S partes epularum et ciborum.

(20) Wd thinks it not impossible that vv. 20-28 and 29-32, which B considers to be a subsequent addition, were taken from an older source, and that E was composed for the purpose of explaining these two documents, just as some critics believe that the object of the Book of Jonah is to explain the psalm in c. 2; contrast AJSL 23, 256. B (376, below) stated: *Die Einschaltung 9, 20-32 wird aus einem anderen Purim-Buche in unser Purim-Buch hineingestellt sein*. But it is a mistake to suppose that the entire section 9, 20-32 is derived from a different source. The first three verses (20-22) are genuine, also the first part of 26 and vv. 27 and 28<sup>a</sup>; but vv. 23-25, the second part of v. 26, v. 28<sup>b</sup>, and 29-32 represent secondary additions. They were not taken from an older source, but added by a later glossator (*cf.* Pur. 44, 31).

M, the prime minister, had received reports from all the governors of the provinces, stating what had happened on the 13<sup>th</sup> of Adar, how many assailants of the Jews had been slain, and how the Jews had celebrated the following day. M sent this information to all his coreligionists in the Persian empire, urging them to commemorate this notable event for all time to come.

(21) מ לקים (לקיימא) is Aramaic (*cf.* last but one n. on 1, 8). Ruth 4, 7, where we find לקים, is a gloss. The phrase עליהם לקים

means *to enjoin upon them*. § has וְנִפְסַחְךָ לְחַדְשְׁךָ. § reads also וְנִפְסַחְךָ לְחַדְשְׁךָ at the beginning of v. 23.

For עֲשִׂים אֶת יוֹם אַרְבַּעַת עֶשֶׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ אָדָר וְאֶת יוֹם הַמַּשָּׁה עֶשֶׂר בָּר § has חֲכִמֶּיךָ עֹלְמָנִים עֹלְמָנִים, just as § uses מִן־ for סִינִן in 8, 9. For עֲשִׂים cf. יוֹם הַכֶּסֶף (Prov. 7, 20).

(22) The כ in כִּימִים (כִּימִים יוֹמִיָא; cf. n. on 1, 17) is not the *Kaph similitudinis*, but the *Kaph veritatis* (GK<sup>27</sup>, § 119, x).

(23) The section vv. 23–25 is a gloss; see n. on v. 20. The immediate sequel of v. 22 is v. 26: — עַל כֵּן קָרָאוּ לַיָּמִים הָאֵלֶּה פּוּרִים, *therefore* (i. e. on account of the מִשְׁלֹחַ מִנּוֹת אִישׁ אֶל רֵעֵהוּ וּמִתְנוֹת לְאֶבְיוֹנִים) *they called these days Purim* (i. e. *portions*, from פּוּרִי = פּוּרְדִּי = Vedic *pūrti*, *portion*). It was of course unnecessary in this connection to add after עַל שֵׁם הַפּוּר the explanation: הוּא הַמִּנָּה. The statement הַפִּיל הָהוּרָל in v. 24 and 3, 7 is quite different: it involves a new etymology of פּוּר, and therefore it was necessary to add the explanation.

The Persian term פּוּרִים is equivalent to Heb. מִנּוֹת, *portions* or *presents of food* (cf. Neh. 8, 10, 12) exchanged at the Purim festival. The singular of פּוּרִים was not פּוּר, but פּוּרִי = פּוּרְדִּי, the Middle Iranian form (\**purdē*) of Vedic *pūrti* (syn. *dakṣiṇa*) *portion*, especially the portion given by the offerer to the sacrificer; cf. מִנָּה Ex. 29, 26; Lev. 7, 33; 8, 29. The omission of the ד (which is preserved in φουρδῖ) is due to haplography; cf. n. on אֶהְשִׁירֶשׁ (1, 1). φρουραι (i. e. *watches*, *vigils*) is a popular adaptation of φουραι (with A for Δ) = φουρδῖ. This popular etymology may have been suggested by the *vigils* (cf. שִׁמְרִים, Ex. 12, 42) or *watch-meetings* which have been held on New Year's eve from times immemorial. The Purim festival is a Jewish adaptation of the Persian spring festival *Naurōz*, and this is derived from the Babylonian New Year's festival (about the time of the vernal equinox) so that פּוּרִים = מִנּוֹת corresponds to Lat. *strenae*, French *étrennes*. The observance of the Persian New Year's festival was combined with the commemoration of Nicanor's Day; see *Pur.* 3, 6; 4, 41; 9, 26; 10, 39; 14, 40; 17, 7, 23; 46, 24, 29, 32; \* 50, 37; 51, 10; 52, 4; ZDMG 61, 275, 17; 277, 1.

For קָבַל read, with שֵׁט, וְקָבַלְךָ; so, too, Oort; cf. the *Q<sup>re</sup>* in v. 27 and *Kings* 127, 46; 269, 6. The verb קָבַל is Aramaic (cf. last n. on 4, 7) but it is not a denominative verb derived from קָבַלְךָ (B, W).

The clause אֶת אֲשֶׁר הִחֲלוּ לַעֲשׂוֹת refers to the celebrations of the victory over their assailants, and אֶת אֲשֶׁר כָּתַב מִיַּדְכִּי אֱלֹהִים alludes to the two days of feasting on the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> of Adar. The Jews in Susa had celebrated the 15<sup>th</sup> day; the provincial Jews, the 14<sup>th</sup>. M recommended the perpetual general observance of both days.

\* In l. 22 read Franz for Harder.



עס־זה (Neh. 5, 18) and WdG 2, 164, below. The statement of the glossator, ישוב מהשבתו הרעה אשר חשב על היהודים על ראשו ותלו, is at variance with the original narrative; the glossator might have said: ישוב מהשבתו הרעה אשר חשב על מירדכי; cf. n. on 8, 7.

(26) For the first part of v. 26 see n. on v. 23. The author of the original Book may have known that פור (or rather פורי = פורדי) was a Pers. word for מנה. S reads *עֲבָדְתָּ מֵאֵל, חֲמִשָּׁתָּה הַנֶּבֱ, עֲבָדְתָּ חֶסֶד*. מנה; here עֲבָדְתָּ may be a corruption (or adaptation) of עָלָ. Instead of עֲבָדְתָּ it would be better to point עֲבָדְתָּ. T has קרו ליוֹמִיָּא; קרו ליוֹמִיָּא האילין פוריא על שום ט; האילין פוריא על שום פסא. פוריא ועקתא דארע יתון. In פוריא is derived from פוריא, *wrath*, i.e. *punishment, trial* (cf. AJSL 23, 227, l. 11; ZDMG 61, 286, 30) from פור, *to boil* (see Nah. 43). The rendering *Unheil* (given in Dalman's *Wörterbuch*) is unwarranted. ט may have combined פורים with פורה, *winepress* = *Blutbad* (massacre, carnage). See Pur. 51, 38 and third paragraph of nn. on 3, 7.

The second part of v. 26 is a gloss explaining the על כן at the beginning of the verse, with special reference to קימיו at the beginning of v. 27. The על כן to be explained is repeated at the beginning of the explanation; see Ezekiel 41, 16.22.27 and the translation of Ezek. (SBOT) p. 1, below; p. 94, below; cf. also gloss τ in my restoration of ψ 68 (AJSL 23, 239 and 224)). Two explanations of על כן are given; the first is: על כל דברי האגרת הזאת ומה ראו; the second: על ככה ומה. The second is a tertiary gloss explaining the preceding gloss: ומה הגע עליהם = על כל דברי האגרת הזאת = על ככה; ומה ראו. The phrase על כל דברי האגרת הזאת was sufficiently explicit; therefore this tertiary gloss substitutes simply על ככה; but ומה ראו might be misunderstood, and was therefore explained by ומה הגע עליהם, in order to make it clear that מה ראו did not mean *what they had seen*, but *what they had experienced*; cf. the explanation of פורתא in ט, quoted above, ועקתא דארע יתון. S's rendering, *Deswegen, nach allen den Worten des Briefs, so wohl in Betreff dessen, was sie selbst dieserhalb erlebten, als dessen was sie betraf, setzten die Juden fest*, is monstrous (cf. n. on 4, 7). Also AV and K connect the verb at the beginning of v. 27 with the preceding clause.

(27) For קימיו read וקימיו. This is the sequel of the clause at the beginning of v. 26, קראו לימים האלה פורים על שם הפור, the verb קימיו being coordinated to קראו.

The following וקבל (וקבלו Q'rê) is a gloss to the preceding קימיו; it was added owing to the וקבלו at the beginning of the gloss vv. 23-25.



ס has simply **עמל** for both **קיומו וקבל**; cf. n. on v. 21, also footnote to n. on 2, 3.

א refers to the *proselytes* (contrast **מתייהדים** in 8, 17).

For **עליהם** we must not read **אליהם** (contrast last n. on 4, 5). In **עליהם** this preposition means *in addition to*; see *Kings* 125, 7.

א ולא **יעבור** (cf. 1, 19) is misplaced; it should be transposed to the end of this verse, after **בכל שנה בשנה**, and instead of **ולא יעבור** we must read **ולא יעברו**, referring to **את שני הימים האלה**; cf. the gloss in v. 28<sup>b</sup>. The letters ו and ר are easily confounded; cf. n. on **הפר** (7, 8). For transposition of ו see also *Nah.* 41 (**לוהב** for **ולוהב**, &c).

א according to their writing and according to their time (but ס **על-פיו וזמנו**) means *according to the written traditions concerning these days* (festal regulations, festal legends, &c; see *Pur.* 11, 35; 9, 22) and *according to their dates*, viz. the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> of Adar; i.e. the last full moon of the **שנה**, the tropical year (*AJSL* 22, 256). For the reason why the two spring festivals, Purim and Passover, are not celebrated at the vernal equinox, on the first day of the first month, but on the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> days of the 12<sup>th</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> months, respectively, see conclusion of n. on v. 31. For the two days of the festival cf. **ביום ההוא השני** (1 S 20, 34). B's view that **נכתבם** refers to M's letter (vv. 20, 23) is erroneous. For **זמן** cf. n. on **סיון** (8, 9).

(28) The second part of this verse is an explanatory gloss, not only to the first part of v. 28, but also to the end of v. 27. ס has **לכסוף** for **יסוף**, and **לכסוף** for **יסוף**.

(29) Verses 29–32 represent a subsequent addition.

For **בת אביהיל**, which seems to be a tertiary addition, see n. on 2, 15.

The prefixed ו in **ומירדכי** is a secondary addition (cf. n. on v. 10). The original text of this gloss was no doubt: **אחרי המלכה את** **כל תקה מירדכי היהודי לקים את אגרת הפרים**, *Queen E described all the power of the Jew M in order to enjoin this Purim message* (which M had sent to the Jews; see vv. 20–22) i.e. E sent a letter to all the Jews setting forth M's capacity for action and performance (especially *ὅσα ἐποίησεν*, *what he had accomplished* for his coreligionists and what he might accomplish for them in the future) and urging them to observe the feast of Purim as prescribed by M. V. 32 (**ובאמרי אחרי**) speaks only of E, not of M. <sup>5</sup>V reads in the present verse: *καὶ ἔγραψεν Εσθηρ ἡ βασιλίσσα θυγάτηρ Αμναδαβ καὶ Μαρδοχαῖος ὁ Ἰουδαῖος ὅσα ἐποίησαν*. The original reading may have been *καὶ ἔγραψεν Εσθηρ ἡ βασιλίσσα θυγάτηρ Αμναδαβ ὅσα ἐποίησεν* (so <sup>6</sup>G) *Μαρδοχαῖος ὁ Ἰουδαῖος*.

א **את כל תקה** cannot mean *with all strength, with all energy*; AV *with all authority*; K *unter Einsetzung ihres ganzen Ansehens*;



*Ἰ omni studio.* This expression would be still more peculiar than the phrase **אמר עם הכסף** (v. 25). *With all energy* or *most emphatically* might be expressed by **בכל תקה** or **בכל הזקה**, but not **את כל תקה**. *I love thee with all my strength* (cf. Mark 12, 30) would be **אהבך בכל ביאדי** (cf. Deut. 6, 5). The prefixed **אח** must be the *nota accusativi*; so **טט<sup>2</sup> (ית כל חוקשא)**. For **אח=ית** see *Nah.* 25. **ש** has **חגה מנהל** for **את כל תקה**.

**אח השנית** is a tertiary gloss; cf. n. on 2, 14. Also **הזאת** is a subsequent addition.

(30) V. 30 is omitted in **ש**.

**אח וישלח (סמיה ש)** is impersonal (cf. n. on 8, 10). But the original text may have been **ותשלח**; the masculine form may have been substituted after **מידני היהודי** (v. 29) had been transposed. In Cant. 2, 7, on the other hand, the feminine form has been substituted for the masculine form (**אח האהבה**) because **עד שיהפץ** may have reminded some readers of Job 40, 17: **יהפץ זנבו כארז**, where **זב = cauda** *Hor. Sat.* 1, 2, 45; 2, 7, 49. The original meaning of **הפץ** = **سعى** is *intendere*. Cf. the explanation of the *scriptio plena* **ישניה** (Cant. 5, 2) BL 33.

For **אח מלכות** read **במלכות**; cf. n. on **בבית** (1, 9) and GK<sup>27</sup>, § 118, g; **ש** **מלכות**.

**אח (על מנהל סמיה ש)**, transposed, **דברי שלום ואמת** (**ש**, transposed, **סמיה ש**) does not mean *words of peace and truth* (so AV; *S Worte des Friedens und der Wahrheit*; *Ἰ ut haberent pacem et susciperent veritatem*; **ט<sup>2</sup> מילי** (דשלום ודקשטא) but *words of greeting and faithfulness* (cf. *Psalms* 80, 27). *LB mit freundlichen und treuen Worten*, *K mit freundschaftlichen und wohlgemeinten Worten*. The Queen, of course, did not send a warlike message or a statement that was not true; but she sent her coreligionists friendly greetings, emphasizing the fact that she would remain a faithful Jewess and never abandon the religion of her fathers.

(31) **אח ואסתר המלכה** after **מידני היהודי** is a tertiary gloss.

The **אח עליהם** in **קים עליהם כאשר** does not refer to **זמניהם**, as *Wd* supposes, but to the Jews; cf. **לקים עליהם** in v. 21.

**אח הצומות והעקתם**, at the end of this verse, means *the procedures* (cf. n. on 1, 13) or *institutions of the great fast* (plur. intens.) and *their crying* (or *invocation*), **טט צלותהון**, **ט<sup>2</sup> דצומא מילי** **ודתניתא**. This refers to 4, 1.3.16. *M* had *cried with a loud and bitter cry* (**ויזעק זעקה גדלה ומרה**) and the Jews had fasted, wept, and lamented (**צום ובכי ומספד**) when the edict of *H* became known. Afterwards *E* asked *M* to fast with all the Jews of Susa for her sake, three days and three nights, before she went to the King, and *E* herself with her maids fasted in the same way.

The statement in the present passage, . . . . לָקִים אֶת יְמֵי הַפָּרִים, . . . . דְּבַר הַצּוּמוֹת וְהַעֲתָתָם would seem to imply that the Jews had adopted the fasting (and crying) before they adopted the feasting. They may have observed the Babyl. New Year's festival at first as a fast-day, but the less orthodox Jews (the Sadduceans) may have gradually adopted the celebration of the (Babyl. and) Persian New Year's festival (just as many modern Jews celebrate Christmas). This was afterwards sanctioned by the ecclesiastical authorities, but the date was changed: the feast was celebrated, not at the beginning of the first month, but at the middle of the preceding month, just as the ancient Heb. spring festival, the Passover, was not celebrated at the beginning (new moon) of the first month (about the time of the vernal equinox) but at the middle (full moon) of the first month, in order to avoid a coincidence of the Jewish Passover and the Babylonian New Year's festival.

During the Babyl. Captivity Ezekiel (about 570 B. C.) recommended to observe the Day of Atonement on the 1<sup>st</sup> of Tishri, while the New Year was to be celebrated on the 10<sup>th</sup> of Tishri, in order to avoid a coincidence of the Jewish New Year with the Babyl. festival at the beginning of the second half of the year. Under Persian dominion, about 500 B. C. (when the Priestly Code was compiled in Babylonia) the two festivals in the seventh month, as prescribed by Ezekiel, exchanged places so that the Day of Atonement was observed on the 10<sup>th</sup> of Tishri, because the Persians celebrated the *μαγροφόνια* on that day. Cf. n. on v. 27 and *Pur.* 4, 20-37; 20, 3; 33, 14.

(32) Wd's view that בִּסְפֶּר refers either to the book from which the author took the two letters (cf. n. on v. 20) or to our Book of E, is gratuitous. Heb. בִּסְפֶּר does not necessarily mean *in the book* (AV) it may also mean *in a book* (so K, S) see *Kings* 191, 37.

(1) For the misplaced gloss in v. 1 see fourth paragraph of nn. on 2, 18.

(2) In v. 2<sup>a</sup> we must transpose <sup>a</sup> and <sup>β</sup>: the opening clause, וְכָל וּפְרִשְׁתָּ גִדְלָת, should follow the second clause, מַעֲשֵׂה תַקְפּוֹ וּגְבוּרָתוֹ; even the first clause וְכָל מַעֲשֵׂה תַקְפּוֹ וּגְבוּרָתוֹ refers to M, not to the King.

The clause אֲשֶׁר גִּדְּלוֹ הַמֶּלֶךְ is a scribal expansion derived from 5, 11; it cannot mean *whereunto the King advanced him* (so AV; K *zu der ihn der König erhob*) nor does it mean *whom the King advanced* (so S; שֶׁ אֲדָמָה מִלְכָּא, דִּי רַבִּייה מִלְכָּא, דִּי רַבִּי יִתִּיה מִלְכָּא) or *whereby the King had advanced him* (B; 3 *qua exaltavit Mar-dochæum*). Cf. footnote to n. on 2, 3.

(3) For **וַגְדוֹל לִיהוּדִים** it would be better to read **וַגְדוֹל בִּיהוּדִים**. **וַגְדוֹל** instead of **וַגְדוֹל** seems to be due to the **ו** in **וַרְצִי לְרַב אַחִיו** (ררעי ט) and to the following clause, **בַּסְנִיאוֹתָהוֹן דְּאַחִיו**, omitted in S) which, of course, does not mean *acceptable to most of his brethren* (contrast n. on 4, 3) but *acceptable to the multitude of his brethren*, i.e. *to his numerous coreligionists* (so B, S). In the large number of his coreligionists there was not one who disliked him. Cf. **רַב בְּנֵי**, *the large number of his sons* (5, 11).

The phrase **דְּרַשׁ טוֹב לַעֲמֹי** means: he tried to promote the interests of the Jews, while **וְדַבֵּר שְׁלוֹם לְכָל זֵרֵי** implies that he was not haughty and distant, but affable and kind to the meanest among his brethren, in spite of his exalted position. For **דְּבַר שְׁלוֹם** S refers to Zech. 9, 10; **ψ 85, 9**. Cf. **ψ 122**: **אֲדַבֵּר הַנֶּאֱמָר שְׁלוֹם בְּךָ** and **אֲבַקֶּשֶׁה טוֹב לְךָ**.

[The Hebrew text follows.]

9, 22 עשר בו בכל שנה ושנה: כימים אשר נהו בהם היהודים מאיביהם  
והחדש אשר נהפך להם מיוגון לשמחה ומאבל ליום טוב לעשות  
אותם ימי משתה ושמחה ומשלח מנות איש לרעהו ומתנות  
לאבינים: <sup>p</sup> על כן קראו לימים האלה פורים על שם חפור: <sup>q</sup> ו'קמיו'  
היהודים עליהם ועל זרעם ועל כל הגלויים עליהם } } להיות עש'ים  
את שני הימים האלה ככתבם וכוונתם בכל שנה ושנה } ולא יעברו:  
28 והימים האלה מזכרים ונעשים בכל דור ודור משפחה ומשפחה  
מדינה ומדינה ועיר ועיר: <sup>r</sup>

10, 2 } } ופָּרַשְׁתָּ גִּלְתָּ מִרְדְּכָי } } וְכָל מַעֲשֵׂה תִקְפוֹ וְגִבּוֹרָתוֹ } הֲלוֹא הֵם  
3 כְּתוּבִים עַל סֵפֶר דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמֹלְכֵי מִדִּי וּפְרָס: } } כִּי מִרְדְּכָי  
הַיְּהוּדִי מִשְׁנֵה לְמִלְכָּ <sup>s</sup> וְגִדּוּל <sup>t</sup> ב'יהודים ורצוי לרב אחיו דרש טוב  
לעמו ולבר שלום לכל זרעו:

9, 23 (p) וקבלו' היהודים את אשר החלו לעשות ואת אשר כתב מרדכי אליהם:  
24 כי המן בן הקדחא הגא'ני צרר כל היהודים חשב על היהודים לאבדם  
כה והפל פור (הוא הגורל) להקים <sup>q</sup>: ובבאה לפני המלך אמר <sup>r</sup> ישוב  
מחשבתו הרעה אשר חשב על היהודים על ראשו ותלו אתו ואת בניו  
על העץ:

26 (σ) על כן על כל דברי האגרת הזאת ומה ראו <sup>ss</sup> 27 (τ) וקבלו'  
28 (υ) וימי הפורים האלה לא יעברו מתוך היהודים וזכרם לא יסור מזרעם  
29 (φ) ותכתב אסתר המלכה } } את כל תִּקְסֵי } "מרדכי היהודי" לקים את  
ל אגרת הקרים: <sup>ss</sup> וישלח ספרים אל כל היהודים אל שבע ועשרים  
31 ומאה מדינה 'ב'מלכות אחש'ר' <sup>s</sup> דברי שלום ואמת: לקים את  
ימי הקרים האלה בזמניהם כאשר קים עליהם מרדכי היהודי <sup>q</sup> וכאשר  
32 קימו על נפשם ועל זרעם דברי הצומות וזעקתם: ומאמר אסתר  
קים דברי הקרים האלה ונכתב בספר:

10, 2 (a) אשר גדלו המלך 3 (β) אחש'ר' <sup>s</sup>

9, 24 (ββ) ולאבדם (γγ) כה, 9 עם הספר 26 (δδ) על ככה ומה הגיע אליהם  
29 (εε) בת אביחיל 55 (ζζ) הזאת השנית 31 (ηη) ואסתר המלכה

9, 6 מִפֶּת הָרֶבֶךְ וַיַּעַשׂ בְּשֵׁנֵיהֶם כְּרֻזָּנָם: וּבְשׁוֹשָׁן<sup>6</sup> הָרְגוּ הַיְּהוּדִים<sup>7</sup> הַמֶּשׁ מֵאוֹת אִישׁ:

7 וְאֵת פֶּרְשֵׁי־טָא וְאֵת אֲרִידָא:

9 וְאֵת פֶּרְמִשְׁתָּא וְאֵת דִּלְפֹּךְ

וְאֵת אֶסְפָּתָא: וְאֵת אֲרִידֵי

8 וְאֵת אֲדִילָא וְאֵת רִזְזָא:

י עֲשֶׂת בְּנֵי הַמֶּן בֶּן הַמֶּדָּא צִרַר הַיְּהוּדִים הָרְגוּ וּבִפְזָה לֹא שִׁלְחוּ אֶת יָדָם:

12, 11 בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא בָּא מִסְפַּר הַחֲרוּגִים בְּשׁוֹשָׁן<sup>8</sup> לִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ: וַיֹּאמֶר הַמֶּלֶךְ לְאַסְתֵּר הַמַּלְכָּה בְּשׁוֹשָׁן<sup>9</sup> הָרְגוּ הַיְּהוּדִים<sup>10</sup> הַמֶּשׁ מֵאוֹת אִישׁ וְאֵת עֲשֶׂת בְּנֵי הַמֶּן בְּשָׂאֵר מַדִּינֹת הַמֶּלֶךְ מִיָּה עָשׂוּ וּמִיָּה שְׂאֵלְתָךְ וַיַּנְתֵּן לָךְ וּמִיָּה בִקְשָׁתְךָ עוֹד וַתַּעַשׂ:

13 וַתֹּאמֶר אֶסְתֵּר אִם עַל הַמֶּלֶךְ טוֹב יַנְתֵּן גַּם מִיָּה לַיְּהוּדִים אֲשֶׁר

בְּשׁוֹשָׁן לַעֲשׂוֹת כְּדַת הַיּוֹם וְאֵת עֲשֶׂת בְּנֵי הַמֶּן יִתְּלוּ עַל הָעֵץ:

14 וַיֹּאמֶר הַמֶּלֶךְ לַהֲעֲשׂוֹת כֵּן וַתַּנְתֵּן דָּת בְּשׁוֹשָׁן וְאֵת עֲשֶׂת בְּנֵי הַמֶּן תָּלוּ:

טו וַיִּקְהֲלוּ הַיְּהוּדִיִּים אֲשֶׁר בְּשׁוֹשָׁן גַּם בַּיּוֹם אַרְבַּעַה עָשָׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ

אֲדָר וַיִּהְרְגוּ בְּשׁוֹשָׁן שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת אִישׁ וּבִפְזָה לֹא שִׁלְחוּ אֶת יָדָם:

16 וּשְׂאָר הַיְּהוּדִים אֲשֶׁר בַּמַּדִּינֹת הַמֶּלֶךְ נִקְהֲלוּ וַעֲמָדוּ עַל נַפְשָׁם: { }

17 וַחֲרוּג בְּשֵׁנֵיהֶם הַמִּשְׁחָה וּשְׁבָעִים אֶלֶף [ ] | בַּיּוֹם שְׁלוֹשָׁה עָשָׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ

אֲדָר [י] ? וְנֹחַ { } בְּאַרְבַּעַה עָשָׂר בּוּ וַעֲשָׂה אֹתוֹ יוֹם מִשְׁתָּה וּשְׂמִיחָה:

18 וַהַיְּהוּדִיִּים אֲשֶׁר בְּשׁוֹשָׁן נִקְהֲלוּ בְּשְׁלוֹשָׁה עָשָׂר בּוּ וּבְאַרְבַּעַה עָשָׂר

19 בּוּ וְנֹחַ בַּחֲמִשָּׁה עָשָׂר בּוּ וַעֲשָׂה אֹתוֹ יוֹם מִשְׁתָּה וּשְׂמִיחָה: עַל

כָּן הַיְּהוּדִים הַפְּרִזִּים<sup>11</sup> עָשִׂים אֶת יוֹם אַרְבַּעַה עָשָׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ אֲדָר

שְׂמִיחָה וּמִשְׁתָּה וַיּוֹם טוֹב וּמְשַׁלַּח מְנוֹת אִישׁ לִרְעֻהוּ:

כ וַיִּכְתֹּב מִיַּדְכִּי אֶת הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה וַיִּשְׁלַח סָפְרִים אֶל כָּל הַיְּהוּדִים

21 אֲשֶׁר בְּכָל מַדִּינֹת הַמֶּלֶךְ הַקְּרוּבִים וְהַחֲזֻקִּים: לִקְיָם עֲלֵיהֶם

לַחַיּוֹת עָשִׂים אֶת יוֹם אַרְבַּעַה עָשָׂר לַחֹדֶשׁ אֲדָר וְאֵת יוֹם הַמִּשְׁחָה

(ה) 9, והרג ואבדן (θ) 6 הבירה (י) 11 הבירה

(א) 12 הבירה (μ) ואבד (ν) 16 ובפזה לא שלחו את ידם

(ε) 18 ונח מאביהם (ο) 19 הישבים בערי הפרזות (π) כ, 9 אחשׁוֹר״שׁ

- 8 האהשדרפנים והפחות ושירי המדינות אשר מהרו ועד כוש שבע ועשרים ומאה מדינה מדינה ומדינה ככתבה ועם כלשנו<sup>θ</sup>;  
 י ויכתב בשם המלך, ויהתם בטבעת המלך וישלח ספרים (ביד הרצים "רכבי הרכש"<sup>א</sup>); אשר נתן המלך ליהודים אשר בכל עיר ועיר להקהל ולעמד על נפשם להשמיד ולהרג ולאבד את כל "עם 'מדינה' ומדינה הצר'רים אתם": ביום אחד בכל מדינות המלך;<sup>ב</sup>  
 12 בשלושה עשר לחדש שנים עשר (הוא חדש אדר): פתשגן הכתב (להפתן דת בכל מדינה ומדינה) גלוי לכל העמים ולהיות היהודיים עת'דים ליום הזה להנקם מאיביהם;  
 14 טו. הרצים רכבי הרכש יצאו מ'הלים': ומרדכי יצא מלפני המלך בלבוש מלכות<sup>ג</sup> חור<sup>ד</sup> ו'תכלת'<sup>ה</sup> ותכריך בוץ וארגמן והעיר שושן צהלה<sup>ו</sup>;  
 16 17. ליהודים היתה אורה ושמחה וששן ויקר: ובכל מדינה ומדינה ובכל עיר ועיר מקום אשר דבר המלך ודחו מגיע שמחה וששון ליהודים משתה ויום טוב ורבים מעמי הארץ מת'הדים כי נפל פחד היהודים עליהם;  
 א, 9 ובשנים עשר חדש (הוא חדש אדר) בשלושה עשר יום בו אשר הגיע דבר המלך ודחו להעשות<sup>ז</sup> ונהפוך הוא<sup>ח</sup>: נקhalו היהודים בעריהם בכל מדינות המלך<sup>ט</sup> לשלח יד במבקשי רעתם ואיש לא עמד לפניהם<sup>י</sup>; וכל שירי המדינות והאהשדרפנים והפחות ועש' המלאכה אשר למלך מנשאים את היהודים<sup>יא</sup>: כי גדול מרדכי בבית המלך ושמינו הולך בכל המדינות<sup>יב</sup>; ויפו היהודים בכל איביהם

8, 9 ואל היהודים ככתבם וכלשונם	(θ)	8, י אחש'ירש	(ι)
האחשתרנים <sup>ט</sup>	(λ)	טו ונשים ושללם לבוז	(ν)
12 אחש'יר'ש	(ε)	14 האחשתרנים	(ο)
והחופים בדבר המלך והדת נתנה בשושן הבירה	(π)		
טו ועטרת זהב גדולה	(ρ)	ושמחה	(σ)
א, 9 ביום אשר שברו איבי היהודים שלוש בהם	(α)		
אשר ישלטו <sup>αα</sup> המה בשנאיהם	(β)	2 אחש'יר'ש	(γ)
2 כי נפל פחדם על כל העמים	(δ)	3 כי נפל פחד מרדכי עליהם	(ε)
4 כי האיש מרדכי הולך וגדול	(ζ)		



- 7, ה ויאמר המלך<sup>ב</sup> ז' לאסתר המלכה מי הוא זה ואי זה הוא אשר  
6 מל'א" לבו לעשות כן: ותאמר אסתר איש צר ואויב המן הרע  
7 הזה והמן נבעת מלפני המלך והמלכה: והמלך קם בהמתו  
מישתה היין אל גפת הביתן והמן עמד לבקש על נפשו מאסתר  
8 המלכה כי ראה כי כלתה 'עליו הרעה מאת המלך: והמלך שב  
מגפת הביתן אל בית משתה היין והמן נפל על המטה אשר אסתר  
עליה ויאמר המלך הגם לכבוש את המלכה עמי בבית הדבר  
יצא מפי המלך ופני המן הפ'ו:  
9 ויאמר הרבונו אחד בן הסריסים לפני המלך גם הנה העץ אשר  
עשה המן למרדכי אשר 'גמל' דָּבָר טוב על המלך עמד בבית המן  
י גבה המשים אמה ויאמר המלך תלכו עליו: ויתלו את המן על  
העץ אשר הכין למרדכי והמת המלך שכנה:  
8, א ביום ההוא נתן המלך<sup>א</sup> לאסתר המלכה את בית המן ציר  
היהודיים ומרדכי בא לפני המלך כי הגידה אסתר מה הוא לה:  
2 ויסר המלך את טבעתו אשר העביר מהמן ויתנה למרדכי ותשם  
אסתר את מרדכי על בית המן:  
3 ותוסס אסתר ותדבר לפני המלך ותפל לפני רגליו ותתקן  
4 לו להעביר את רעת המן ה'גא'ג'י<sup>ב</sup>: ויושט המלך לאסתר את שרפט  
ה הזהב ותקם אסתר ותעמד לפני המלך: ותאמר אם על המלך טוב  
ואם מצאתי הן לפניו וכשר הדבר לפני המלך וטובה אני בעיניו  
יפתב להשיב את הספרים<sup>א</sup> אשר כתב לאבד את היהודים אשר  
6 בכל מדינות המלך: כי<sup>ב</sup> איכבה אוכל וראיתי באב'דן מולדתי:  
7 ויאמר המלך<sup>א</sup> לאסתר המלכה ולמרדכי היהודי הנה בית המן  
8 נתתי לאסתר ואתו תלו על העץ<sup>א</sup>: ואתם פתבו על היהודים  
כשוב בעיניכם בשם המלך והתמו בטבעת המלך כי כתב אשר  
נכתב בשם המלך ונתת'ם בטבעת המלך אין להשיב:  
9 ויקראו ספרי המלך בעת ההוא בחדש השלישי (הוא חדש סיון)  
בשלושה ועשרים בו ויפתב ככל אשר צוה מרדכי 'על היהודים<sup>א</sup> אל

(א) 7, ה אחש'ר"ש (ב) 7, ה אחש'ר"ש (ג) ויאמר (ד) 8, א אחש'ר"ש  
(ה) 3 (ב) ואת מהשבתו אשר חשב על היהודים (ג) 8, ה מחשבת המן בן המדחא  
(ד) 6 (ב) איכבה אוכל וראיתי אשר ימצא את עמי ו  
(ה) 7 (א) אחש'ר"ש (ג) על אשר שלח ידו ביהודיים (ד) 9

- 6, 3 ויאמר המלך מה נעשה יקר וגדולה למידתי על זה ויאמרו  
 4 נערי המלך בשרתיו לא נעשה עמו דבר: ויאמר המלך מי בהצֵר  
 (והמֵן בא 'אל' הצֵר בית המלך ההיצוּנה לאמר למלך לחלות את  
 ה מידתי על העֵץ אשר הכין לו): ויאמרו נערי המלך אליו הנה  
 המֵן עֵמֶד בהצֵר ויאמר המלך יבוא:  
 6 ויבוא המֵן ויאמר לו המלך מה לעשות באיש אשר המלך  
 הצֵץ ביקרו ויאמר המֵן בלבו למי יחפֵץ המלך לעשות יקר וחד  
 8.7 מִמֵּנִי: ויאמֵר<sup>ה</sup> אל המלך איש אשר המלך הצֵץ ביקרו: ויבאו  
 לבוש מלכות אשר לבש בו המלך וסוס אשר רכב עליו המלך: }  
 9 ונתֵן הלבוש והסוס על יד איש מִשְׁרֵי המלך הפתחים והלבֹשׁ  
 את האיש אשר המלך הצֵץ ביקרו: } והרכִיבֵהוּ על הסוס ברחוב  
 העיר וקרא<sup>ו</sup> לפניו פָּכה יַעֲשֶׂה לאיש אשר המלך הצֵץ ביקרו:  
 י ויאמר המלך להמֵן מִהֵר קח את הלבוש ואת הסוס באשר  
 דברת ועֲשֶׂה כן למידתי היהודי היושב בשַׁעַר המלך אל תִּפֹּל  
 11 דבר מִכָּל אשר דברת: ויקח המֵן את הלבוש ואת הסוס וילָבַשׁ  
 את מידתי וירכִיבֵהוּ ברחוב העיר ויקרא לפניו פָּכה יַעֲשֶׂה לאיש  
 אשר המלך הצֵץ ביקרו:  
 12 וישב מידתי אל שַׁעַר המלך והמֵן נדהם אל ביתו אֲבָל והצִיר  
 13 ראש: ויסַפֵּר<sup>ה</sup> לזרש אשתו ולכל אֲהֻבָיו את כל אשר קָרְהוּ ויאמרו  
 לו חֲכַמְיוֹ וזרש אשתו אם מִזְרַע היהודים מידתי אשר הִקְלֹת לִנְפֹל  
 14 לפניו לא תוכל לו כי נפול תפול לפניו: עודם מִדְּבָרִים עִמּוֹ וסְרִיסֵי  
 המלך הִצִּיעוּ ויבָּחֳלוּ להביא את המֵן אל המִשְׁתָּה אשר עֲשִׂתָּה  
 אסתר:  
 7, 2. א ויבא המלך והמֵן לשתות עם אסתר המלכה: ויאמר המלך  
 לאסתר<sup>א</sup> במִשְׁתָּה הִיָּין מִה שֶׁאַתָּה אסתר המלכה ותִּנָּתֵן לָךְ וּמִה  
 3 בִקְשָׁתֶךָ עד הֲצִי המלכות ותַּעֲשֶׂ: ותֵּן אסתר המלכה ותאמר  
 אם מִצִּאֲתִי הֵן בַּעֲיֵיךְ המלך ואם על המלך טֹוב תִּנָּתֵן לי נַפְשִׁי  
 4 בִשְׁאֵלָתִי וְעַמִּי בִבְקִשְׁתִּי: כי נִמְכְּרָנוּ אֲנִי וְעַמִּי להִשְׁמִיד לַחֲרוֹג  
 ולֵאבֵד ואלו לעֲבָדִים ולשִׁפְחוֹת נִמְכְּרָנוּ הִחֲרַשְׁתִּי כי אֵין הֲצֵר טֹוֶה  
 בְּזֶקַע המלך:

(ב) 6, 7 המֵן (ה) 8 וְיָתֵן כתר מלכות בראשו (ז) 13 המֵן (א) 7, 2 גם ביום השני

(תק) 6, 8 אשר

- א, 5 ויהי ביום השלישי ותלבש אסתר מלכות ותעמיד בהצר בית המלך הפנימית נכה בית המלך והמלך יושב על כסא מלכותו
- 2 בבית המלכות נכה פתח הבית: ויהי כראות המלך את אסתר המלכה עומדת בהצר נשאה הן בעיניו ויושט המלך לאסתר את שרביט הזהב אשר בידו ותקרב אסתר ותגע בראש השרביט: ויאמר לה המלך מה לך אסתר המלכה ומה בקשתך: עד חצי המלכות ויפתן לך: ותאמר אסתר אם על המלך טוב יבוא המלך והמן היום אל המשתה אשר עשיתי לו: ויאמר המלך מהרו את המן לעשות את דבר אסתר ויבא המלך והמן אל המשתה אשר עשתה אסתר:
- 6 ויאמר המלך לאסתר במשתה היום מה שאלתך ויפתן לך ומה בקשתך: עד חצי המלכות ותעש: ותקן אסתר ותאמר שאלתי ובקשתי: (אם מצאתי הן בעיני המלך ואם על המלך טוב לתת את שאלתי ולעשות את בקשתי) יבוא המלך והמן אל המשתה אשר עשה להם ומהר אעשה כדבר המלך:
- 9 ויצא המן ביום ההוא שימה וטוב לב וכראות המן את מרדכי בשער המלך ולא קם ולא זע מימנו וימלא<sup>א</sup> על מרדכי המה: ויחאפק<sup>ב</sup> ויבוא אל ביתו וישלח ויקא את אהביו ואת דרש אשתו: ויספר להם<sup>ג</sup> את כבוד עשרו ורוב בניו ואת {{ אשר גדלו המלך ואת אשר נשאו<sup>ד</sup> על כלל השרים ועבדי המלך: ויאמר<sup>ה</sup> אם לא הביאה אסתר המלכה עם המלך אל המשתה אשר עשתה כי אם אותי וגם למחר אני קדוא לה עם המלך: וכל זה איננו שוה לי ככל עת אשר אני ראה את מרדכי היהודי יושב בשער המלך:
- 14 ותאמר לו דרש אשתו וכל אהביו יעשו עין גבה המישים אמה ובפקר אמר למלך ויתלו את מרדכי עליו ובא עם המלך אל המשתה שימה ויטב הדבר לפני המן ויעש העץ:
- א, 6 בלילה ההוא נדדה שנת המלך ויאמר להביא את ספר הזכרונות<sup>א</sup>
- 2 ויהיו נקראים לפני המלך: וימצא כתוב אשר הפיד מרדכי על גנתא ודרש שני סריסי המלך<sup>ב</sup> אשר בקשו לשלח יד במלך<sup>ג</sup>:

(a) 5, 9 המך (b) 5, ר המך (g) 11 המך (d) 12 המך  
(a) א, 6 דברי הימים (b) 2 משמרו הסה (g) אחשׁוֹרׁוֹשׁ

- טו, 3 הרצים יצאו החופים בדבר המלך והדת נתנה בשושן הבירה והמלך והמן ישבו לשחות והעיר שושן נבוכה:
- א, 4 ומרדכי ידע את כל אשר נעשה ויקרע את בגדיו וילבש שק ואפר ויצא בתוך העיר ויזעק וזעק גדולה וקרה: ויבוא עד לפני שער המלך (כי אין לבוא אל שער המלך בלבוש שק): ובכל מדינה ומדינה מקום אשר דבר המלך ודתו מציג אבל גדול ליהודים וצום ובני ומספד שק ואפר ויצע לרבים:
- 4 ותבואנה נערות אסתר וסריסיה ויגדו לה ותתהלל המלכה מאד ותשלח בגדים להלביש את מרדכי ולהסיר שקו מעליו ולא קבל: ותקרא אסתר להתקף מסריסי המלך אשר העמיד לפניה ותצוהו אל מרדכי לדעת מה זה ועל מה זה: ויצא התקף אל מרדכי אל החיץ העיר אשר לפני שער המלך: ויגד לו מרדכי את כל אשר קרהו ואת פרשת הכסף אשר אמר המן לשקול אל גמזי המלך ביהודיים לאבדם: ואת פתשגן כתב הדת אשר נתן בשושן להשמידם נתן לו להראות את אסתר ולהגיד לה ולצוות עליה לבוא אל המלך להתחנן לו ולבקש מלפניו על עמיה: ויבוא התקף ויגד לאסתר את דברי מרדכי:
- י, 11 ותאמר אסתר להתקף ותצוהו אל מרדכי: כל עבדי המלך ועם מדינות המלך ידעים אשר כל איש ואשה אשר יבוא אל המלך אל החיצר הפנימית אשר לא יקרא אחת דתו להמית לבד מאשר ירשט לו המלך את שרביט הזהב והיה ואני לא נקראתי לבוא אל המלך זה שלושים יום:
13. 12 ויגיד למרדכי את דברי אסתר: ויאמר מרדכי להשיב אל אסתר אל תדמי בנפשך להמלט ב'בית המלך מכל היהודים: כי אם ההקש תהריש בעת הזאת וְהָיָה וְהַצִּלָה יַעֲמוּד לַיהוּדִים מִמָּקוֹם אֲחֵר וְאַתָּה וּבֵית אֲבִיךָ תִּאָּבְדוּ וְיָדַע אִם לַעֲת כִּזְאת הַעֲשֵׂת לְמַלְכוּת:
- טו, 16 ותאמר אסתר להשיב אל מרדכי: לך כנוס את כל היהודים הנמצאים בשושן וצומו עלי ואל תאכלו ואל תשתו שלשת ימים לילה ויום גם אני ונערתי אצום כן ובכן אבוא אל המלך אשר לא כדת וכאשר אבדתי אבדתי:
- 17 ויעבר מרדכי ויעש ככל אשר צוהה עליו אסתר:

- א, 3 אחר הדברים האלה גדל המלך<sup>א</sup> את המן<sup>ב</sup> וינשאחו וישם  
 2 את כסאו מעל כל השורים אשר אחרו: וכל עבדי המלך אשר  
 בשער המלך פרעים ומשתהוים להמן כי כן צוה לו המלך ומרדכי  
 3 לא יכרע ולא ישתחוה: ויאמרו עבדי המלך אשר בשער המלך  
 4 למרדכי מדוע אתה עובר את מצות המלך: ויהי באמרם אליו  
 יום ויום ולא שמע אליהם ויגידו להמן לראות היעמדו דברי  
 ה מרדכי<sup>ב</sup>: וירא המן כי אין מרדכי פרע ומשתחוה לו וימלא  
 6 המה: ויבזו בעיניו לשלח יד במרדכי לבדו<sup>ג</sup> ויבקש<sup>ד</sup> להשמיד  
 את כל<sup>ה</sup> היהודים<sup>ו</sup> אשר בכל מלכות אחשׁוֹרׁי״ש<sup>ז</sup>:  
 8 ויאמר המן למלך<sup>ח</sup> "ישנא<sup>ט</sup> עם אחד מפרץ ומפרד בין העמים  
 בכל מדינות מלכותך ורחיקם שנות מכל עם ואת דתי המלך  
 9 אינם עשים ולמלך אין שוה להפיהם: אם על המלך טוב יפתח  
 לאבדם ועשרת אלפים כפר כסף אשקול על ידי עשי המלאכה  
 י להביא אל גזי המלך: ויסר המלך את טפעתו מעל ידו ויתנה  
 11 לחמן<sup>י</sup>: ויאמר המלך לחמן<sup>י</sup> העם<sup>י</sup> נתון<sup>י</sup> לך<sup>י</sup> לעשות בו כטוב  
 בעיניך:  
 12 ויקראו ספרי המלך בחדש הראשון בשלושה עשר יום בו  
 יפתח ככל אשר צוה המן אל אחשדרפני המלך ואל הפחות אשר  
 על מדינה ומדינה ואל שרי עם ועם מדינה ומדינה ככתבה ועם  
 13 ועם כלשוננו בשם המלך<sup>י</sup> נכתב ונהתם בטבעת המלך: וישלוח  
 ספרים ביד הרצים אל כל מדינות המלך להשמיד להרג ולאבד  
 את כל היהודים מפער ועד זקן טף ונשים ביום אחד בשלושה  
 14 עשר לחדש שנים עשר (הוא חדש אדר<sup>י</sup>) ושללם לבוז: פתשגן  
 הכתב (להנתן דת בכל מדינה ומדינה) גלוי לכל העמים להיות  
 עתדים ליום הזה:

(א) א, 3 אחשׁוֹרׁי״ש (ב) 4 כי הגיד להם אשר הוא יהודי (ג) ה, 3 המן  
 (ד) 6 המן (ה) עם מרדכי (ו) כי הגידו לו את עם מרדכי (ז) 8 אחשׁוֹרׁי״ש  
 (ח) י בן המדתא ה'נא'ני צרר היהודים (י) 11 ו'יהכנסה (י) 12 אחשׁוֹרׁי״ש  
 (א) 7 בחדש הראשון (הוא חדש ניסן) בשנת שתיים עשרה למלך μμ הפיל  
 פור (הוא הגורל) לפני המן מיום ליום ומחדש לחדש ויפיל הגורל  
 על שלושה עשר לחדש שנים עשר (הוא חדש אדר):



- 2 ואת שבע הנערות הראות {} וישנה ואת נערותיה לטוב בית  
 י הנשים: (לא הגידה אסתר את עמה ואת מולדתה כי מירדכי צוה  
 11 עליה אשר לא תגיד:) ובכל יום ויום מירדכי מתחלף לפני הצר  
 בית הנשים לדעת את שלום אסתר ומה יעשה בה:  
 12 ובהגיע תר נערה ונערה לבוא אל המלך<sup>ז</sup> ביקץ היות לה כדת  
 הנשים שנים עשר חדש (כי כן ימלאו ימי מירוקיהן ששה חדשים  
 13 בשמן המלך וששה חדשים בבשמים ובתמרוק הנשים): ובוה  
 הנערה באה אל המלך את כל אשר תאמר יתן לה לבוא עמה  
 14 מבית הנשים עד בית המלך: בערב הוא באה ובפקר היא שבה  
 אל בית הנשים<sup>ח</sup> (אל יד פשענה סריס המלך טמא הפלגשים) לא  
 תבוא עוד אל המלך כי אם הפין בה המלך ונקראה בשם:  
 טו ובהגיע תר אסתר<sup>ט</sup> לבוא אל המלך לא בקשה דבר כי אם  
 את אשר יאמר להי<sup>י</sup> טמא הנשים ותהי<sup>י</sup> נשאת הן בעיני כל  
 16 לאיה: ותלקח<sup>א</sup> אל המלך<sup>א</sup> אל בית מלכותו בהדש העשירי (הוא  
 17 חדש טבת) בשנת שבע למלכותו: ויאבה המלך את אסתר מכל  
 הנשים ותשא הן והסד לפניו מכל הבתולות וישם כתר מלכות  
 18 בראשה וימליכה תחת ושתי: ויש המלך מיתה גדול לכל שריו  
 ועבדיו<sup>ב</sup> והקהה למדינות<sup>ג</sup> ויתן משאלת<sup>ד</sup> כיד המלך:  
 21 בימים ההם ומירדכי יושב בשער המלך<sup>ה</sup> קצה בנתן ותדש שני  
 22 סריסי המלך {} ויבקשו לשלח יד במלך<sup>ו</sup>: ויודע הדבר למירדכי  
 23 ויגד<sup>ז</sup> להמן [בן המרתא הגאלי] {משמרי הסס}: ויבקש הדבר  
 וימצא ויתלו שניהם על עץ ויפתח בספר דברי הימים לפני המלך  
 והמלך לא ידע כי מירדכי הגיד להמן:

(5) 2, 12 אחשׁוֹר״ש (η) 14 שני (θ) 2, בת אביחיל דר מירדכי אשר לקח לו לבת  
 (ι) טו סריס המלך (κ) אסתר (λ) 16 אסתר (μ) אחשׁוֹר״ש  
 (ν) 18 את מיתה אסתר (ε) עשה (ο) א. 10 וישם המלך<sup>ט</sup> מס על הארץ ואיי היום  
 (π) 19 ובהקבץ בתולות<sup>ט</sup> ומירדכי יושב בשער המלך: (ρ) 21 אחשׁוֹר״ש  
 (σ) 22 לאסתר המלכה ותאמר אסתר למלך בשם מירדכי φφ

(ττ) א. 10 אחשׁוֹר״ש (υυ) 2, 19 שנית  
 (φφ) כ. 2 אין אסתר מרת מולדתה ואת עמה כאשר צוה עליה מירדכי  
 ואת מאמר מירדכי אסתר עשה כאשר היתה באמנה אתו:



- 1, 16 ויאמר מ'מלך לפני המלך והשרים לא על המלך לבדו עושה  
 ושתי המלכה כי על כל השרים ועל כל העמים אשר בכל מדינות  
 17 המלך: כי יצא דבר המלכה אל כל הנשים להבנות בעליהן  
 בעניניהן באמרים המלך<sup>א</sup> אמר להביא את ושתי המלכה לפניו  
 18 ולא באה: והיום הזה תאמרנה שרות פרס ומדי<sup>ב</sup> לכל שרי המלך  
 19 ו'בן' בזיון וקצא: אם על המלך טוב יצא דבר מלכות מלפניו  
 ויפתב בדתי פרס ומדי ולא יעבור אשר לא תבוא ושתי לפני  
 כ המלך<sup>ג</sup> ומלכותה יתן המלך לעושה הטובה בימנה: ונשבע פתגם  
 המלך (אשר יעשה בכל מלכותו כי רבה היא) וכל הנשים יתנו  
 יקר לבעליהן למגדול ועד קטן:  
 21 וייתב הדבר בעיני המלך והשרים ויעש המלך כדבר ממוכן:  
 22 וישלח ספרים אל כל מדינות המלך אל מדינה ומדינה ככתבה  
 ואל עם ועם כלשונו להיות כל איש שֶׁרָר בביתו<sup>ד</sup>:

- 2, א אחר הדברים האלה כשך חמת המלך<sup>א</sup> זכר את ושתי ואת אשר  
 2 עשתה ואת אשר נגזר עליה: ויאמרו נערי המלך בִּשְׂרֵתוֹ יבקשו  
 3 למלך נערות בתולות טובות מראה: ויפקד המלך פקידים בכל  
 מדינות מלכותו ויקבצו את כל נערה בתולה טובת מראה אל  
 4 שושן הבירה<sup>ב</sup>: והנערה אשר תיטב בעיני המלך תמלך תחת  
 ושתי וייתב הדבר בעיני המלך ויעש כן:  
 ה איש יהודי היה בשושן הבירה ושמו מרְדֳּכָי (בן יאיר בן שמעי  
 6 בן קיש)<sup>ג</sup>: איש ימיני אשר הגלה מירושלים עם הגלה אשר  
 7 הגלה נבוכדנצר מלך בבל: ויהי אמן את הדסה (היא אסתר)  
 בת דוד כי אין לה אב ואם והנערה יפת תואר וטובת מראה ובמות  
 8 אביה ואמה לקחה מירדכי לו לבת: ויהי בהשמיע דבר המלך  
 ודתו ובהקבץ נערות רבות אל שושן הבירה<sup>ד</sup> ותלקח אל בית  
 9 המלך אל יד הגי' שומר הנשים: ותיטב הנערה בעיניו ותשא הסד  
 לפניו ויבהל את תמרוקה ואת מנותה לתת לה {מִבֵּית המלך}

(ν) 1, 16 אהש'ירש (ξ) 17 אחש'יר'ש (ο) 18 אשר שמעו את דבר המלכה

(π) 19 אחש'יר'ש (ρ) 22 ומדבר 'ב'לשון עמו (α) 2, א אחש'יר'ש

(β) 3, 2 אל בית הנשים אל יד הגי' סרים המלך שומר הנשים ונתון תמרוקה

(γ) 6 אשר הגלתה עם יכניה מלך יהודה (δ) 8 אל יד הגי' (ε) אסתר

## מגלת אסתר

- א, 1 ויהי בימי אחש'ר'ש (הוא) המלך מזהו ועד כוש שבע ועשרים  
 2 ומאה מדינה: <sup>ב</sup> כשבת המלך על כסא מלכותו אשר בשושן הבירה;  
 3 בשנת שלוש למלכו עשה משתה לכל שריו ועבדיו 'ושרי' חל פרס  
 4 ומדי הפרתמים ושרי המדינות לפניו: בהראתו את עשר כבוד  
 מלכותו ואת יקר תפארת גדולתו <sup>ג</sup> שמונים ומאת יום;  
 ה ובמל'אות הימים האלה עשה המלך לכל העם הנמצאים בשושן  
 הבירה למגדול ועד קטן מש'ת'ה שבעת ימים בחצר גנת ב'ת'ן  
 6 המלך: 'תחת' 'כרפס' <sup>ד</sup> אחד בהבלי {ת'קלת} וארגמן על גלילי  
 כסס ועמודי שש 'ב'מטות זהב וכסף על רצפת בהט ושש ודר  
 7 וסחרת: והשקות בכלי זהב וכלים מפלים שונים ויין מלכות רב  
 8 כיד המלך: והשתיה כדת אין אנס כי כן יסד המלך על כל רב  
 9 ביתו לעשות כרצון איש ואיש: גם ושתי המלכה עשתה משתה  
 נשים 'בבית המלכות':  
 י ביום השביעי כטוב לב המלך ב'ין אמר למ'הוּקֶן בָּתָא תְּרַבִּנָא  
 בָּגֶת'נָא <sup>ה</sup> 'ת'רש' וְחַר וְכָרֶס שבעת הַפְּרִיסִים הַמְּשֻׁרָתִים את פני  
 11 המלך: להביא את ושתי המלכה לפני המלך בכתר מלכות  
 12 להראות העמים והשרים את יפיה כי טובת מראה היא: ותמאן  
 המלכה לבוא בדבר המלך אשר ביד הַפְּרִיסִים ויקצץ המלך  
 13 באר והמתו בערה בו: ויאמר המלך לחכמים ידעי העתים (כי כן  
 14 דבר המלך לפני כל ידעי דת ודין: וְהִקְרַב אליו פְּרָשָׁנָא שְׁתִּי  
 אֲדָבָתָא תְּרִישׁ מֶרֶס מֶרֶסָנָא מִמוּקֶן שבעת שרי פרס ומדי ראי  
 טו פני המלך הישבים ראשנה במלכות | כדת: מה לעשות במלכה<sup>א</sup>  
 על אשר לא עשתה את מאמר המלך <sup>ו</sup> ביד הַפְּרִיסִים:

(א) 1, אחש'ר'ש (ב) 2 בימים ההם (ג) אחש'ר'ש (ד) 4 ימים רבים  
 (ה) 6 חור (ו) 9 אשר למלך (ז) 1, ואבְּנָתָא (ח) אחש'ר'ש  
 (ט) 12 ושתי (י) טו, 1 ושתי (יא) אחש'ר'ש

CRITICAL NOTES ON OLD TESTAMENT  
PASSAGES

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JULIUS A. BEWER



## CRITICAL NOTES ON OLD TESTAMENT PASSAGES

JULIUS A. BEWER

### 1. OBADIAH, VS. 16.

The most natural and reasonable interpretation of the drinking on Mount Zion is the one that refers it to the drinking of the cup of Yahweh's fury (cf. Jer., chap. 25; 49:12). Since this is now the prevalent interpretation we need not again adduce the arguments for it. There is only one point in connection with it that is strange, namely, that the nations are doomed to drink *continually* (תִּמְרֹר), for it is manifestly impossible for them to go on drinking after they have become "as though they had not been." The force of this observation has long been felt, and two ways out of the difficulty have been suggested:

1) The reading of many Hebrew manuscripts, which have סָבִיב in place of תִּמְרֹר, was accepted by many scholars, from De Rossi on, as the original. But the arguments brought forward against it were so conclusive that the latest commentators, Nowack and Marti, do not even think the variant reading important enough to mention it.<sup>1</sup>

2) The reading of the Greek version (A B<sup>c</sup> Q), οἶνον . . . . πίνονται, Hexaplar Syriac מַכְרִי, has been regarded by many as representing the original. Οἶνον, which stands in the place of תִּמְרֹר, is supposed to be the translation of an original תִּמְרֹר (cf. Deut. 32:14) or of תִּמְרֹר which occurs in New Hebrew in this meaning. Which of these two synonyms should be substituted for תִּמְרֹר is still the question. This suggestion has the advantage of easily explaining the reading תִּמְרֹר, and has again been taken up by Marti, and by Nowack in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*. But it does not explain how the other reading סָבִיב for תִּמְרֹר originated, and, moreover, it is not really in harmony with the

<sup>1</sup> Nowack in his *Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*, "Die Kleinen Propheten" (11897, 21905). Marti in his *Kurzer Hand-Commentar*, "Dodekapropheton" (1903). In his edition of the text of Obadiah in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica* (1906) Nowack had, of course, to mention the variant reading in the textual notes.

interpretation that the drinking refers to the drinking of the cup of fury of Yahweh, for if **הַמֵּר** or **הַמִּר** originally stood here, the other interpretation, which refers it to reveling and banqueting in connection with the celebration of the victory over the holy city Jerusalem, seems to be more natural, but against this the whole context protests. It is not the drinking of wine but of fury that must be referred to. In none of the passages where the drinking of the cup of judgment is spoken of do we find this expressed merely by "they shall drink *wine*," not to lay stress on the fact that **הַמֵּר** is never used in such connections. It would be much more reasonable to regard **הַמִּיר** as a corruption of **הַמֵּר**, "they shall drink *my* fury," for such a phrase would indeed express the idea that must be in the original text; cf. Job 21:20, **בַּהֲמִית שְׁדֵי יִשְׁתָּהּ**. I do not know whether this has ever been suggested. It would at least be plausible, and would fit in admirably with the context. But it is not easy to explain how **הַמִּיר** was misread as **סָבִיב**, though it is not difficult to see how **הַמִּיר** might have arisen from a badly written **הַמֵּר**. The reading **סָבִיב** is, however, attested by too many manuscripts to be left altogether out of account. We must therefore seek for a different explanation.

There are three readings: (1) MT **הַמִּיר**; (2) many Hebrew manuscripts, **סָבִיב**; (3) **ܫܝܪܝܐ** Syr. Hex. *oivos*. The key to the solution of the difficulty lies in the recognition of the fact that *oivos* represents not **הַמֵּר** (Deut. 32:14) but **סָבָא**, which is translated by *oivos* in Isa. 1:22. It so happens that **הַמֵּר** occurs only once, in Deut. 32:14, where the Greek has *oivos*—the only other occurrence, Isa. 27:2, is due to a corruption—and that **סָבָא** also occurs only once, in Isa. 1:22, the other two occurrences, Hos. 4:18, Nah. 1:10, being due to textual error. (See on both nouns Brown-Driver-Briggs, *Hebrew Lexicon*.) Thus, there is just as much reason for regarding **סָבָא** as underlying *oivos* as for thinking that **הַמֵּר** was the Hebrew original of **ܫܝܪܝܐ** Syr. Hex. The correctness of the restoration of **סָבָא** will at once appear.

This **סָבָא** sides with the reading of the Hebrew MSS, **סָבִיב**. It is easy to see how the one could be mistaken for the other. But it would be a mistake, now that we have discovered how the



reading סָבִיב originated, to think that we have also discovered the original Hebrew text, and that it is necessary merely to substitute סָבִיב for תָּמִיד; for the objection urged above against the reading הַמִּי or תָּמִיד holds also against סָבִיב, which is merely a synonym of הַמִּי, and, moreover, it would not explain how תָּמִיד could have arisen. And תָּמִיד also is too well attested to be simply set aside.

Both words תָּמִיד and סָבִיב must have originally stood in the text — סָבִיב־תָּמִיד. Now in the passages which deal with the drinking of the cup of Yahweh's fury a usual phrase is, שָׁתָה מִיַּד, אֲשֶׁר שָׁתִיתָ מִיַּד יְהוָה אֱתֵּיכּוֹס הַמָּוֶה; cf. Isa. 51:17, יְהוָה אֱתֵּיכּוֹס הַמָּוֶה; the cup is in Yahweh's hand, Jer. 25:15, 17, קַח אֶת־כּוֹס . . . מִיַּד יְהוָה; Hab. 2:16. In the last three consonants of תָּמִיד we must originally have had מִיַּד or מִיָּדִי. When this is recognized it will at once be seen that in סָבִיב we have originally כָּס, and that the א belongs with the ת of תָּמִיד as the sign of the accusative, thus:

סָבִיב אֶת מִיַּד  
כָּס אֶת מִיַּד  
אֶת־כָּס מִיָּדִי

This is exactly what we need in our text, which now reads:

For as ye have drunk  
Upon my holy mountain,  
So shall all the nations drink  
The cup at my hand;  
And they shall drink and swallow down,  
And be as though they had not been.

It will be noted that in the parallel passage, Jer. 49:12, we have the phrase לְשָׁתוֹת הַכּוֹס, which is a weighty argument in favor of our restoration. As is well known, this verse in Obadiah belongs to the later portions. The phrase "to drink the cup of fury at the hand of Yahweh," is so well known that it is not necessary to add an explanation regarding the contents of the cup, though this was done when the phrase was first used, Jer., chap. 25, Isa., chap. 51. But in Hab. 2:16 we have it called simply כּוֹס יְמִין יְהוָה; in Jer. 49:12 still more simply, הַכּוֹס, the well-known cup of fury. And we should perhaps have expected אֶת־הַכּוֹס with the article in Obadiah also, were it not for the fact

that in another passage *against Edom*, Lam. 4:21, we have simply כּוֹס without any qualifying element, and yet every one recognizes that it can be nothing else but the cup of Yahweh's fury, גַּם־עָלֶיךָ תִּעְבֶּר־כּוֹס תַּשְׁפִּיר וְתַחֲפִיר. In our passage we have the qualifying מִיָּדִי, which places it beyond doubt that the cup of wrath of Yahweh is intended. We may add that the verse is also metrically better when restored as above.

The following conjecture may serve to explain how it came about that the one set of texts has one part and the other set another part of the reading. An early copyist accidentally omitted אֶחָדָם, and wrote it between הַגּוֹיִם and מִיָּדִי for lack of space in the following manner:

א ח ט ט	הַגּוֹיִם	מִיָּדִי	or	ט ט ט א	הַגּוֹיִם	מִיָּדִי
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The ׀ at the end was probably not written. Then one scribe, regarding א, כ, ס as not belonging to the text, copied merely הַגּוֹיִם מִיָּדִי; another scribe thinking that א, כ, ס were put in as a correction, and therefore the better text, copied merely הַגּוֹיִם סָבָא. But he took כ for ב, which was one of the easiest things to do, and read the whole as הַגּוֹיִם סָבָא, which seemed to him to fit in admirably with שָׁתָה, but which another read as הַגּוֹיִם סָבִיב. It is interesting to notice that he read the consonants in the other direction, not אָבָס but סָבָא, which indicates

that a word written אָבָס might be read either סָבָא or אָבָס, since

there was apparently no rule for writing up or down in such cases. Possibly this may explain a number of textual mistakes where the various consonants have been transposed.

The confusion arose before the LXX translation was made, at a time when the square alphabet was used, or a form of the alphabet approximating it very closely. The passage belongs to a Maccabean writer, as I shall try to make probable in another place.

## 2. JUDGES 2:1a, 5b

וַיַּעַל מִלֶּאֱדָיִהָ מִן־הַגִּלְגָּל אֶל־הַבְּכִים  
וַיִּזְבְּחֵם לַיהוָה

These verses follow the story of the invasion of Canaan by the various tribes as summarized in the first chapter, and are usually interpreted as follows: "Israel being now firmly established in Canaan, the religious center is transferred from the plains of Jericho, where they first gained a foothold in Western Palestine, to a sanctuary in the heart of the land. This change is signaled by the removal of the Angel of Yahweh, his presence manifested in oracle and theophany, from Gilgal to the new holy place, which, upon his appearance there, is consecrated by sacrifice (vs. 5b). The transfer of the religious center to Bethel marks the end of the period of invasion, as the preceding period of migration ended with the encampment at Gilgal (Jos. 5:10-12)."<sup>2</sup>

It is assumed here that vs. 1a and vs. 5b go together, and are not from the redactor who wrote vss. 1b-5a, but part of an old source;<sup>3</sup> and further that הַבְּכִים cannot be original in vs. 1, for "we expect . . . the older name of the place and a name of greater note."<sup>4</sup>

These assumptions appear to be altogether correct. But it is now further declared that the source from which these verses are taken must be J, from which we have also chap. 1, and that the original name of Bochim was in all probability *Bethel*, which is gathered from the conflate reading of G, ἐπὶ τὸν Κλαυθμῶνα καὶ ἐπὶ Βαιθὴλ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰσραήλ. Both of these points seem to the present writer very unlikely. According to chap. 1, which is from J, the various tribes have gone up into the hill-country and have separated. They are now regarded as being in their own territories, where they have settled down after a more or less successful fight. This is clearly the representation of the first

<sup>2</sup> G. F. Moore, *International Critical Commentary*, "Judges" (1895), pp. 56 f.

<sup>3</sup> Moore, *ibid.*, p. 57: "What stands between (vss. 1b-5a) is in substance and form strikingly different from chap. 1, and bears the stamp of the school of Hebrew historiography which, for lack of a more suitable general name, we call Deuteronomic."

<sup>4</sup> Moore, p. 58.

chapter. But if this is so, then it is strange that the Angel of Yahweh is, in chap. 2:1, still at Gilgal, i. e., in the old camp where the tribes were together before they separated. We should have expected that he would go up with them into the various parts of Canaan, but instead of this we find him still in the plains of Jericho. Why should this be so? Did this writer think that the Israelites could fight their battles without the help of Yahweh, whose representative or manifestation the Angel is? Certainly not, for both in 1:19 and in 1:22 he says distinctly, "Yahweh was with Judah," and "Yahweh was with them," i. e., the house of Joseph. A writer who had this conception that Yahweh Himself was going with the invading armies can hardly have thought that the Angel of Yahweh remained behind at Gilgal, for how could the people tell that Yahweh was with them, if they saw that the Angel of Yahweh stayed at Gilgal? Budde says: "The Angel of Yahweh did not follow the march of Judah but that of the house of Joseph (vs. 22). That would be the meaning. And this would have a good reason, since Judah regained in the far South its contact with Yahweh Himself in His seat."<sup>5</sup>

Now, as a matter of fact, the Angel of Yahweh always went *before* Israel and did not stay behind. Ex. 23:20, 23; 32:34; 33:2, are explicit on this point. It is promised there that the Angel should lead Israel into Canaan and help them gain possession of the land, and not that he should stay at a given place where the religious center, i. e., the camp, would be, and let the armies march away from him. He is to be the victorious leader of Israel's invading army. If then we find him in 2:1 still at Gilgal, it means either that he has not yet gone up into the hill country, or that he has returned to the camp at Gilgal after his expedition. Neither conception is in harmony with the representation of chap. 1. And 2:1a cannot come from the same writer as chap. 1. The writer of chap. 1 does not speak of the Angel of Yahweh at all; he speaks of Yahweh Himself. This is in line with the results of the investigations of the sources of the Hexateuch, for chap. 1 is admittedly from J. But in the

<sup>5</sup> *Das Buch der Richter* (1897), p. 18. Similarly Nowack.

Hexateuch it is not J who has the conception of the Angel of Yahweh, but E and R<sup>JE</sup>. Chap. 2:1a *is therefore not from J but from E.*

If this is recognized the main difficulty is removed, for it is seen at once that this verse is really entirely in line with the representation of E. For E regards the camp at Gilgal as fixed, and lets Joshua return to the camp at Gilgal with his army after the great decisive battles (cf. Josh. 10:15, 43), and of course the Angel of Yahweh who, according to E in Exodus, is to go before Israel, is with the army. So also here. The army is in camp at Gilgal after having won the victories over the Canaanites, and now the Angel of Yahweh leads them on into the hill country. The camp, which is the religious center, is removed from Gilgal to a place in the interior of the country.

Unfortunately the name of the place whither he leads them is uncertain, for the reading **הַבְּנִים** is, as is generally acknowledged, corrupt. The conflate reading of **שֶׁכֶם** gives no satisfaction either. But we shall find a fruitful suggestion in the fact that the verse belongs to E. The religious center is transferred, according to E, from Gilgal to Shechem. According to E in Josh., chap. 24, with which Judg., chap. 2 is connected, Joshua has the Israelites gathered at Shechem, and it is on Mount Ebal, near Shechem, that they sacrifice, according to Josh. 8:30, 31 (E). According to Judg. 2:6 (E, = Josh. 24:28) also, the Israelites are at Shechem. And so it seems to the present writer exceedingly probable that the original reading in 2:5 was **שֶׁכֶם** in place of **הַבְּנִים**, a reading which graphically also corresponds better to the Massoretic text than **בִּיתְחָל** of **ש**. The reading of **ש** appears to be nothing more than a conjecture, which may have been due to the fact that there was an 'Allon Bacuth near Bethel (Gen. 35:8).<sup>6</sup> But that Bethel was the religious center after Gilgal we are told nowhere else. That Shechem was so is in harmony with the narrative of E in the book of Joshua.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Or it may have been due to chap. 1:22, where the house of Joseph goes to Bethel from Gilgal.

<sup>7</sup> The corruption of **שֶׁכֶם** into **הַבְּנִים** not only preceded the Greek translation but is older than the interpolated verses 1b-5a, which explain the name. This must also be assumed on the other theory; and it argues strongly against the originality of **בִּיתְחָל** in

Moreover, on this hypothesis the relation of 2:1*a*, 5*b* to the following description from E of the death of Joshua, vss. 6 ff., becomes clear. Chap. 2:1*a*, 5*b*, are not the conclusion of chap. 1, but form, with vss. 6 ff., a parallel to Josh. 24. Chap. 1 is a summary of the conquest of Canaan from the document J, and was prefixed to the book of Judges when it was made a book by itself; chap. 2 has nothing to do with this, but is from E—of course, only the verses that have been discussed are meant; for our purpose it is not necessary to go into an analysis of the whole of chap. 2. Verses 1*a*, 5*b*, take up the narrative of the settlement in Canaan according to E, not of the conquest. The army has gone back to its camp at Gilgal, and from there they move their camp to Shechem (vs. 1*a*). At Shechem a sacrifice is offered, and Shechem becomes the new religious center (vs. 5*b*). Then Joshua sends the various tribes into the territories which had been assigned them by lot (vs. 6). Verse 6 also assumes that all the tribes are still together; but they are not sent away, as in chap. 1:1 ff., to conquer the land—that had been done before—but simply to take possession of their allotted sections. Then follows the death and burial of Joshua, and the redactional summary of Israel's faithfulness during Joshua's lifetime and its unfaithfulness after his death. This is succeeded by the summary of the period of the Judges.

### 3. ISAIAH 42:5-9

The long, formal, introduction shows that vss. 5-9 do not belong to the Servant of Yahweh poem, 42:1-4. The passage must be taken with 41:21-29, of which it is the logical continua-

vs. 1. For when vss. 1*b*-5*a* were added, the reading in 1*a* must already have been **הבנים**. Bethel is therefore nothing else but an old explanatory gloss and does not represent the original text.

It is also to be noted that **Θ** read not simply *ἐπὶ τὸν Κλαυθμῶνα καὶ ἐπὶ Βαιθὴλ* but added *καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰσραήλ*. Moore thinks that this is merely due to dittography of **ביתאל**, while Budde and Nowack regard it as a correction of a more original **בית יוסה**, and adopt the latter as an original element of the text, which according to them was: "And the Angel of Jahve led 'the house of Joseph' from Gilgal to 'Bethel.'" That **בית ישראל** corresponds here to **בית יוסה** is clear, for the Judaeans do not go to Bethel. But it is not an original part of the text, but another marginal note, which explained that the Angel of Yahweh went with the Joseph tribes, according to chap. 1:22; *καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰσραήλ* is thus a gloss upon a gloss. Note also the peculiar grammatical construction in the Greek, which gives no sense and shows its secondary character. At best it might be supposed that **אל בית ישראל** stood originally after **וַיֹּאמֶר**, "and he said to the house of Israel."



tion. Verses 5 f. are addressed not to the Servant of Yahweh but to Cyrus; they expand the thought of 41:25; verses 7-9 expand 41:26-29. In this way everything has its true, natural force.

The terms employed in the address correspond precisely to those used in chap. 45 with reference to Cyrus:

אֲשֶׁר־הִחְזַקְתִּי בְיָמַי = וְאִחְזַק בְּיָדָךְ 45:1  
הַיְרַתְּהוּ בְצַדֶּךָ = קְרֹאתֶיךָ בְצַדֶּךָ 45:13

Compare also קְרֹאתֶיךָ with קְרֹאתִי 48:15.

Yahweh declares the purpose which he has in view with Cyrus. Cyrus is to set the captives free. The introduction, vs. 5, sums up the claims that have been made for Yahweh in the previous chapters, and forms an admirable backing for the work of Cyrus. The Almighty God, the creator of the world and of men, stands behind him in his undertaking. Omnipotence guarantees its complete success. The emphasis on "I, Yahweh," is at once clear when we remember the debate of chap. 41. Yahweh has called him, and no one else; for it is he who directs the affairs of the world. Yahweh watches over him and protects him (נָצַר); "unharméd" he goes from battle to battle (41:3), his life is charmed because it is in Yahweh's keeping. All this is plain, and stands out very clearly when applied to Cyrus. But now we come to the difficult לְבֵרִית עִם. Before we determine its meaning we should observe that the following phrase לְאֹר גִּזְיִם is not an original element of the text. The reasons for this assertion are, first, that it is missing in  $\mathfrak{G}^B$ , and therefore rightly omitted in Swete's edition; one cannot explain its omission, but very well its addition; second, it is missing in 49:8, where our passage is evidently quoted,<sup>8</sup> and where there would be no reason for its omission, on the contrary every reason for its addition if it had already been in the text of 42:6; for it would be strange indeed if it had been there and yet had been omitted, when in the following verse he speaks to *those who are in darkness*. It was thus not yet in the Hebrew text of the LXX, and it was not yet in the Hebrew text of the interpolator of 49:8*ba*. It was intro-

<sup>8</sup> Duhm, Marti.

duced into our passage by one who regarded the verses as addressed to the Servant of Yahweh, and in fact, he took the phrase from one of the Servant of Yahweh songs, 49:6.

With the recognition of this interpolation, one of the difficulties in determining the meaning of לְבָרִיתָ עָם is eliminated. It is clear from vs. 7, which defines Yahweh's purpose, that עָם must refer to Yahweh's people Israel. Moreover, it seems to the present writer that Duhm is quite right when he declares that the phrase has not been correctly preserved, and also that Duhm's proposal to read לְבָרִיתָ עָם for לְבָרִית עָם should be adopted. The change is exceedingly slight, merely ל for י. It is exactly what we expect in connection with the following.<sup>9</sup> Verse 7 follows quite naturally. It expresses the manner in which Cyrus shall be a blessing to the people: He shall "open blind eyes, bring out captives from the prison, and those who sit in darkness from the house of restraint." Cyrus shall be the agent of Yahweh in the restoration of his exiled people. The phrases do not fit the Servant of Yahweh, but are altogether appropriate in connection with Cyrus. And exactly in line with this is the conclusion in vss. 8 f., which looks back to the great argument of chap. 41: I, Yahweh, that is my name; I, not the idols, have done this. To Yahweh all the glory is due. He had prophesied things in the past; these prophecies had come true. Now he foretells something new that will also certainly come to pass, the release and restoration of Israel.

Taken thus the whole passage can, and must, be regarded as genuine, and is not to be given up as secondary with Duhm, Cheyne, and Marti.

#### 4. JEREMIAH 2:34

The second half of this verse is difficult. The latest commentator of Jeremiah, Cornill, does not translate it. If one looks over the many suggestions that have been made, it may be said that today there are two that commend themselves to many scholars. The one translates, "Not in the act of breaking

<sup>9</sup> The phrase לְבָרִיתָ עָם was already read by the LXX and by the interpolator of 49:8, so the corruption must be very old. It, also, is due to the fact that these verses were taken as referring to the Servant of Yahweh.

in didst thou find them," i. e., those whom thou hast slain were not detected in crime. Thus Brown-Driver-Briggs, *Hebrew Lexicon*, s. v. מִתְחַתֵּרִים; so already the Syriac version, the Targum, Hitzig, Graf, *et al.* The passage is then compared with Exod. 22:1, according to which such killing would be justified. This is not without difficulty, for if the murdered people are innocent, it is rather strange that we should be assured that they were not killed in the act of breaking in. But especially difficult, on this interpretation, is the following clause; כִּי עַל כָּל־אֵלֶּה could then only mean "but on account of all these," i. e. the aforementioned evil practices of nature-worship. And one might think of prophets and true Yahweh worshipers who were killed by them because of their protest against the wickedness of the people.

The other interpretation is that of Duhm, which Cornill regards as the most acceptable so far proposed. Duhm takes מִתְחַתֵּרִים concretely as "burglars," instead of abstractly as "burglary," and translates, "Not with burglars have I found it, but upon all these;" with "these" he points at certain well-known people. The "it" refers to הַיָּמִי, which must be read for יָמִים in the first half of the verse. In this Duhm rightly follows G and Giesebrecht. The reference of the whole clause would be to the human sacrifices which were offered in connection with the nature-worship which the people practiced so zealously. The difficulty with this view is that a burglar is not a type for a murderer; for one does not as a rule find blood on burglars, and this would be required here: Not with burglars—where of course everybody expects to find blood—have I found it, but upon all these! Moreover, the difference in the prepositions, בְּ with מִתְחַתֵּרִים and עַל with כָּל־אֵלֶּה, is inexplicable. So already Cornill. Nevertheless Duhm is in the main on the right track. That the reference cannot be to judicial murders is quite clear from the following, where the people are confident that Yahweh's wrath shall turn away from them, because they believe themselves guiltless (vs. 35). It must be connected with the religious practices.

The solution of the difficulties in this verse is in a slight emendation of the text. We should probably read בְּמִסְתָּרִים for

בְּמִסְתָּרוֹת.<sup>10</sup> The translation would be: "Not in hidden places have I found it (the blood), but upon all these." The antithesis is simple and natural. The murders have not been committed in secret, but openly; and the people declare in addition that they have brought no guilt on themselves thereby. Openly they carry the very traces of their crimes, of the sacrifices of children and slaves; they are not ashamed of them or afraid because of them; they think, on the contrary, that they have deserved mercy and forgiveness on account of them. Compare Mic., chap. 6. The people have the brazen forehead of a harlot, and refuse to be ashamed (3:3). A reading of the second and third chapters will show that this is entirely in line with the argument of the prophet. The change is simple and slight and the meaning that we get is exactly what is needed in this verse. It is significant that both Luther and A.V. instinctively felt this. Luther translated "und ist nicht heimlich, sondern offenbar an denselbigen Orten" and A.V. (also R.V. margin), "I have not found it by secret search but upon all these."<sup>11</sup>

#### 5. PSALM 32:2

Professor Briggs, in his commentary on the Psalms, has proved conclusively that the clause וְאֵין בְּרִיחִי רְמִיָּה introduces "a disturbing thought." As long as the poet refrained from confessing his sins he was in misfortune and sickness as the result of his sin. The sickness had been sent by God as a means of discipline; it should bring the sufferer to a confession of his sins. But he was obstinate, and as a result the hand of God rested very heavily upon him until it finally brought him to penitence and confession. When he had confessed he experienced at once God's forgiving grace. Of this he tells us in his psalm. It is evident that "the poet does not regard deceit, but the obstinate refusal to confess his sin, as the obstacle to the forgiveness of sins and the removal of misfortune" (Duhm). But may it not be possible that the poet wrote מִיִּי and not רְמִיָּה, "and in whose

<sup>10</sup> One is tempted to suggest בְּמִסְתָּרוֹת, but the feminine form does not occur in biblical or later Hebrew. This would require the change of but one letter.

<sup>11</sup> A.V. seems to have arrived at this meaning by connecting "digging" with "searching," digging for something hidden. The synonym הָפַר has both meanings, "dig" and "search for."

spirit there is no *rebellion*”? This would be exactly in line with what he says in the psalm.

There is, however, another argument against the genuineness of the clause, the argument from meter. “This clause adds a defective line to a strophe complete without it” (Briggs). This is held also by Bickell and Duhm. If this argument prevails, it will still be interesting and important to explain how this addition was made. For Professor Briggs himself has pointed out its striking character: “This renunciation of deceit of spirit is a very high ethical ideal, not appearing elsewhere in the Old Testament.” In view of this, and of the above-mentioned argument, it seems likely that the explanation of the origin of the reading **רַמְיָה** lies along the line before followed; viz., that the clause originally read, in harmony with the context, **בְּיָרִי**, which was mistaken for **רַמְיָה**.

#### 6. KING JAREB IN HOSEA 5:13, 10:6

Of the many explanations collected most fully by President Harper (*Amos and Hosea*, pp. 277 f.), the one that has commended itself as the best is the one which regards **מֶלֶךְ יָרֵב** as originally being **בְּלִלְכִי רָב** “the great king” = Assyr. šarru rabû, “the old nominal ending being retained because the whole expression was thought of as a proper name” (p. 273).<sup>12</sup> It is the king of Assyria according to this proposal who is meant by Hosea. And he is called by one of his titles of honor.

Now it is significant, that this title of honor is given nowhere else in the Old Testament to the king of Assyria by Israelites. In II Kings 18:19, 28 = Is. 36:4, 13 the Assyrian king is called **הַמֶּלֶךְ הַגָּדוֹל** by an Assyrian officer. This **הַמֶּלֶךְ הַגָּדוֹל** is the exact Hebrew translation of šarru rabû. If these points are kept in mind, it will be seen that the term **בְּלִלְכִי רָב** was not current among the people in Hosea’s time as a designation for the king of Assyria. Did Hosea, then, coin the phrase himself? That would imply that the man who protested with all his might

<sup>12</sup>The reading of **Ῥαբείμ** is due to corruption; probably the **ב** of the old Hebrew script was mistaken for **מ**. It has no claim to originality and should not be used to restore the reading **בְּלִלְכִי רָב**, which has no exact parallel in Assyrian, on which the whole explanation of the reading **מַלְכִי רָב** and **מַלְכִי רָם** depends.



against political alliances with Assyria and Egypt, who opposed most earnestly foreign and especially Assyrian influence, should have come under the influence of Assyrian speech to such an extent that he applies a name of honor to the very king with whom he wants Israel to have nothing to do. What possible reason could he have had, he of all men, to call the king of Assyria by his proud title? Only on one supposition could it be made probable that Hosea used this official name: if he referred to it sarcastically in addressing the princes and nobles, using a phrase which he might have heard at court. But there is no trace of sarcasm in 5:13 and 10:6 in the use of the phrase. In view of the difficulties which beset even this brilliant suggestion I venture to submit a new proposal. In brief it is this: King Jareb is no one else but King *Jeroboam*, ירֵב is a simple abbreviation of ירֵבֶּעִם. It is under King Jeroboam that Hosea prophesies (Hos. 1:1), and he is mentioned by name in the superscription of Hosea's book. That such abbreviations of names were not uncommon is well known; compare, e. g., Ahaz, whose full name was Jehoahaz, the Assyrians called him *Iauhazi*; or Coniah, Jechonia, Jehojachin; or, יְכִיָּאֵם I Chron. 24:23, where the Vatican text has *Ιακομ*, or Shalman for Shalmaneser (Hos. 10:14).

The passages read, then, as follows:

5:13 And Ephraim saw his sickness  
 And Israel<sup>13</sup> his sore  
 And Ephraim went to Asshur  
 And King Jeroboam sent (messengers) to him.

יֵרֵב is subject of the last clause. For אֵל read אֱלֹהֵי. The parallelism of the lines is perfect.

10:6a Yea, it itself shall be brought to Asshur  
 As a tribute of King Jeroboam.

יֵרֵב מִנְחָה לְמֶלֶךְ is not a tribute *for* King Jareb, but a tribute *of* King Jareb. I prefer to retain the Hebrew text rather than change it to מִנְחָת מֶלֶךְ, because it is indetermined. The different use of ל in the first half of the line does not speak against taking

<sup>13</sup>This explanation strengthens the argument against the originality of Judah in the verse.



it as above.—It is probably due to the **ב** in 10:6 and to the omission of the suffix with **ל** in 5:13 that scholars have always thought a foreign king, Assyrian, Egyptian, or Arabian, was referred to in these passages.

The historical situation under Jeroboam II has led historians to conclude that Assyria must have been responsible to a large extent for Israel's victories over Syria. "Jeroboam's own relations to Assyria," says George Adam Smith,<sup>14</sup> "have not been recorded either by the Bible or by the Assyrian monuments. It is hard to think that he paid no tribute to the 'King of Kings.'" Now, Hos. 5:13; 10:6 explicitly refer to the tribute of Jeroboam. Hos. 5:13 shows that in a time of great distress, when the nation had received a sore "wound," King Jeroboam turned to Assyria for help and "healing." It is highly probable that the Syrian danger is referred to here. Hosea is opposed to these political schemes. There is only one who can help Israel: Yahweh, and Him they have forsaken! Out of His hands no one, not even Assyria, can save them. Hos. 10:6 is not a reference to the past, but an announcement of future happenings. The political situation has not been remedied by seeking Assyrian help, as Hosea had said. Political alliances drain the strength of the nation (7:8). Hosea foresees the time when King Jeroboam will have to send not only the contents of the treasury of the temple at Bethel, but the golden calf as part of the tribute to Assyria. There is a grim sarcasm in the passage, though not in the phrase **בַּלֵּךְ יִרְבֶּה**; the golden bull, whom Hosea ridicules, will be sent as a present to Assyria. He cannot help, he is worth only the price of his gold. And then, the folly of it! It will be all of no avail, for the one who will destroy Israel is Yahweh; cf. 10:2 and 10:6, 8. None can avert the awful catastrophe.

In neither of these passages is Assyria the instrument of Yahweh, or is exile in Assyria contemplated by Hosea.

## 7. COMPOSITION OF HOSEA, CHAP. 2

In an article on "The Story of Hosea's Marriage" in *AJSL*, January, 1906, pp. 120-30, I tried to prove in regard to chap. 2

<sup>14</sup> "The Book of the Twelve Prophets," *Expositor's Bible*, 1898, Vol. I, p. 46.

that certain elements which have been regarded as secondary are in reality a part of Hosea's own story, telling of his determination to do with his adulterous wife as was customary with adulteresses. The following are the verses according to the numbers of the verses in the Hebrew text, which differ from those of the English Versions:

- I. 2:4a $\beta$  She is not my wife,  
And I am not her husband,  
2:6 And her children I will not pity,  
Because they are children of harlotry,  
2:7a For their mother has played the harlot,  
She that conceived them has done shamefully.  
2:12 And now will I uncover her shame  
Before the eyes of her lovers,  
And no man shall save her out of my hand.

There is, however, another part of Hosea's own story contained in vss. 4, 5 as Seesemann<sup>15</sup> and Meinhold<sup>16</sup> had already pointed out, but I had not seen their writings at the time. Meinhold thinks that vs. 3 belonged originally to the Hosea-story and restores it as follows, וַאֲמַר לְבָנַי יִזְרְעֵאל וְלֹא-עַמִּי וּלְרָחֵמָה "then said I [i. e., Hosea] to my sons Jezreel and Lo-'Ammi and to my daughter Lo-Ruhamah." This is a very ingenious and plausible suggestion. Perhaps we might restore a little more in harmony with the Massoretic Text as follows, וַאֲמַר לְיִזְרְעֵאל וְלֹא-עַמִּי וּלְרָחֵמָה "then said I to Jezreel and Lo-'Ammi and to their sister Lo-Ruhamah." One cannot, of course, be dogmatic about such a conjectural reconstruction. But the reconstructed verse forms an admirable introduction to the following, and one has but to read the verses in the light of the suggestion that they belong to the Hosea-story to feel how evident this is.

- II. 2:3 Then said I to Jezreel and Lo-'Ammi  
and to their sister Lo-Ruhamah,  
2:4\* Contend with your mother, contend,  
that she put away her whoredoms from her face,  
and her adulteries from between her breasts,  
2:5a Lest I strip her naked,  
and set her as in the day of her birth.

<sup>15</sup> *Israel und Judah bei Amos und Hosea nebst einem Exkurs über Hos. 1-3*, 1898, pp. 32-44.

<sup>16</sup> *Studien zur israelitischen Religionsgeschichte*, 1903, pp. 64-73.

This part belongs to an earlier stage of the story of Hosea than 1. Hosea tries to make his wife leave off from her adulterous practices. But in vain! Then comes the stern resolve of 1. Upon this follows chap. 3. I thought that this was all that we had of Hosea's story, and so I wrote "The story breaks off here. We are not told what Hosea did. But there can be no doubt that he obeyed the divine command."<sup>17</sup> But there is still another part, which Seesemann has correctly recognized: vs. 8, 9. It is again striking and interesting that these verses have been regarded as not original.<sup>18</sup> They are as follows:

- III.    2:8    Therefore, behold I will hedge up  
                  her way<sup>19</sup> with thorns,  
                  And I will build her a wall  
                  that she may not find her paths.  
      2:9    And when she follows her lovers  
                  she shall not overtake them;  
                  and when she seeks them she shall not find them.  
                  Then shall she say, I will go and return  
                  to my first husband,  
                  for it was better with me then than now.

Hosea shows us here how he fulfilled Yahweh's command of chap. 3. He will make it impossible for his wife to have further intercourse with her lovers. He seems to have put her away from his home. He does not supply her with means of living and makes it impossible for her to gain a living by harlotry. A period of suffering results which is intended as moral discipline for her, the result of which is to be her willing return to her husband.

With this Hosea-story there is now woven together the Israel-story, which tells of Israel and her husband Yahweh. It is interesting to see how closely connected the verses belonging to the Israel-story are, now that they are disentangled from the Hosea-story. The beginning is fragmentary.

<sup>17</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 125.

<sup>18</sup> Compare Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, p. 236.

<sup>19</sup> Massoretic text has "thy" way, Greek αὐτῆς.

2:5b . . . .

And I will make her as the wilderness,  
and set her like a dry land,  
and slay her with thirst;

2:7b For she said, I will go

after my lovers,  
Who give me my bread and my water,  
my wool and my flax,  
my oil and my drink.

2:10 And she did not know

that it was I who gave her  
The corn and the new wine and the oil  
and multiplied her silver and gold  
[which they used for Baal].

2:11 Therefore I will take back again

my corn in its time,  
and my wine in its season,  
And will pluck away my wool and my flax  
given to cover her nakedness.

2:13 And I will also cause to cease all her mirth,  
her feasts, her new moons and her sabbaths  
and all her festal assemblies.

The remaining verses of the chapter are all from the Israel-story. The one verse, which does not belong here is vs. 20, for it breaks the close connection between vss. 18, 19, and 21. In vs. 19 we must read *בִּמְפִיךָ*, out of *thy* mouth, instead of *מִמְפִּיָּהּ*; and in vs. 22 instead of *אֵת יְהוָה* read *אֵתִי*, which was regarded as an abbreviated *'אֵת יְהוָה = אֵתִי*. Both changes are obvious. On the genuineness of the disputed verses see *AJSL*, January, 1906, pp. 128 f.

There are thus these two stories, the Hosea-story and the Israel-story, woven together in chap. 2 almost as much as in Hosea's own life. It is not simply a literary interest, but a profound human interest in the life and suffering of this great prophet of love that makes the separation of these two stories so important.

## 8. ISAIAH 14:28

The arguments for placing the prophecy concerning Philistia, Isaiah 14:29-32, in the year when Sargon died, 705 B. C., appear to me conclusive. They need not be repeated here, for they are

well known. This date involves the admission that the superscription in vs. 28 is redactional and that its authority has to be given up, for it states that the oracle dates from the year in which King Ahaz died. But Winckler in his *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen*, pp. 135 ff., maintains that the introductory formula must be ancient and not the work of a redactor. And the genuine formulas in 6:1 and 20:1 so altogether similar to this one, attest the ancient character of 14:28. Winckler dates the oracle from the year 720 B. C. The difficulties connected with this date are formidable; compare Whitehouse, "Isaiah" in *The New Century Bible*, *ad loc.*, and also Marti, *Das Buch Jesaja*, *ad loc.*

The element of truth in Winckler's position is his insistence on the genuineness of vs. 28. But it is most improbable that King Ahaz was mentioned originally in the formula. The whole oracle shows that the king who had died and over whose death Philistia was exulting was King Sargon, and the new king, who would be a more terrible oppressor, was his successor Sennacherib. Whether the introductory sentence contained originally the name of Sargon, which later by some accident dropped out, we cannot tell, but it is evident from the oracle itself that we must explain "in the year of the King's death" as referring to Sargon's death in 705 B. C.

But how could anyone read Ahaz into the text? The reason is very simple: he misread the original text of Isaiah which must have been **בשנת־מות המלך ואֶחָזִה הַמֶּשָׂא הַזֶּה** "in the year of the King's (Sargon's) death I saw this oracle." For the construction compare Isa. 6:1: **בשנת־מות המלך עִזְהוּ וְאַרְאָה**, and for the combination of **הַזֶּה** with **מֶשָׂא** compare Hab. 1:1: **הַמֶּשָׂא אֲשֶׁר הַזֶּה**; Isa. 13:1: **מֶשָׂא בָּבֶל אֲשֶׁר הַזֶּה**. The term **מֶשָׂא** for oracle was a popular term in the time of Jeremiah and there is no reason why the term **מֶשָׂא** and the phrase **הַזֶּה מֶשָׂא** should not have been used by Isaiah.

The restoration of the original text is extremely simple, involves a minimum of change, is in accord with the prevailing idea concerning the date, and regards an introduction as original, which the interesting genuine formulas of dating in Isaiah vouch for.

Of course, if the name Sargon was originally in the text, following **הַמֶּלֶךְ**, which, however, I do not know, the misreading could take place only after it had been omitted for some reason or other. The misreading was a very natural mistake and involved that the **ה** at the end of **אַחַז** was regarded as an abbreviation of **הָיָה**. The whole process can easily be seen by placing the two texts together:

בִּשְׁנֵי־מֵאוֹת הַמֶּלֶךְ וְאַחַז הַמֶּשֶׁא הָזֶה  
בִּשְׁנֵי־מֵאוֹת הַמֶּלֶךְ אַחַז הָיָה הַמֶּשֶׁא הָזֶה



# THE ORIGIN OF SOME CUNEIFORM SIGNS

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GEORGE A. BARTON



## THE ORIGIN OF SOME CUNEIFORM SIGNS

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Professor Friedrich Delitzsch, to whose industry and scholarship Assyriology owes so much, was the first to attempt a systematic explanation of the origin of all the cuneiform signs. Up to the publication of his *Entstehung des ältesten Schriftsystems, oder der Ursprung der Keilschriftzeichen*, Leipzig, 1897, it had been taken for granted that the cuneiform signs originated in hieroglyphic pictures, although for a large part of them no one had been able to suggest a hieroglyphic form. In reality the origin of about two hundred of them remained unexplained. Delitzsch, in the work mentioned, proposed a new theory of the origin of many of these. While admitting that certain signs originated in pictures, and that others were formed by combinations of pictures, or by doubling and tripling original pictures, he set forth the fact that the Babylonian scribes themselves recognized certain signs as gunus of simpler signs, i. e., as Delitzsch holds, they were made from the simpler signs by adding three or more wedges, sometimes in one position, sometimes in another. In meaning these gunued signs expressed, in Delitzsch's opinion, a "heightening" or "potentializing" of the meaning of the simple signs. From this Delitzsch went a step farther, and inferred that besides this potentializing motif the Babylonian scribes employed many other motifs, each one of which expressed some abstract idea, and that our present syllabary is largely composed of signs artificially formed by combinations of these motifs.

This theory of Delitzsch, although Hommel protested against it at the Oriental Congress in Paris in 1897, has been pretty generally regarded with favor by Assyriologists. Among American scholars Professor Kent<sup>1</sup> has approved and amplified it, and Professor Prince<sup>2</sup> accepts its explanations for most of the signs.

<sup>1</sup> *The American Journal of Semitic Languages*, XIII, 200 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Materials for a Sumerian Lexicon*, *passim*.

The authority of Delitzsch's great name and the fact that the theory gave us a semblance of knowledge where before we had only ignorance, led the present writer at first to regard the work of Delitzsch with favor.<sup>3</sup> As my Semitic Seminary was devoted in the year 1901-2 to Old Babylonian inscriptions, I was led to study the whole subject anew, and became convinced that Delitzsch's theory is too abstract<sup>4</sup> to fit the primitive conditions in which the cuneiform signs originated. The discovery was then made that in early times the picture of an object was often made in different ways according to the pleasure of the writer, that in later times there was a struggle for survival between these variant forms, and that what the later scribes regarded as *gunus* of a simple sign is in most cases simply the survival of a variant picture<sup>4</sup> of that simple sign. Miss Ellen Seton Ogden, who was a member of the Semitic Seminary in that year, deserves in part the credit of making this discovery with me, and is now at work upon a dissertation in which she will prove that any account of the origin of cuneiform writing based upon the *gunu* theory of the Babylonian scribes is necessarily as little like the real origin of them as a history of Israel based upon the P document would be like the real history of that people. Any sound method of investigation must first take into account the earliest known forms; secondly, it must take into account *all* the simple ideographic meanings, not simply a few of the most common, as Delitzsch has done; and thirdly, it must follow the psychological principle that the picture originally represented some objective thing, and be able to show how the various meanings came, by psychological processes, to be attached to the picture in question. In applying these principles one will naturally be compelled to make allowances in many cases for a mixture of the meanings of two signs. Such mixture has arisen, first, from a similarity of the forms of two signs, and, secondly, from similarity in the sounds of the names of the objects which the primitive signs represented. These would seem to be the sound principles on which to investigate this subject, though in so complicated a problem these will not always enable us to arrive at certain results.

<sup>3</sup> See the writer's *Semitic Origins*, 161.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *JAOS*, XXIII, 28, n. 17.

The writer hopes to publish within a few months an investigation of the whole cuneiform syllabary based upon these principles. In the present article he takes the opportunity of presenting in advance a few of the results in a form different from that which in the larger work the complicated nature of the material will render necessary.


Egyptologists are accustomed to arrange the Egyptian hieroglyphs under such headings as "figures of men," "figures of women," "members of the human body," "quadrupeds," "parts of quadrupeds," "implements,"<sup>5</sup> etc. We can now begin to do the same for Babylonia, though our lists under each heading are as yet much briefer than the Egyptian lists. In the following pages but a few of the writer's results are presented, and those presented are selected almost at random. An effort has been made to illustrate the possibility of introducing into the cuneiform syllabary the same classification which Egyptologists use in arranging the hieroglyphs. Thus in the following table under A are grouped human forms; under B, parts of the human body; under C, animal forms; under D, parts of animals; E, birds; F, fishes; G, trees and plants; H, water and canals; I, houses and their parts; J, implements and vessels; K, articles of apparel; L, fire. Had space permitted, the examples under several of these heads might have been made more numerous, and several additional classes might have been added. In the first part of the table a tolerably complete genealogy of the later forms is in each case given, but from class G, No. 2, onward, only a few of the forms of each sign are presented. This compression for the sake of economizing space does not seriously affect the illustrative examples. No effort has been made to follow the archaic revival of old forms which may be seen in many of the records of Assyrian Neo-Babylonian kings. That is sufficiently done in Amiaud and Méchineau's *Tableau Comparé*. The principles on which this work is done must in the present article be presented by illustration rather than by full demonstration.

The sign in A, 1 has long been correctly recognized as the picture of a man.<sup>6</sup> A, 2, Delitzsch regards as the picture of a

<sup>5</sup> See the tables in the Egyptian grammars of Brugsch and Erman. Hommel followed this method in the paper read at the Paris Congress of Orientalists, but I was unable to procure a copy of his article until after this essay had been sent to press.

<sup>6</sup> So, Houghton, *TSBA*, VI, 462, and Delitzsch, *Ursprung der Keilschriftzeichen*, 23.

man, plus the motif for 'great,'<sup>7</sup> but Rylands made a suggestion, which is quoted and approved by Houghton,<sup>8</sup> that it is the picture of a man surmounted by a crown or umbrella. This suggestion is, I believe, on the right track. Primitive Babylonian sheiks or kings, like many others, wore a magnificent headdress, out of which the crowns of later time were developed, and this motif for 'great' is nothing but a rude representation of this primitive headdress.<sup>9</sup> In considering A, 3, the ideographic meanings do not aid us, as the one meaning given (Kakasiga, S<sup>b</sup>, IV, 27) has not yet been successfully translated; but the form suggests that the original was the picture of a man standing with one arm bent and the hand resting on the hip. A, 4 of the table is a difficult sign, as among its ideographic meanings there are none which designate objective concrete things. The meanings are: 'seize,' 'go out,' 'be high,' 'be full,' 'flaming' or 'brilliant,' 'lift up,' 'lifting up' (of the hands in prayer), 'pardon,' 'be high,' 'be heavy,' 'to honor.' The earliest form of the sign which we have is considerably removed from a pictograph, but is still sufficiently close to suggest that its original was the picture of a king wearing his primitive headdress, standing with one hand resting on his hip and the other outstretched.

B, 1 represented the legs of a man (cf. the Egyptian , Erman, *Aeg. Grammatik*, 2d ed., p. 208, No. 96). These strong legs were apparently in accordance with Semitic ideas used to denote strength. (Cf. "He delighteth not in the strength of the horse, he taketh no pleasure in the legs of a man," Ps. 147:10.) By natural psychological processes it then came to signify 'deeds,' 'fight,' 'wrath,' 'anger,' and 'rise against.' B, 2, as Delitzsch has recognized,<sup>10</sup> represents the buttocks, and so naturally came to stand for 'later,' 'after,' 'future.' B, 3, 4, and 5 form an interesting series. B, 3 is a head; B, 4 the same with two lines which represent the lips, while the analogy of the development of these two, as shown by a comparison of their genealogies, makes it clear that B, 5 represented a head to the face of which a beard was attached. This apparently suggested a full-grown man, hence we have the meanings 'strength,' 'be strong,' 'protection.' These

<sup>7</sup> UKZ, pp. 103 ff.<sup>8</sup> TSB, VI, 462 n. 1.<sup>9</sup> Cf. below, K, 2.<sup>10</sup> Nachwort, p. 45, n. 1.



naturally suggest the opposite, 'fear,' which became also one of the meanings. It would also stand for an old man, hence it signifies 'be old,' 'rest.' It also represents two deities, Šalulu and Šalmu. Was it because these gods were pictured with beards? Delitzsch<sup>11</sup> makes much of the fact that the Assyrian scribes (*S<sup>a</sup>*, II, 42) call this sign a gunu of B, 1. That was natural in later times when the old pictorial form was lost, but research now makes it clear that originally the sign was born not because an abstract potentializing motif was attached to a picture of a head, but because it pictured a head with a beard. B, 6 was evidently originally a rude outline of a head and neck. Its position is the reverse of B, 3. Perhaps this was to emphasize the idea of the neck. This picture expresses directly the meanings 'neck,' 'head,' and 'man.' Through the meaning 'head' the meanings 'front,' 'totality,' etc., might attach themselves to the sign. Through the meaning 'man,' that of 'brother,' 'side,' etc., came to be expressed by it. Through 'front,' it might come to signify 'fight,' though this meaning may have been suggested by the severed head. How it came to mean 'house,' 'door,' 'beam,' 'peg,' and 'land,' it is difficult to tell, unless there was a mixture with pictures of houses (I, 3, 4, or 5). B, 7, explained by Delitzsch<sup>12</sup> as gunu, is probably, as comparison with B, 6 shows, a neck and head surmounted by some sort of headdress or burden. Its one meaning is 'tribute.' Whether it pictured tribute brought on the head, as portrayed on the black obelisk of Shalmaneser, or whether the severed head itself, often bound with a costly turban, was tribute or booty, it is difficult to say. Perhaps this and the preceding sign were pictured reversed to indicate that the head was severed from the body, in which case the head itself would be the 'tribute.' B. 8 is evidently the left shoulder, arm, and hand. Its one ideographic meaning is 'left.' B, 9, 10, 12, and 13 have long been recognized as of phallic origin,<sup>13</sup> but B, 11 has not before been satisfactorily explained. Delitzsch (*op. cit.*, 177 ff.), explains it as compounded of a motif for direction plus a motif which he cannot explain. The earliest

<sup>11</sup> UKZ, 63. That the scribes sometimes grouped as gunu signs which had not even a common origin may be seen by comparing *Sc*, 19 with Thureau-Dangin's *Recherches*, Nos. 447 and 91.

<sup>12</sup> UKZ, 123.

<sup>13</sup> Oppert, *Exp. en Mésopotamie*, II, 111, 115; Delitzsch, UKZ, 93, 28 ff.

form of the sign bears a striking resemblance to a clay phallus found at Ashur and pictured in the *Mittheilungen der deutsch. Orients-Gesellschaft*, No. 22 (June, 1904), p. 26, and I have no doubt represented an ithyphallus. Such a picture would naturally express 'unto,' 'in,' 'in the midst of,' 'out from,' 'with,' 'desire,' etc. B, 14 has also long been recognized<sup>14</sup> as a foot, though until a few years since no such perfect picture had been found as that in an inscription published by Scheil (*Délégation en Perse*, II, 130).



Class C represents animals. No. 1 was probably the picture of a donkey, as in proto-Elamitic, or a donkey's head and neck, as apparently in the Hoffman tablet. Delitzsch's explanation (*op. cit.*, 149), seems unnatural in comparison. The meanings 'ass' and 'horse' confirm this origin. C, 2 was evidently the picture of a pig. This the one ideographic meaning, 'swine,' confirms.

In Class D, No. 1 is the picture of the tuft of the tail of some animal, as a cow or lion. Our form comes from the time of Sargon, however, and what the first perpendicular sign represents it is impossible to tell. As an ideogram it means 'tail,' 'part of an animal or human body,' and possibly 'fly'—meanings easily suggested by the picture. D, 2 represents a dressed animal hung up by the hind legs and cut open in front, such as may be seen both in the East and West where meat is dressed upon farms. It means 'flesh.' D, 3, 4, and 5 represent teats. Possibly D 5 is that of a human breast. This origin most satisfactorily accounts for all their meanings. This origin proposed for D 3 and 5 is not new,<sup>15</sup> but so far as I know D 4 has not been so explained; but the forms and the meanings ('fat,' 'oil,' 'bright,' 'full,' 'satisfied,' etc.) combine to prove this. D, 6 and 7 are pictures of the head of an ox, differing only in that one represents the eyes and the other does not.

Class E contains pictures of birds. Nos. 1 and 2 are too clear


<sup>14</sup> See Oppert, *EM*, II, 108, and Delitzsch, *UKZ*, 16, 28.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Ball, *PSBA*, XIII, 491, who mentions this explanation for D, 3 only to reject it. Ball's objection that it did not also mean 'milk' loses its force when we know that variant pictures of the same thing had that meaning. Cf. also for D, 5 Prince, *Sumerian Lex.*, 111, who gets at the meaning, 'teat,' in a roundabout and artificial way after the manner of Delitzsch. It is far more probable that it was the simple picture of a 'teat.'

to need comment.<sup>16</sup> No. 3 is a bird and an egg. This had apparently never been suspected until the researches of Thureau-Dangin brought to light the pictorial form. This form satisfactorily accounts for the ideographic meanings, 'to bear,' 'a son which is borne,' 'some sexual organ' (possibly 'clitoris'), 'kin' or 'family,' 'womb' or 'inclosure.' By a natural psychological process, 'impetuous,' 'strong,' and 'to fear' became attached to it also. E, 4, which means 'raven' and 'bird,' is shown by analogy with the developed forms of E, 1, as well as by the meanings, to have been originally the picture of a bird also. E, 5 has long been a puzzle. Its meanings: 'young offspring,' 'young ox,' (or 'child'), 'cattle,' 'kid,' 'gazelle,' are all derivable from a single idea. Delitzsch (*op. cit.*, 160) holds that it is compounded of , 'gazelle,' plus , 'crowd.' When, however, we compare this sign with the egg in E, 3, and with the way in which the bird forms (E, 1, 2, and 3) developed in Babylonian writing, it becomes clear that this sign was the picture of a young bird in process of being hatched from an egg. This view, when natural psychological association is taken into consideration, would account for all the meanings. It stood for young bird and then was used to signify other young animals.

Class F includes pictures of fishes. F, 1 is evidently the diagram of a fish.<sup>17</sup> This would account for the meanings: 'fish,' 'to peel' (on account of preparing a fish for eating), 'the god Ea,' because he was represented in the form of a fish;<sup>18</sup> then from the greatness of Ea it came to stand for 'prince,' 'great,' and 'very much.' F, 2 and 3 have long been recognized as fishes,<sup>19</sup> though Delitzsch (*op. cit.*, 63 ff.) follows the Babylonian scribes in regarding No. 3 as a gunu of No. 2. The meanings 'monster,' 'broad,' 'fat,' are equally explained on the supposition that the picture represented a larger fish with a dorsal fin.

<sup>16</sup> On E, 1 see Hommel, *Sum. Lex.*, No. 67; Hilprecht, *OBI*, Pt. II, 35, n. 4; Ball, *PSBA*, XIII, 378 and XX, 16 ff.; also Barton, *JAOS*, XXII, 121. On E, 2 cf. Oppert, *EM*, II, 108, and Houghton, *TSBA*, VI, 464.

<sup>17</sup> Sayce, quoted by Houghton, *TSBA*, VI, 470, explained it as a scepter which a prince carried; Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 343, regards it as originally a weapon; while Delitzsch, *UKZ*, 161 ff., compounds it of , 'man,' plus the gunu signs.

<sup>18</sup> See Barton, *Semitic Origins*, pp. 91 and 196.

<sup>19</sup> See Oppert, *EM*, II, p. 108, and Delitzsch, *UKZ*, 70 ff.

In Class G we have placed trees and plants. G, 1 (unless the sign has been written the other end up from the usual method) is a potted plant. If reversed, it may be the picture of a pine or cypress. Its chief meanings are 'garden' and 'cypress' or 'pine.' G, 2 represents two plants growing in a pot. Its two clear meanings are 'plant' and 'garment.' The latter meaning was probably attached to the sign through the use of flax as material for clothing. G, 3 Delitzsch has rightly said<sup>20</sup> is a plant or tree growing in (or by) water. G, 4 and 6 are reeds;<sup>21</sup> G, 5 two trees growing. All the meanings of these signs have grown out of ideas suggested by these pictures. G, 7, as has long been recognized, represents two heads of grain.<sup>22</sup> G, 8, representing a palm tree, in early times was expressed through variant pictures. The picture which survived, as Professor Hommel suggested to me in a private letter after reading *Semitic Origins*, pp. 105 ff., was the picture of a palm tree growing in the midst of irrigating ditches, the tops of which were blowing in the wind as shown in the following sketch:<sup>23</sup>



Under H are grouped water and canals. H, 1, the wavy lines for water, resembles both the early Chinese<sup>24</sup> (≈) and the Egyptian<sup>25</sup> (≡) characters. A common psychological impulse underlies the mode of expression in these widely different centers of evolution. H, 2 represents the little irrigating ditches by which gardens are irrigated. One sees them everywhere in the East.<sup>26</sup> H, 3 is not so certain. Hommel has suggested (see Delitzsch, *Nachwort*, p. 19) that it is the picture of a leathern bottle, and so suggested 'desert.' It seems to me more probable that it is a rude outline of the lower Mesopotamian valley with its two great rivers and (in early times) occasional sections of irrigated and so

<sup>20</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 131 ff.

<sup>21</sup> No. 6 is not a *gunu* of No. 4, but a picture of a larger variety of reed, as the earliest form makes evident.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Houghton, *TSBA*, VI, 475; Ball, *PSBA*, XX, 19; and Delitzsch, *UKZ*, 125 ff. Ball and Delitzsch are not so specific as Houghton.

<sup>23</sup> For previous explanations, see Ball, *PSBA*, XVI, 193, and Delitzsch, *op. cit.*, 144 ff.

<sup>24</sup> See Chalfant, *Early Chinese Writing* (Pittsburg, 1906), Pl. VI, No. 84.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Erman, *op. cit.*, p. 217, No. 55.

<sup>26</sup> So Delitzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

fertile land. That would account for the meanings 'plain,' 'lands,' etc. By an extension of the latter meaning it came to signify 'desert,' 'elevated country,' and then 'back.'

Class I includes houses and their parts. I, 1 is probably lattice-work to suggest a reed house. I, 3, 4, and 5 are perhaps reed houses built on stilts. One of them represents the river in overflow, as the fish in the lower story shows. Possibly Nos. 3 and 4 were intended to represent the common reed hut of the country with a band about it to hold it together.<sup>27</sup> I, 2 is clearly a picture of an oriental door.<sup>28</sup> One sees them in many places closely resembling this, with a door socket at the bottom, the revolving post standing in it, and the door considerably raised above the threshold.

Class J includes implements. Nos. 1, 2, and 3 are clearly arrows. Hilprecht (*OBI*, Pt. II, p. 35) is much more nearly right than Delitzsch as to the origin of J, 2. J, 4, 5, 6, and 7 are different forms of nets. J, 4 was shaped somewhat like a modern insect net and is represented as held by the two hands. This view is confirmed by the meanings. The concrete meanings are a 'net' and 'pit'(?). These are just the objective meanings from which the others can be psychologically derived or suggested, e.g., 'throw down,' 'remove,' 'to storm,' 'to take,' 'to spoil,' etc. By variation and extension of these the sign was used to express 'to bring,' 'to think,' 'to protect,' 'to love,' and the 'goddess Ishtar.' The last meaning was probably attached to it because the goddess ensnared men; then 'to love' was associated with it because of the goddess. J, 5 and 7 Delitzsch correctly recognized as nets,<sup>29</sup> though as the oldest form of J, 6 had not come to light when Delitzsch wrote he went astray in explaining that sign.<sup>30</sup> It is in reality a net reversed, and as J, 5 naturally expresses 'overthrow,' 'curse,' 'cord,' 'rope,' 'sinew,' so No. 6, 'a snare rendered impotent,' suggested by the fact that it was a snare, 'fear,' 'be afraid,' then,

<sup>27</sup> See Peters, *Nippur*, II, 74 ff.; Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands*, 160; Clay, *Light on the Old Testament from Babel*, p. 282.

<sup>28</sup> Oppert, *EM*, II, 108, was on the right track, calling it a column and lintel. Lehmann, *Litteratur Centralblatt*, January 8, 1898, suggested the right explanation.

<sup>29</sup> *UKZ*, 165 ff.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 97 ff. He explains it as composed of two gunu motifs.



from its position 'to wash' and 'anoint,' washing and anointing having such a prominent part to play in removing spells; then, as a special extension of this line of meanings it denoted a class of priests who attended to such matters.

The group J, 8-J, 14 consists of pictures derived from various forms of pottery.<sup>31</sup> J, 8 is a clay bowl for measuring, having a round bottom such that it could be easily held in the hand.<sup>32</sup> J, 9 is probably a jar with a pointed bottom, such as one often sees in the East, though the meanings in this case are too uncertain to help in identifying the picture. J, 10 is shown by analogy with the other signs derived from pictures of jars to be derived from the representation of such an object.<sup>33</sup> Here as in other cases the jar is made to stand for some special thing that a jar could contain. Possibly they had a special type of jar for honey. At all events this ideogram was ultimately limited, as appears from our present information, to 'honey' and 'good.' J, 11 is a common drinking-jug, similar to those one sees often in the East, set on a rude stool, such as may be found today.<sup>34</sup> It signified 'a vessel,' then, 'abundance,' then, possibly because of its pressure on the base, it expressed 'oppression,' and 'distress.' J, 12 and 13 are variant pictures of the same kind of drinking-jar as that pictured in No. 11, though without the stool or base. The only real difference is that one has a line of ornamentation on the side and the other does not. In usage the ornamented one was used to suggest 'strong drink,' then, by a natural process of association, 'speak,' and 'approach,' while the plain one signified simply 'vessel' or 'pot.' J, 14 was a jar of a different form. The one or two lines of ornamentation on it were transformed by the later scribes into the sign for water. This fact indicates that we should be cautious in assuming, except in the presence of very early epigraphic evidence, that a sign is composed by putting together two others.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>31</sup> See de Morgan's pottery series of proto-Elamite signs, in *Recueil de travaux*, XXVII, 237 ff.

<sup>32</sup> First identified by Barton, *JAOS*, XXIII, 24.

<sup>33</sup> In *JAOS*, XXIII, 24 I made a tentative guess at the original of this—a bee entering a hive—which I now abandon.

<sup>34</sup> One ought, perhaps, to compare such bases for holding jars as are pictured in Ben-zinger's *Heb. Archaeologie*, pp. 252 ff.

<sup>35</sup> Delitzsch, *UKZ*, 168 ff., makes this inference.



J, 15 is the picture of a covered and probably a steaming pot.<sup>36</sup> It therefore represented 'rejoicing,' 'exulting,' 'bursting forth,' and probably on account of its heat, the opposite idea of 'be afraid' (galadu).

Under K, I have classed signs which I regard as originally representations of articles of clothing, although I am aware that my opinion in the case of one of them rests on uncertain evidence. K, 1 I regard as a picture of some article of clothing of a priest, and K, 2 the headdress of a sheik or king. It is true that the oldest forms of K, 1 known to us do not resemble anything closely enough to be certainly identified. It seems clear, however, that two different pictures have been blended in the sign.<sup>37</sup> In order to form an opinion as to the origin, we must call in the assistance of the meanings. They are 'a cistern' (?) or 'precious stone' (alallu), 'road' or 'progress' (alaktu), 'to make sweet,' 'man' or 'lord,' 'wool,' an 'offering,' 'gift' or 'almoner,' 'a seal,' 'to count,' 'number,' 'a kind of tree,' 'god Marduk,' 'to cut off,' 'an officer,' 'a jar,' 'a signet,' and 'a priest.' Such a list appears at first to be a hopeless mixture. As Thureau-Dangin has noted, however, the meanings, 'water-holder' and 'jar'<sup>37</sup> have been attached to this sign through a mixture with J, 14. Of the other meanings, 'wool' is an objective and primitive one, and I suspect that the picture represented some priestly breastplate or headdress, made of that material, that the sign came to stand accordingly for 'priest,' and that the other meanings were gradually associated with the sign in consequence of the duties of a priest. Of course, however, the discovery of an earlier text may show that this view is mistaken.<sup>38</sup>

K, 2 has already been treated above under A, 2. I believe it was the headdress of a sheik or a king, and for that reason came to be the symbol for 'great.' Its occurrence in one text separated from the head of the king,<sup>39</sup> when one considers the freedom of

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Barton, *JAOS*, XXII, 127, n. 2.

<sup>37</sup> I cannot agree with Thureau-Dangin, *Supplément*, No. 419, that the two forms were originally the same.

<sup>38</sup> Delitzsch, *UKZ*, 168 ff., regards it as a system of canals.

<sup>39</sup> Thureau-Dangin, *Supplément*, No. 99.

treatment which the ancient scribes allowed themselves, does not disprove that view.

L, 1 is a primitive bowl into which two tinder sticks are inserted to ignite them by friction.<sup>40</sup> It stood accordingly for 'fire,' 'smith,' etc. L, 2, meaning 'brightness,' 'new,' 'shining,' was a representation of a torch. 'Pour out' is a meaning attached to it by psychological association.

### NOTE

The abbreviations in the following table will nearly all be readily recognized by Assyriologists. The following, perhaps, need explanation:

*Déc.* = de Sarzec's *Découvertes en Chaldée*.

*Délégation* or *Dél.* = J. de Morgan's *Délégation en Perse*.

*HLC* = Barton's *Haverford Library Collection of Cuneiform Tablets*, Philadelphia, 1905.

Manistusu = the inscription of that monarch published in *Délégation*, Vol. II.

Ranke = *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts*, Vol. VI.

*Rec.* = Thureau-Dangin, *Recherches sur l'origine de l'écriture cunéiforme*.

*RTC* = Thureau-Dangin's *Recueil de tablettes chaldéennes*, Paris, 1903.

















*Sup.* = *Supplément* to Thureau-Dangin's *Recherches*.

Tablet  = an unpublished archaic tablet.






















*UKZ* = Delitzsch's *Entstehung des ältesten Schriftsystems oder Ursprung der Keilschriftzeichen*, Leipzig, 1897.



































<sup>40</sup>Delitzsch, *op. cit.*, 178 and Prince, *Sumerian Lexicon*, p. 58, have thus correctly explained it.

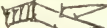

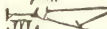
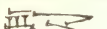

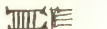

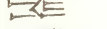





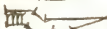




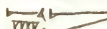














A. 1

		Ur-Nina, <i>Déc.</i> Pl. 2 <sup>bis</sup> , No. 2.	
		Eannadu, <i>Déc.</i> Pl. 3, A, III, 4.	
		Lugalzaggisi, OBI, No. 87, I, 7.	
		Maništusu, Face A, XII, 6 and 14.	
		Gudea Statue, B, VIII, 3.	
		<sup>III</sup> Ur. HLC, Pl. 2, No. 379, I, 1.	
		Ḥammurabi, <i>Laws</i> , X, 3.	
		Ḥammurabi, <i>Letters</i> , No. 17, 7.	
		El-Amarna, Berlin, No. 8, 20.	
		Cassite, Clay, Vol. XIV, No. 167, 23.	
		" " " " " 91a, 26	
		Nebuchad. I, I, 38.	
		Assyrian, e. g. Assurb. VR. 1, 58.	
		Neo-Bab. e. g. Strassm. <i>Nab.</i> No. 6, 15.	




































A. 2

		En-šag-kuš-an-na, OBI, No. 90, 2.	
		Ur-Nina, <i>Déc.</i> Pl. 2 <sup>bis</sup> , No. 1.	
		Eannadu. <i>Déc.</i> Pl. 4, A, I, 5.	
		Mešelim, <i>Déc.</i> Pl. 1 <sup>er</sup> , No. 2.	
		Lugalzaggisi, OBI, No. 87, I, 2.	
		Maništusu, Face C, XXII, 18.	
		Sargon, OBI, No. 1, I, 3.	
		Pre-Sargonic, JCI, No. 1, env. II, 4.	
		Gudea Statue, B, VII, 14.	
		Gudea Cyl. A, VII, 1	
		<sup>III</sup> Ur, e. g. HLC, Pl. 47, No. 376, rev. 12.	
		Ḥammurabi, <i>Laws</i> , I, 2, and <i>passim</i> .	
		Period of Ḥammurabi, Ranke, No. 28, 25.	
		El-Amarna, Berl., No. 104, 1, and <i>passim</i> .	
		Cassite, Clay, Vol. XIV, No. 56, 9.	
		Nebuchad. I, I, 2.	
		Assyrian, Tig-pil I, IR. 9, 12.	
		Assyr. Assurb VR. 1, 2.	
		Neo-Bab. e. g. Strassm. <i>Nab.</i> No. 2, 6.	








































A. 3	  <p>Maništusu, Face D. IV, 4 and 9.</p>  <p>Sargon, unedited photo, cf. Thureau-Dangin, <i>Rec.</i> No. 314.</p>  <p>Sargon, TCI, No. 44, rev. 1.</p>  <p>Gudea Cyl. A, II, 5.</p>  <p>III Ur, HLC, Pl. 24, No. 27, VIII, 10.</p>  <p>Ur, Reisner, <i>Urkunden</i>, No. 106, 1.</p>  <p>Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i>, I, 57.</p>  <p>I Dynasty of Babylon, Ranke, No. 112, 3.</p>  <p>El-Amarna, Berlin, No. 38, 4.</p>  <p>Nebuchad. I, I, 22.</p>  <p>Assyrian, e. g. Tig-Pil. I. I R, 15, 64.</p>  <p>Neo-Bab. e. g. Strassm. <i>Nab.</i> No. 839, 5.</p>	
A. 4	  <p>Ur-kagina, <i>Déc.</i> p. LI, No. 4, IX, 2.</p>   <p>Ur-Nina, <i>Déc.</i> p. XXXVII, No. 10, 4, 3.</p>  <p>Lugalzaggisi, OBI, No. 87, II, 42.</p>  <p>Maništusu, Face C, XVII, 1.</p>  <p>Gudea Statue, E, VII, 3.</p>  <p>III Ur, HLC, Pl. 21, No. 11, rev. 3.</p>  <p>" " " 3, " 17, II, 3</p>  <p>" " " 9, " 18, V, 6.</p>  <p>Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i>, II, 12.</p>  <p>I Dynasty of Babylon, Ranke, No. 84, 34.</p>  <p>Neo-Bab. e. g. Strassm. <i>Nebuchad.</i> No. 193, 6.</p>  <p>Assyrian, e. g. IVR<sup>2</sup>, 27, 48a.</p>	
B. 1	  <p>Eannadu, <i>Déc.</i> Pl. 4, A, VI, 1</p>  <p>Maništusu, Face D, XI, 13</p>  <p>Pre-Sargonic, CT, V, No. 22506, IV, 2; also Gudea Statue, G, II, 10.</p>	
















































	 Pre-Sargonic, OBI, No. 11, obv. 6.  " " " " " " 7.  Gudea Cyl. A, I, 14.  III Ur, HLC, Pl. 9, I, 2 etc.  " " " 23, No. 29, III, 23.  " " " 22, VI, 16.  Hammurabi Laws, XLIV, 53.  I Dynasty of Babylon, Ranke, No. 112, 9.  El-Amarna, Berlin, No. 24, Rs. 91.  Cassite, Clay, Vol. XIV, No. 73, 34.  " " " " 73, 29, 37, 38.  Nebuchad. I, I, 51.  Assyrian, e. g. NE. 115, 30.  Neo-Bab. e.g. Strassm. Nab. No. 188, 16.	
B. 2	  TCI, No. I, II, 4.  Gudea Statue, G, II, 10.  Gudea Cyl. B, XV, 13.  " " " XXIV, 17.  I Dynasty of Babylon, Ranke, List, No. 82.  Cassite, Clay, Vol. XIV, No. 131, 12.  Assyrian, e. g. CT, XIII, 16, 48.  Neo-Bab. Peiser, KAS, No. XII, 23.	
B. 3	  Blau, Monument A, rev. 3.  Déc. Pl. 1 <sup>bis</sup> , No. 1, b, II, 2.  Eannadu, Déc. 4 <sup>ter</sup> , F <sub>2</sub> , II, 1.  Entemena, CT, X, 1, 21.  Lugalzaggisi, OBI, No. 87, III, 35.  Pre-Sargonic, RCT, No. [4], II, 4.  Maništusu, Face A, VIII, 7.	




































B. 4







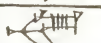





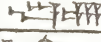






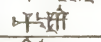






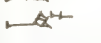







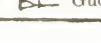



	 Gudea Cyl. A, I, 25; also III Ur, HLC, Pl. 38,  Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i> , XXXVI, 89. [I, 6.  El-Amarna, Berlin, No. 90, 16.  Tiglath-Pileser, I, IR, 9, 81.  Assyrian, e. g. VR, 4, 18 (Assurb.).  Neo-Bab., e. g. Strassm. <i>Nab.</i> No. 1, 4.	
	 Blau, Monument A, obv. II, 3.  <i>Déc.</i> Pl. 1 <sup>ter</sup> , No. 5, II, 4.  Eannadu, <i>Déc.</i> 4 <sup>ter</sup> , F <sup>2</sup> , III, 5.  Lugalzaggisi, OBI, No. 87, I, 28.  " " " " III, 26.  Manišusu, Face A, XIV, 7.  TCI, No. 4, env. II, 2.  Gudea Statue, B, II, 9 and Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i> , IV, 24.  III Ur, HLC, Pl. 8, No. 396, III, 8.  Hammurabi, <i>Letters</i> , No. 6, 17.  El-Amarna, Berlin, No. 21, 30.  Cassite, Clay, Vol. XIV, No. 58, 31.  Nebuchad. I, I, 15.  Assyrian, e. g. Assurb. VR, 1, 59.  Neo-Bab. e. g. Strassm. <i>Nab.</i> No. 115, 2.	
B. 5	 Archaic, RTC, No. [13], rev. III, 1, 5.  En-šag-Kuš-an-na, OBI, No. 90, 3.  TCI, No. 1, Env. IV, 2.  Gudea Cyl. B, VII, 21.  III Ur, HLC, Pl. 30, VI, 4.  Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i> , II, 48.  Assyrian, e. g., S <sup>a</sup> II, 44.	
B. 6	 Ur-Nina, <i>Déc.</i> Pl. 2 <sup>ter</sup> , No. 4, 18.  Eannadu, <i>Déc.</i> Pl. 4 <sup>bis</sup> , IX, 2.  Lugalzaggisi, OBI, No. 87, III, 7.  Manišusu, Face C, VIII 3.	



















































































	 Sargon, TCI, No. 44, 3.  Gudea Statue, B, VI, 53.  III Ur, HLC, Pl. 32, I, 22.  Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i> , XII, 13.  Shamshi-Adad, IR, 30, II, 13.  Bab. Boundary-stone, IIIR, 41, I, 2, 9.  Neo-Bab. e. g. Strassm. <i>Nab.</i> No. 267, 1.  Assyrian, e. g. Assurb. VR, 2, 41.	
B. 7	 III Ur, CT, VII, No. 12,946, obv. 6.  I Dynasty of Babylon, Ranke, No. 90, 7.  El-Amarna, Berlin, No. 3, rev. 18.  Assyrian, e. g. Assurb. VR, 26, 13c.	
B. 8	 Déc. Pl. 1bis, No. 1a, I, 2.  TCI, No. 12, II, 3.  OBI, Pl. VI, VIII, 20.  Gudea Cyl. A, IV, 19.  " " B, XIV, 12.  Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i> , XXI, 60.  El-Amarna, London, No. 17, 5.  Tiglath-Pileser I, IR, 10, 55.  Neo-Bab. e. g. Strassm. <i>Nab.</i> No. 25, 10.  Assyrian, e. g. Assurb. VR, 8, 10.	
B. 9	 Blau, Monument A, obv. IV, 2.  Eannadu, Déc. Pl. 4, A, III, 4.  Entemena, Déc. p. XLVII, I, 13 and 31.  Manishtusu, Face D, IV, 13.  TCI, No. 35, env. 7 and 8.  " " 52, 5.  Gudea Statue, B, IV, 2.  " Cyl. A, V, 10.  III Ur, HLC, Pl. 8, III, 10.  " " <i>passim</i> , e. g. Pl. 35, VII, 16.  Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i> , III, 36 etc.  " " II, 69.  Nebuchad. I, I, 58.  " " " 3.	

		Assyrian, e. g. Sen. Taylor Cyl. VI, 12. Neo-Bab. e. g. Strassm. <i>Nab.</i> No. 110, 4.	
B. 10		 Blau, Monument A, obv. IV, 2.  Manišusu, Face C, VII, 13.  TCI, No. 7, env. V, 2.  Gudea Statue, C, II, 20.  " Cyl. A, XII, 6.  III Ur, HLC, Pl. 13, No. 44, 7.  Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i> , VI, 44.  " " XXXIX, 80.  El-Amarna, Berlin, No. 8, rev. 4.  Neo-Bab. e. g. Strassm. <i>Nebuchad.</i> No. 43, 20.	
B. 11		 Archaic, <i>Déc.</i> Pl. 1 <sup>ter</sup> , No. 5, V, 5.  Ur-Nina, <i>Déc.</i> Pl. 2 <sup>ter</sup> , No. 2, 4.  Eannadu, CT, Pl. 1, II, 4 and III, 5.  Lugalzaggisi, OBI, No. 87, II, 46 and III, 5.  RTC, No. [8], I, 5.  Gudea Statue, B, V, 6, and Cyls. <i>passim</i> .  III Ur, HLC, <i>passim</i> , e. g. Pl. 2, No. 379, I, 5.  Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i> , XIV, 27, etc.  " <i>Letters</i> , No. 22, 7.  El-Amarna, Berlin, No. 8, 15.  Neo-Bab. e. g. Strassm. <i>Nebuchad.</i> No. 116, 8.  Assyrian, e. g. Tig.-Pil. I, IR, 11, 49.	
B. 12		 Archaic, E. A. Hoffman, Tab. JAOS, XXIII, 19,  Manišusu, Face C, IX, 6. [I, 2.  TCI, No. 4, endroit, II, 5.  Gudea Statue, B, IV, 5.  " Cyl. A, VII, 16.  III Ur, HLC, Pl. 29, I, 9.  Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i> , XXII, 80.  Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i> , XXII, 75, etc.  I Dynasty of Babylon, Ranke, No. 17, 39, etc.  El-Amarna, Berlin, No. 90, 11.  Cassite, Clay, XIV, 91a, 30 etc.  Nebuchad. I, I, 50.  Neo-Bab. e. g. Strassm. <i>Nab.</i> No. 11, 5.  Assyrian, e. g. Assurb. VR, 1, 124.	
B. 13		 Manišusu, Face B, III, 11.  TCI, No. 32, 2.	

	 Gudea Statue, B, VII, 31.  III Ur, HLC, Pl. 21, No. 102, 5.  Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i> , VI, 44.  I Dynasty of Babylon, Ranke, No. 11, 29.  Cassite, Clay, XII, No. 58, 25.  Neo-Bab. e. g. Strassm. <i>Nab.</i> No. 196, 8.  Assyrian, e. g. II, R, 39, 71a.	
B. 14	  Archaic, <i>Délégation</i> , II, 130, 1.  Archaic, <i>Déc.</i> Pl. 1 <sup>bis</sup> , No. 1, obv. II, 1.  Ur-Nina, <i>Déc.</i> Pl. 2 <sup>bis</sup> , No. 2, and Eannadu, <i>Déc.</i> Pl. 4 <sup>ter</sup> , F <sup>2</sup> , II, 3.  Lugalzaggisi, OBI, No. 87, I, 46.  Manistusu, Face B, IV, 1.  RTC, No. [9], rev. II, 2.  TCI, No. 1, obv. I, 2.  Gudea Statue, B, IV, 4.  " Cyl. A, I, 10.  III Ur, HLC, Pl. 3, I, 11.  Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i> , IX, 20.  El-Amarna, Berlin, No. 52, rev. 21.  Assyrian, e. g. Assurb. VR, 1, 118.  Neo-Bab. e. g. Strassm. <i>Nebuchad.</i> No. 108, 7.	
C. 1	  Proto-Elamite, <i>Dél.</i> VI, No. 4,997, rev. 5.  Archaic, E. A. Hoffman Tab. JAOS, XXIII, 19, III, 3.  Ur-kagina, <i>Déc.</i> Pl. 32, B, IV, 5.  Eannadu, <i>Déc.</i> Pl. 3 <sup>bis</sup> , E <sup>1</sup> , I, 9.  Lugalzaggisi, OBI, No. 87, II, 10.  Manistusu, Face C, IX, 16.  Gudea Statue, F, IV, 10.  " Cyl. A, X, 19.  III Ur, HLC, Pls. 34 and 35, <i>passim</i> .  Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i> , VI, 46.	






























	 El-Amarna, London, No. 35, 23,  " " " 5, 29.  Nebuchad. I, I, 20.  Assyrian, e. g. Assurb. VR, 1, 34.  Neo-Bab. e. g. Strassm. <i>Nab.</i> No. 140, 1.	
C. 2	  Sargon, TCI, No. 1, obv. IV, 2.  " " " 41, obv. 8.  HLC, Pl. 12, No. 52, 8, etc.  Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i> , VI, 58.  Neo-Bab. e. g. VR, 46, 19a.  Esarhaddon, Cyl. I, 45, II, 14.  Assurb. e. g. IVR <sup>2</sup> , 43, 8b.	
D. 1	  Sargon, unpublished text, <i>Rec.</i> No. 431.  Ur, Reisner, <i>Urkunden</i> , No. 154, III, 22.  Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i> , XXXVII, 31.  Assyrian, e. g. Tiglath-Pileser, IR, 9, 77.  Neo-Bab. e. g. Strassm. <i>Nab.</i> No. 700, 10.  " " " Clay, <i>Murashu</i> , No. 54, 9.	
D. 2	  Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i> , XLIII, 27.  " " XXXVII, 32.  Assyrian, e. g. Assurb. VR, 8, 32.  Neo-Bab. e. g. Darius, AJSL, XVI, 73, No. 16, 1 and 6.	
D. 3	  Ur-Nina, <i>Déc.</i> 2 <sup>bis</sup> <i>passim</i> , 2 <sup>ter</sup> <i>passim</i> .  " " " 2 <sup>ter</sup> , No. 1, III, 5.  Eannadu, CT, IX, No. 85,977, II, 2.  " " " 85,978, I, 1.  RTC, No. [11], rev. III, 2, cf. No. [10], II, 1.  Maništusu, Face A, II, 13.  Ur-Bau, <i>Déc.</i> Pl. 8, I, 7.  Gudea Cyl. A, VIII, 21.	
















































	     	III Ur, HLC, <i>passim</i> . Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i> , I, 9. Hammurabi, <i>Letters</i> , No. 9, 6. El-Amarna, Berlin, No. 4, 4. Assyrian, e. g. Tig Pil. I, IR, 10, 25. Neo-Bab. e. g. Cyrus, VR, 35, 21.	
D. 4	                        	TCI, No. 4, env. I, 2. Ur-Nina, <i>Déc.</i> Pl. 2 <sup>ter</sup> , No. 4, 4 Eannadu, <i>Déc.</i> Pl. 3 <sup>bis</sup> , D <sup>1</sup> , I, 11. Lugalzaggisi, OBI, No. 87, II, 28, 29. Manishtusu, Face A, V, 10. Sargon, OBI, No. 1, I, 2. Gudea, e. g. Statue B, VIII, 5. Gudea, e. g. Cyl. A, I, 1. III Ur, Ur-Gur, CT, XXI, Pl. 5, No. 90,001, 7. “ “ “ “ “ “ 2. “ “ “ “ “ “ 7, “ 90,000, 4. III Ur, HLC, Pl. 2, No. 379, III, 4. “ e. g. HLC, Pl. 50, No. 144, rev. 3. Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i> , e. g. II, 12. Hammurabi, <i>Letters</i> , No. 8, 8. El-Amarna, Berlin, No. 2, 1. Nebuchad. I, I, 4. Assyrian, e. g. Assurb. VR, I, 11. Neo-Bab. e. g. Strassm. <i>Nab.</i> No. 43.	
D. 5	          	RTC, No. [11], rev. I, 1. Ur-Nina, <i>Déc.</i> p. XXXV, No. 4, 15. Eannadu, <i>Déc.</i> Pl. 4 <sup>bis</sup> , D <sup>2</sup> , II, 2. “ “ “ 3, A, I, 4. Lugalzaggisi, OBI, No. 87, I, 30. “ “ “ “ II, 7. Manishtusu, Face A, II, 15. Sargon, OBI, No. 1, 3. Gudea Statue, B, IV, 3. “ Cyl. A, II, 22; Cyl. B, XVII, 15.	








































		 III Ur, e. g. HLC, Pl. 36, No. 334, 2.  " " " " 7, " 337, 4.  Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i> , II, 32, etc.  Hammurabi, <i>Letters</i> , No. 43, 5.  El-Amarna, Berlin, No. 18, rev. 14.  Nebuchad. I, I, 43.  Assyrian, e. g. Assurb. VR, 3, 131.  Neo-Bab. Strassm. <i>Nab.</i> No. 938, 1.	
D. 6		 Manistusu, Face C, X, 14.  RTC, No. [11], rev. III, 2.  Naram-Sin, TCI, No. 19, rev. 1.  Gudea Statue, B, IX, 8.  Gudea Cyl. A, V, 8.  III Ur, HLC, Pl. 22, No. 26, V, 20.  " " " 23, " 29, IV, 15.  Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i> , IV, 54.  Hammurabi, <i>Letters</i> , No. 1, 3.  El-Amarna, Berlin, No. 1, 8; London, No. 41, 8.  Assyrian, e. g. Assurb. VR, 1, 62.  Neo-Bab. e. g. Strassm. <i>Nab.</i> No. 234, 3.	
D. 7		 Eannadu, <i>Déc.</i> Pl. 3 <sup>bis</sup> , D <sup>1</sup> , I, 24.  RTC, No. [17], IV, 7.  Gudea Statue, F, III, 12.  III Ur, HLC, Pls. 34 and 35, <i>passim</i> .  Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i> , VI, 45, etc.  Hammurabi, <i>Letters</i> , No. 15, 13.  El-Amarna, London, No. 35, 21.  " " " " 5, 23.  Cassite, Clay, List, No. 123.  " " No. 99 <sup>a</sup> , 17.  Assyrian, e. g. Assurb. VR, 2, 132.  Neo-Bab. e. g. Strassm. <i>Nab.</i> No. 72, 12.	








































E. 1

		Blau, Monument A, obv. I. 2.	
		<i>Déc.</i> Pl. 1 <sup>bis</sup> , No. 1, obv. IV, 1.	
		Eannadu, <i>Déc.</i> Pl. 2, A, I, 7; CT. VII, Pl. II, 6.	
		Lugalzaggisi, OBI, No. 87, II, 24.	
		OBI, No. 112, 5.	
		" " 114, 2 and 4.	
		Manishtusu, Face C. VII, 29.	
		Gudea Statue, B, II, 18.	
		Gudea Cyl. B, V, 6.	
		III Ur, Reisner, <i>Urkunden</i> , No. 125, II, 6.	
		III Ur, HLC, Pl. 8, I, 5.	
		" " " 10, No. 158, obv. 7.	
		Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i> , VII, 9; <i>Letters</i> , No. 97, 23.	
		El-Amarna, Berlin. No. 90, 16.	
		Cassite, Clay, XIV, No. 110, 7.	
		Assyrian, Tig Pil. I, IR, 10, 50, and 70.	
		Neo-Bab. e. g. Strassm. <i>Nab.</i> No. 30, 8.	
		Assyrian, e. g. Assurb. VR, 1, 84.	
E. 2		Archaic, unedited text in Louvre; cf. Thureau-Dangin, <i>Sup.</i> No. 33.	
		Archaic, <i>Déc.</i> Pl. 1 <sup>bis</sup> , rev. I, 3.	
		Eannadu, <i>Déc.</i> 4 <sup>ter</sup> , F <sup>2</sup> , V, 4.	
		Manishtusu, Face B, I, 7.	
		Sargon, TCI, No. 27, env. 4.	
		III Ur, Reisner, <i>Urkunden</i> , No. 35, VII, 6.	
		" HLC, Pl. 8, No. 396, I, 11.	
		" " " " " " II, 12.	

		Gudea Cyl. A, XXV, 6.	
		" Statue, E, V, 12.	
		Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i> , VII, 13.	
		" " " 6, 25, etc.	
		" <i>Letters</i> , No. 59, 9 and 13.	
		El-Amarna, Berlin, No. 6, 5.	
		Tiglath-Pileser I, IR, 14, 63.	
		Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian, <i>passim</i> .	
E. 3		 Archaic, unedited text in Louvre; cf. Thureau-Dangin, <i>Sup.</i> No. 36.	
		Maništusu, Face B, XIII, 10.	
		TCI, No. 11, end, I, 1.	
		Gudea Statue, B, VI, 49.	
		IIIR, 43, IV, 14.	
		Shamshi-Adad, IR, 29, 5.	
		Neo-Bab. e. g. IIIR, 37, 46 f.	
		Assyrian, e. g. CT, XIII, Pl. 9, I, 31.	
E. 4		 Sargon, unedited text in Louvre; cf. Thureau-Dangin, <i>Rec.</i> No. 41.	
		Gudea Cyl. A, XXIX, 12; Cyl. B, VIII, 8.	
		Assyrian, IIR, 5, 4c.	
		" IVR <sup>2</sup> , 3, 70b.	
E. 5		 Blau, Monument A, obv. V, 1.	
		TCI, No. 39, env. I, 9, II, 6 and 11.	
		" " 16, end, 1 and 4.	
		Gudea Cyl. A, VIII, 8, etc.	
		III Ur, Reisner, <i>Urkunden</i> , No. 27, III, 9.	
		" HLC, Pl. 12, No. 52, obv. 16 and 19.	
		" " " 2, " 300, obv. 2.	
		Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i> , XXXVIII, 96.	
		Assyrian, e. g. IVR <sup>2</sup> , 22, No. 2, 8.	
		Neo-Bab. e. g. Clay, <i>Murashu</i> , No. 106, 4.	
F. 1		 <i>Déc.</i> 1 <sup>ter</sup> , No. 5, II, 3.	
		<i>Délégation</i> , II, 130.	
		Ur-Nina, <i>Déc.</i> Pl. 2 <sup>bis</sup> , No. 2.	
		Maništusu, Face A, XIII, 22.	
		Lugalzaggisi, OBI, No. 87, II, 5.	
		Gudea Statue, B, IV, 8.	















































	 Gudea Cyl. A, I, 25; cf. X, 16.  III Ur, HLC, Pl. 9, I, 6.  " " " 23, No. 29, III, 13.  Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i> , I, 64, etc.  Neo-Bab. e. g. Strassm. <i>Nab.</i> No. 178, 42.  Assyrian, e. g. Assurb. VR, 27, 31c.	
F. 2	  Blau, Monument B, 3.  Eannadu, Pl. 3bis, E <sup>1</sup> , III, 3.  Maništusu, Face A, XVI, 2.  Gudea Statue, B, VI, 26.  Gudea Cyl. A, II, 3, etc.  III Ur, HLC, Pl. 27, No. 186, 3.  " " " 40, I, 7.  " " " 28, No. 248, IV, 4.  Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i> , XXI, 10.  Hammurabi, <i>Letters</i> , No. 27, rev. 6.  El-Amarna, Berlin, No. 7, rev. 15.  Cassite, Clay, XIV, 25, 8.  Nebuchad. I, II, 43.  Assyrian, e. g. Assurb. VR, 1, 59.  Neo-Bab. e. g. Strassm. <i>Nab.</i> No. 82, 3.	
F. 3	  Archaic, CT, V, 3, II, 6.  Sargon, TCI, No. 39, env. I, 8.  Gudea Cyl. B, XIX, 9.  III Ur, Reisner, <i>Urkunden</i> No. 114, I, 5.  " HLC, Pl. 18, No. 183, 1.  Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i> , IV, 42, 50, etc.  " <i>Letters</i> , No. 59, 7.  Cassite, Clay, XIV, List, No. 171.  Nebuchad. I, I, 7, etc.  Assyrian, e. g. Assurb. VR, 2, 93.  Neo-Bab. e. g. Strassm. <i>Nab.</i> No. 810, 6.	
G. 1	  Eannadu, <i>Déc.</i> p. XLIII, II, 12.	
































	         	<p>Lugalzaggisi, OBI, No. 87, II, 12.</p> <p>TCI, No. 4, rev. I, 1.</p> <p>Manistusu, Face A, XIII, 1.</p> <p><sup>III</sup>Ur, Reisner, <i>Urkunden</i>, No. 164<sup>12</sup>, III, 12.</p> <p>Ur, HLC, Pl. 13, No. 44, 1.</p> <p>Gudea Cyl. A, II, 16.</p> <p>Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i>, II, 8, etc.</p> <p>El-Amarna, Berlin, No. 139.</p> <p>Neo-Bab. e. g. Cyrus, VR, 35, 4.</p> <p>Assyrian, e. g. Tig-Pil. I, IR, 9, 35.</p>	
G. 2*	    	<p>Manistusu, Face A, XII, 25.</p> <p>Sargon, RTC, No. [77], rev. 2; TCI, No. 13, rev. 6.</p> <p>Gudea Statue, B, VI, 45.</p> <p>Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i>, XXII, 70.</p> <p>* For economy of space the full genealogy of this and the following signs is not given.</p>	
G. 3	    	<p>Eannadu, <i>Déc.</i> Pl. 3, A, I, 11.</p> <p>Manistusu, Face A, XI, 6.</p> <p>Gudea Statue, B, II, 10.</p> <p>Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i>, II, 10, etc.</p>	
G. 4	       	<p>Tablet <sup>ψ</sup>, I, 1.</p> <p>" " " 3.</p> <p><i>Déc.</i> Pl. 1<sup>bis</sup>, No. 1a, III, 1.</p> <p>Eannadu, <i>Déc.</i> Pl. 2<sup>ter</sup>, No. 5, I, 6.</p> <p>Manistusu, Face A, III, 4.</p> <p>Lugalzaggisi, OBI, No. 87, I, 3.</p> <p>Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i>, II, 28, etc.</p>	
G. 5	    	<p><i>Délégation</i>, II, 130.</p> <p><i>Déc.</i> p. XXXVII, Nos. 7 and 8.</p> <p>Manistusu, Face A, XI, 3 and 8.</p>	

G. 6			Blau, Monument, B, 2. Maništusu, Face D, XIX, 14.	
G. 7			Ur-kagina, <i>Déc.</i> p. LI, No. 4, VIII, 4. Eannadu, <i>Déc.</i> Pl. 3, A, I, 6, etc. " " p. XLIII, Galet A, VII, 8.  Lugalzaggisi, OBI, No. 87, I, 17.  Maništusu, Face A, II, 15.  III Ur, HLC, Pl. 25, I, 16. " " " 40, III, 6.  Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i> , XXXII, 50.	
G. 8			Archaic, Hoffman Tab. JAOS, XXIII, [p. 19, III, 3. Epoch of Ur-Nina, <i>Déc.</i> [p. XXXVII Ur-kagina, <i>Déc.</i> p. LI, No. 4, XI, 26.  Lugalzaggisi, OBI, No. 87, III, 29. OBI, No. 113, 5. III Ur, HLC, Pl. 6, No. 257, III, 7.	
H. 1			Archaic, <i>Déc.</i> Pl. 1 <sup>ter</sup> , No. 5, III, 3. Epoch of Ur-Nina, <i>Déc.</i> p. XXXVII. Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i> , e g. II, 23.	
H. 2			Archaic, <i>Délégation</i> , II, 130; Blau, Monument <i>Déc.</i> 1 <sup>ter</sup> , No. 6a. [B, 1; JAOS, XXIII, 19. Maništusu, Face A, II, 6, etc. Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i> , XIII, 32.	
H. 3			Eannadu, <i>Déc.</i> Pl. 4 <sup>ter</sup> , F <sup>1</sup> , I, 10. Eannadu, CT, IX, No. 85, 979, III, 2. Sargon, TCI, No. 32, rev. 5. III Ur, HLC, Pl. 26, I, 10.	
I. 1			Archaic, JAOS, XXIII, 19, III, 1. Ur-kagina, <i>Déc.</i> p. LI, I, 6 and 10. Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i> , II, 1, etc.	





J. 7		  	Archaic, <i>Déc. Pl. 1<sup>bis</sup></i> , No. 1a, III, 4. Eannadu, <i>Déc. p. XLIII</i> , V, 12. Lugalzaggisi, OBI, No. 87, I, 9.	
J. 8		   	Archaic, Hoffman Tab. JAOS, XXIII, 19, I, 1. TCI, No. 3, II, 6. CT, V, Pl. 3, III, 4. Gudea Statue, B, I, 8.	
J. 9		  	Manishtusu, Face D, XII, 7. Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i> , XLII, 26. Nebuchad. I, VR, 55, 38.	
J. 10		  	Archaic, Hoffman Tab. JAOS, XXIII, 19, I, 3. Archaic, Blau, Monument A, rev. 1 (JAOS, XXII, 110). Gudea Cyl. A, XVIII, 20.	
J. 11		  	Archaic, <i>Déc. 1<sup>ter</sup></i> , No. 5, I, 2. Manishtusu, Face A, V, 8. Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i> , II, 20.	
J. 12		   	Archaic, Blau, Monument A, obv. V, 3 (JAOS, XXII, 120). Archaic, OBI, No. 110, 18. Ur-Nina, <i>Déc. Pl. 2<sup>ter</sup></i> , No. 2, III, 6. Eannadu, <i>Déc. Pl. 4<sup>ter</sup></i> , subscription 2 and 3.	
J. 13		    	Archaic, Hoffman Tab. JAOS, XXIII, 19, I, 1. " <i>Déc. Pl. 1<sup>ter</sup></i> , No. 5, IV, 4. Ur-kagina, <i>Déc. p. LI</i> , VII, 3. Manishtusu, Face C, XXIII, 16. El-Amarna, Berlin, No. 181, 8.	
J. 14		    	Archaic, Blau, Monument A, obv. I, 3 (JAOS, XXII, 19). Archaic, Proto-Elamite, <i>Déle-gation</i> , VI, No. 364, 1. Gudea Statue, A, II, 1. " " F, III, 10. III Ur, Reisner, <i>Urkunden</i> , No. 126, I, 10.	

J. 15			Archaic, <i>Délégation</i> , II, 130.	
			Eannadu, <i>Déc.</i> Pl. 4, A, II, 3.	
			Manishtusu, Face C, III, 9.	
			Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i> , VI, 27, etc.	
K. 1	 	     	Archaic, Hoffman Tab. JAOS, XXIII, 19, I, 1. Archaic, unpublished tablet at Constant., cf. Thureau-Dangin, <i>Sup.</i> No. 363. Entemena, Silver vase 22 ( <i>Déc.</i> Pl. 43bis). Manishtusu, Face C, XIV, 24. Sargon, TCI, No. 51, env. 10. Hammurabi, <i>Letters</i> , No. 91, 8.	
K. 2		 2 Eannadu, <i>passim</i> , cf. CT, VII, Pl. 1, I, 1, III, 3, etc.  III Ur, e. g. HLC, Pl. 12, No. 181, 2, etc.		
L. 1		   	Archaic, JAOS, XXIII, p. 19, II, 1 (Hoffman Tab.) Archaic, Blau, Monument B, 4 (JAOS, XXII, 120). Manishtusu, Face A, XIII, 9. Hammurabi, <i>Laws</i> , XVII, 9.	
L. 2		   	Archaic, <i>Déc.</i> Pl. 1 <sup>ter</sup> , No. 6b, I, 7. Eannadu, <i>Déc.</i> p. XLIV, Galet, B. “ “ “ XLIII, VIII, 4. Manishtusu, Face A, XII, 19.	

THE STRUCTURE OF THE TEXT OF THE  
BOOK OF ZEPHANIAH

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CHARLES PROSPERO FAGNANI

# THE STRUCTURE OF THE TEXT OF THE BOOK OF ZEPHANIAH

CHARLES PROSPERO FAGNANI

## § 1. THE SUPERScription, 1:1

דְּבַר־יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר־הָיָה אֶל־צְפַנְיָה בֶן־כוֹשִׁי בֶן־גְּדַלְיָה  
בֶּן־אֲמַרְיָה בֶן־חִזְקִיָּה בִּימֵי יָאֲשִׁיָּהוּ בֶן־אֲמוֹן מֶלֶךְ  
יְהוּדָה:

## § 2. THREATS OF JUDGMENT, 1:2—2:15

### A. THE DAY OF YAHWEH WHICH CONFRONTS ISRAEL, 1:2-18

7 I הֵס מִפְּנֵי \* יְהוָה | כִּי־קָרֹב יוֹם יְהוָה  
כִּי־הִנֵּן יְהוָה זֹבַח | הַקָּדִישׁ קָרְאוּ:  
\* אֲדֹנָי

2 II אֶסֶף אֶסֶף<sup>1</sup> כָּל | מַעַל פְּנֵי הָאֲדָמָה \*  
3 אֶסֶף<sup>1</sup> אֲדָם וּבְהֵמָה | † עוֹקְדֵי־הַשָּׁמַיִם וְדָגֵי הַיָּם †

\* נָאֵם יְהוָה:  
† אֶסֶף<sup>1</sup>  
† וְהִמְקֵשְׁלִים אֶת־הָרָשָׁעִים וְהַכְרַתִּי אֶת־הָאָדָם מֵעַל פְּנֵי  
הָאֲדָמָה נָאֵם יְהוָה:

4 III וְנִטְוִיתִי יָדִי עַל־יְהוּדָה | וְעַל \* יוֹשְׁבֵי יְרוּשָׁלַם  
וְהַכְרַתִּי † אֶת־שָׂאֵר הַבַּעַל | וְאֶת־שֵׁם<sup>3</sup> † הַכֹּהֲנִים  
כָּל \*  
† מִן הַמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה  
† הַכְּמוּרִים עִם

<sup>1</sup> אֶסֶף: as above, Gesenius-Kautzsch, 72aa; 113w, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> אֶסֶף: as above, Wellhausen.

<sup>3</sup> אֶסֶף: as above, G.S.

# THE STRUCTURE OF THE TEXT OF THE BOOK OF ZEPHANIAH

## § 1. THE SUPERScription, 1:1

The word of Yahweh which came to Zephaniah the son of Cushi,  
the son of Gedaliah, the son of Amariah, the son of Hezekiah, in  
the days of Josiah, the son of Amon, king of Judah.

## § 2. THREATS OF JUDGMENT, 1:2—2:15

### 4. THE DAY OF YAHWEH WHICH CONFRONTS ISRAEL, 1:2-18

- I     7   Hush before\* Yahweh, for nigh is the day of Yahweh,  
For Yahweh hath prepared a sacrifice, he has sanctified  
his guests.

\* the Lord

- II    2   I will completely take away everything from off the  
face of the ground,\*  
3   I will take away man and beast,† the birds of heaven  
and the fish of the sea.‡

\* oracle of Yahweh

† I will take away

‡ and the stumbling-blocks with the wicked, and I will cut off  
mankind from the face of the ground.

- III   4   And I will stretch out my hand against Judah, and  
against\* the inhabitants of Jerusalem,  
And I will cut off† Baal to the last remnant, and the  
(very) name of‡ the priests,

\* all

† from this sanctuary

‡ the idolatrous priests with

- IV 5 ואת המשתחווים על־הגגות | לצבא השמים  
 ואת המשתחווים \* ליהוה | והנשבעים בְּמִלְלָם:<sup>4</sup>  
 \*הנשבעים  
 6 ואת הנסוגים מאחרי יהוה ואשר לא־בקשו את־יהוה  
 ולא־דרשהו:
- V 8a \*ופקדתי על השרים | ועל־בית<sup>5</sup> המלך  
 9b הממלאים בית אדניהם | המס ומרמה:  
 \*והיה ביום זבח יהוה
- VI 9a ופקדתי על כל־ | הדולג על־המפתן \*  
 8b ועל כל הַלְבָּשׁ<sup>6</sup> | מלבוש נכרי:  
 \*ביום ההוא
- VII 10 \*קול צעקה משער הדגים | ויללה מן־המשנה  
 11 ושבר גדול מהגבעות: | וילָלָה מן־המכתש<sup>7</sup> †  
 \*והיה ביום ההוא נאם יהוה  
 †כִּי נדמה כל־עם כנען נכרתו כל־נשילי כסה:
- VIII 12 \*וְאַחַפְשׁ<sup>8</sup> את־ירושלם בַּיָּר<sup>9</sup> | ופקדתי על־הַשְׂאֲנָנִים<sup>10</sup>  
 הקפאים על שמריהם | האמרים בלבבם  
 \*והיה בעת ההיא

<sup>4</sup> אה ט במלְכָם; as above, א, 22. 36. 51. 95. 185. 238; & V, Wellhausen, Nowack, Marti.

<sup>5</sup> אה ט בְּנִי; as above, א, G. A. Smith, Oort, Marti. <sup>6</sup> אה ט הַלְבָּשִׁים.

<sup>7</sup> אה ט הַיָּלִילִי יִשְׁבִּי; as above, Marti (possibly).

<sup>8</sup> אה ט אַחַפֵּשׁ; as above, Nowack (probably).

<sup>9</sup> אה ט בְּגָרוֹת; as above, א.

<sup>10</sup> אה ט הַשְׂאֲנָנִים; as above, Amos 6:1.



- IV    5    And those who worship on the house-tops the host of  
               heaven,  
           And those who worship\* Yahweh, and (also) swear  
           by Milcom;

\* who swear

6    And those that turn back from after Yahweh, and those who have  
       not sought Yahweh and have not inquired after him.

- V     8a    \*And I will punish the princes and the house of the king,  
       9b    Who fill the house of their lord with violence and deceit.

\* And it shall come to pass in the day of Yahweh's sacrifice.

- VI    9a    And I will punish all who leap upon the threshold,\*  
       8b    And all who wear foreign apparel;

\* in that day

- VII   10    \*Hark! a cry from the Fish Gate, and a wailing from  
               the New Quarter,  
       11    And a great clamor from the hills, and a wailing from  
               Makhtesh.†

\* And it shall come to pass in that day, oracle of Yahweh

† For all the traffickers are destroyed, all those laden with money  
       are cut off.

- VIII   12    \*And I will search Jerusalem with a lamp, and I will  
               punish those who are at ease,  
           Who are thickened upon their lees, who are saying to  
           themselves,

\* And it shall come to pass at that time

IX  
 לֹא יִיטִיב יְהוָה | וְלֹא יִרְעֶה;  
 13a וְהָיָה הַיֹּלֵם לְמִשְׁסָּה | וּבִתְחִלָּהם לְשִׁמְמָה  
 13b וּבְנוֹ בָתִּים וְלֹא יִשְׁבוּ וְנָטְעוּ כְרָמִים וְלֹא־יִשְׁתּוּ אֶת־יֵינֵם;

X  
 14 קָרֹב יוֹמִי<sup>11</sup> הַגָּדוֹל | קָרֹב וּמִמָּחָר<sup>12</sup> מֵאֵד  
 קָרֹב<sup>13</sup> יוֹמִי<sup>11</sup> הַמֵּר<sup>14</sup> | צִרָה שֵׁם גָּבוּר;

XI  
 15a, b יוֹם עֲבָרָה הַיּוֹם הַהוּא | יוֹם צִרָה וּמִצּוּקָה  
 15d, e יוֹם חֶשֶׁךְ וְאִפְלָה | יוֹם עֵנָן וְעִרְפָּל;

XII  
 15c, 16 יוֹם שֹׂאָה וּמִשׁוּאָה<sup>15</sup> | יוֹם שׁוֹפָר וְתִרְוֵעָה  
 עַל הָעִירִים הַבְּצֻרוֹת | וְעַל הַפְּנוֹת הַגְּבָחוֹת;

XIII  
 17 וְהִצַּרְתִּי לָאָדָם | וְהִלְכּוּ כַעֲזָרִים\*  
 וּשְׂפָךְ דָּמָם כַּעֲפָר | וּלְחֵימָם כְּגִלְלִים;  
 \*כִּי לִיהוָה חֲטָאוּ

XIV  
 18 גְּסִיכְסָפָם גְּסִיזְחָבָם | לֹא־יִוָּכַל לְהַצִּילָם  
 [כִּי<sup>16</sup>] בַּיּוֹם עֲבָרְתִּי<sup>17</sup> וּבְאֵשׁ קִנְאָתִי<sup>18</sup> | תֹּאכַל כְּלִי־הָאָרֶץ\*  
 \*כִּי כָלָה אֶדְ-נִבְחָלָה יַעֲשֶׂה אֶת כְּלִי־שִׁבִּי הָאָרֶץ;

<sup>11</sup>  $\text{fH}\mathfrak{T}$  יוֹם־יְהוָה; as above, Marti (perhaps).

<sup>12</sup>  $\text{fH}\mathfrak{T}$  מִיָּחָר; as above, Wellhausen, Nowack, Marti.

<sup>13</sup>  $\text{fH}\mathfrak{T}$  קֹל; as above, Marti, Nowack (perhaps).

<sup>14</sup>  $\text{fH}\mathfrak{T}$  מֵר; as above, Nowack, Marti.

<sup>15</sup> Transpose 15c; so Marti.

<sup>16</sup> Not in  $\text{fH}\mathfrak{T}$ .

<sup>17</sup>  $\text{fH}\mathfrak{T}$  עֲבָרַת יְהוָה.

<sup>18</sup>  $\text{fH}\mathfrak{T}$  קִנְאָתוֹ.

IX "Yahweh is no help, neither is he a hindrance."

13a Their riches will become a prey and their houses a desolation.

13b And they shall build houses and not inhabit (them),  
And plant vineyards and not drink the wine thereof.

X 14 Near is my great day, near and hastening exceedingly;  
Near is my bitter day, the mighty man there will cry aloud.

XI 15 A day of wrath is that day, a day of trouble and of distress,  
A day of darkness and murk, a day of clouds and thick darkness,

XII 15c, 16 A day of destruction and desolation, a day of trumpets and battle cries,  
Against the fortified cities, and against the lofty battlements.

XIII 17 And I will bring anguish upon men, and they will walk as the blind,\*  
And their blood will be poured out as dust, and their bowels (?) as dung.

\*because against Yahweh they have sinned

XIV 18 Neither their silver nor their gold will be able to deliver them,  
For in the day of my wrath and in the fire of my jealousy the whole earth will be devoured.\*

\*for a complete destruction will he make of all the inhabitants of the earth.

## B. THE JUDGMENTS AGAINST THE NATIONS, 2:1-15

- I  
 1 התַּבְּשִׁשׁוּ וּבֹשְׁשׁוּ<sup>19</sup> | הַגִּיר לֹא נִכְסָה;  
 2a בָּטְרָם תִּהְיֶה<sup>20</sup> | כִּמְצָא עֵינֶי \*<sup>21</sup>  
 יוֹם \*  
 2b, c בָּטְרָם לֹא־יִבּוֹא עֲלֵיכֶם יוֹם<sup>22</sup> אֶת־יְהוָה  
 בָּטְרָם לֹא־יִבּוֹא עֲלֵיכֶם יוֹם אֶת־יְהוָה  
 3 בִּקְשׁוּ אֶת־יְהוָה כָּל־עַמִּי<sup>23</sup> הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר מִשְׁפָּטוֹ פָּעַל  
 בְּקִשְׁוֹצֶדֶק בְּקִשׁוֹ עֲנֹה אוֹלֵי תַסְתְּרוּ בְּיוֹם אֶת־יְהוָה:  
 II  
 4 כִּי־עֲנֹה עֲזוּבָה תִּהְיֶה | וְאִשְׁקֻלוֹן לִשְׁמִמָּה  
 אֲשֶׁדּוּד בְּצַהֲרִים יִגְרֹשׁוּהָ | וְעֶקְרוֹן תִּעֲקַר:  
 III  
 5a הָיִי יֹשְׁבֵי חֶבְל הַיָּם | גִּיר כְּרִתִּים \*  
 5d, c וְהֶאֱבֹדְתִּיךָ מֵאֵין יוֹשֵׁב | † אֶרֶץ פְּלִשְׁתִּים<sup>24</sup>  
 5b \* דְּבַר־יְהוָה עֲלֵיכֶם  
 † כִּנְעָן  
 IV  
 6 וְתָהִי<sup>25</sup> \* נִוָּה<sup>26</sup> † רָעִים | וּגְדֵרוֹת צֶאֱן;  
 7b עַל־הָהָרִים<sup>27</sup> יִרְעוּן | בְּבִפְתָּיִם<sup>28</sup> † בְּעֶרֶב יִרְבְּצוּן  
 \* חֶבְל הַיָּם  
 † כְּרַת  
 † אִשְׁקֻלוֹן  
 7a וְהָיָה חֶבֶל [הַיָּם] לְשֹׂאֲרֵי בֵית יְהוּדָה  
 7c כִּי יִפְקְדֵם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם וְשֶׁבַע שְׁבוֹתָם<sup>29</sup>

<sup>19</sup> אֶת־תַּבְּשִׁשׁוּ וּבֹשְׁשׁוּ; as above, Graetz, Cheyne, Budde, Nowack, Driver.

<sup>20</sup> אֶת־תִּהְיֶה חֶק; as above, אֶת.

<sup>21</sup> אֶת־עֵינֶי; as above, אֶת, Graetz, Wellhausen, Oort, Nowack, Marti, Driver.

<sup>22</sup> אֶת־חֶרֶן; corrected by יוֹם at the end of 2a.

<sup>23</sup> אֶת־עַמִּי; as above suggested by A. B. Ehrlich.

<sup>24</sup> אֶת־פְּלִשְׁתִּים precedes אֶת־אֶרֶץ כִּנְעָן; as above, Nowack, Marti.

<sup>25</sup> אֶת־נִוָּה; as above, Marti. <sup>26</sup> אֶת־נִוָּה; as above, Driver.

<sup>27</sup> אֶת־עַל־הָהָרִים; as above, Wellhausen, G. A. Smith, Oort, Nowack, Marti, Driver.

<sup>28</sup> אֶת־בְּבִפְתָּיִם. <sup>29</sup> Qer6 שְׁבִיתָם.

## B. THE JUDGMENTS AGAINST THE NATIONS, 2:1-15

- I    1    Be ashamed before one another, yea be ashamed, O nation unabashed,  
       2a   Before ye become as flying chaff.\*  
              \*day  
       2b, c   Before the day of the anger of Yahweh come upon you,  
              Before the day of the anger of Yahweh come upon you.  
       3    Seek ye Yahweh, all ye nations of the earth, ye who execute his purpose, seek righteousness, seek meekness, perhaps ye may be hidden in the day of the wrath of Yahweh.
- II    4    For Gaza shall be forsaken, and Ashkelon a desolation, Ashdod shall be driven forth at noonday, and Eqrone shall be rooted up.
- III   5a   Woe to the inhabitants of the sea-coasts, the people of the Cherethites,\*  
       5d, c   I will destroy thee (so as to be) without an inhabitant, †land of the Philistines.  
              5b   \*the word of Yahweh against you  
              †Canaan
- IV   6    Thou wilt become \*the dwelling† of shepherds, and folds for flocks,  
       7b   By the sea they will feed, in the houses‡ in the evening they will lie down  
              \*the sea-coast  
              †. . . .  
              ‡Ashkelon  
       7a   And the sea-coast shall be for the remnant of the house of Judah  
       7c   For Yahweh their God will visit them, and restore their prosperity.

## JUDGMENT UPON MOAB AND AMMON, 2:8-11

I 8 שְׁמַעְתִּי חֲרַפַּת מוֹאָב | וְגִדְפִי בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן  
אֲשֶׁר חָרְפוּ אֶת־עַמִּי | וַיְגִדְלוּ עַל גְּבוּלִי<sup>30</sup>:

II 9 לֹכֵן הִי־אֲנִי נֶאֱמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת | אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל  
כִּי מוֹאָב כִּסְדָם תִּהְיֶה | וּבְנֵי עַמּוֹן כַּעֲמֹרָה

III מִמֶּשֶׁק חֲרוּל וּמִזֶּרֶה<sup>31</sup> | מַלְחָה | וּשְׁמִמָּה עַד עוֹלָם  
שְׂאֵרִית עַמִּי יִבְזֹזוּ | וַיִּתֵּר גּוֹיִי<sup>32</sup> יִנְחָלוּם:

10 זֹאת לָהֶם תַּחַת גְּאוֹנָם כִּי חָרְפוּ | וַיְגִדְלוּ עַל־עַם יְהוָה  
צְבָאוֹת:

11 נִרְאָה יְהוָה עֲלֵיהֶם כִּי יִזְרֶה<sup>33</sup> | אֶת כָּל־אֱלֹהֵי הָאָרֶץ  
וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֹּ־לּוּ אִישׁ מִמְּקוֹמוֹ כֹּל אִי הַגּוֹיִם:

V 12 גַּם אַתָּם כּוֹשִׁים | חֲלָלֵי חַיִּי \*  
13 וְאַתָּה<sup>34</sup> יְדִי<sup>35</sup> עַל־צִפּוֹן | וְאַאֲבֹד<sup>36</sup> אֶת־אֲשׁוּר  
\*הַמָּה:

VI וְאַשְׁרֵי<sup>37</sup> אֲתִינִינֹתָ לְשִׁמְיָה | צִיָּה כַּמְדָּבָר:  
14 וְרַבְצוּ בַתּוֹכָה עֲדָרִים | כֹּל הַתִּירְגוּי

VII גַּם קָאֵת גַּם־קָפַד | בַּכְּפַתְרִיָּה יִלְנֹו  
פֹּסֶס<sup>38</sup> יִשׁוּרֵר בַּחֲלוֹן | עֲרֵב<sup>39</sup> בַּסֶּה \*  
\*כִּי אֲרֻזָּה עֲרָה:

<sup>30</sup> אֶת־גְּבוּלִים; as above, G, Nowack, Marti.

<sup>31</sup> אֶת־מִכְרָה; as above, A. B. Ehrlich.

<sup>22</sup> גֹּיִם.

<sup>33</sup> אֶת־יִזְרֶה; as above, Graetz.

<sup>34</sup> אֶת־יָרֵם; as above, Marti.

<sup>35</sup> אֶת־יָדִי; as above, Marti.

<sup>36</sup> אֶת־אֲבֹד; as above, Marti.

<sup>37</sup> אֶת־שִׁמְיָה; as above, Marti.

<sup>38</sup> אֶת־קוֹל; as above, Wellhausen, G. A. Smith, Nowack, Driver.

<sup>39</sup> אֶת־הָעֵרֶב; as above, G, Wellhausen, G. A. Smith, Oort, Nowack, Marti, Driver.



## JUDGMENT UPON MOAB AND AMMON, 2:8-11

- I 8 I have heard the reproach of Moab and the revilings of the sons of Ammon  
With which they reproach my people, and magnify themselves against my border.
- II 9 Therefore, as I live, oracle of Yahweh of Hosts, God of Israel, Surely Moab shall become like Sodom, and the sons of Ammon like Gomorrah;
- III A possession (?) of nettles and a place sown with salt, yea, a desolation forever;  
The remnant of my people shall plunder them, and the remainder of my nation shall inherit them.
- 10 This shall they have for their pride, because they have reproached and magnified themselves against the people of Yahweh of Hosts.
- 11 Yahweh will be terrible unto them for he will scatter all the gods of the earth and all the lands of the nations shall worship him each from his sanctuary.
- V 12 Ye Ethiopians also shall be slain by my sword;  
And I will turn my hand toward the north and destroy Assyria;
- VI And I will make Nineveh a desolation, parched as the wilderness,
- 14 And all gregarious animals will lie down in her midst in flocks.
- VII Both the pelican and the porcupine shall lodge in the capitals thereof,  
Owls shall hoot in the windows, ravens on the thresh-olds.\*

\*For he hath laid bare the cedar-work (?).

15 זאת העיר העליזה | היושבת לבטח  
 האמרה בלבבה אנו. ואפסי עוד  
 איך היתה לשמה | מרבץ לחיה  
 כל עובר עליה ישרק | יניע ידו:

### § 3. ADDITIONS BY OTHER HANDS

#### A. ARRAIGNMENT OF JERUSALEM, 3:1-7

1 הוי מורֶחַה <sup>40</sup> ונגאלה | העיר היונה: I  
 2 לא שמיֶעה בקול | לא לקחה מוסר  
 ביהוה לא בטחה | אל־אלהיה לא קרבה:

3 שריה בקרבה | אריות שאנים [המה] <sup>40a</sup> II  
 שפטיה זאבי ערב\* | <sup>4</sup> נביאיה פחזים †  
 כהניה חללו קדש | המסו תורה:  
 \*לא גרמו לבקר:  
 †א:שי בגדות

5 יהוה צדיק בקרבה | לא יעשה עולה III  
 בבקר בבקר משפטו | [הוא] יתן  
 אור <sup>41</sup> לא נעדר | ולא־נוֹדֶע <sup>42</sup> עֶקֶל\* <sup>43</sup>  
 \*בשת:

6 הכרתי גוים | נשמו פנותם IV  
 ההרבתי חוצותם | מבלי עובר  
 נצרו עריהם\* | מאין יושב:  
 \*מבלי־איש

<sup>40</sup> מורֶחַח.

<sup>40a</sup> From 2:12.

<sup>42</sup> ירֶדֶע; as above, Marti.

<sup>41</sup> לאֶור; as above, Marti.

<sup>43</sup> עֶקֶל; as above, Marti.

- 15 This the joyous city, that dwelt securely,  
That said to herself I am, and there is none beside.  
How has she become a desolation, a lair for beasts;  
Everyone that passes by her hisses, and wags his hand.

## §3. ADDITIONS BY OTHER HANDS

## A. ARRAIGNMENT OF JERUSALEM, 3:1-7

- I     1 Woe to the rebellious and polluted one, the oppressing  
         city;  
      2 She has not obeyed the voice, she has not received  
         instruction;  
      In Yahweh she has not trusted, to her God she has not  
         drawn near.
- II     3 Her princes in her midst are roaring lions;  
         Her judges evening wolves,\*    4 her prophets boastful  
         persons,†  
      Her priests profane that which is holy, do violence to  
         the Torah.
- \*they have left nothing till morning  
         †treacherous men
- III    5 Yahweh is righteous in the midst of her, he does naught  
         wrong;  
      Morning by morning he sets his decree,  
      Light fails not, an oversight is unknown.\*
- \*shame.
- IV    6 I have cut off nations, their battlements are desolated;  
      I have made their streets waste, so that none passeth by;  
      Their cities are destroyed, so that there is\* no inhabitant.
- \*so that there is no man.

7 V אמרתי אֶת־יְהוָה<sup>44</sup> אותי | תִּקְהָה<sup>45</sup> מוֹסֵר  
ולא־יִכָּרֵת מִעֲוֹנָה<sup>46</sup> | כל אשר פָּקַדְתִּי עֲלֶיהָ  
אֲכַן הַשְׁכִּימוֹ הַשְׁחִיתוּ | כל עִלּוֹתָם:

B. THE DELIVERANCE OF JERUSALEM IN THE DAY OF THE JUDGMENT  
OF THE NATIONS, 3: 8-13

8 I לֹכֵן חֲפִי<sup>47</sup>-לִי נִאֲמִי־הוּא | לַיּוֹם קוֹבֵי לֵעָד<sup>48</sup>  
כִּי מִשְׁפָּטִי לֹא־סָס גּוֹיִם | לְקַבֵּץ<sup>49</sup> מִמִּלְכוֹת  
לִשְׁפָךְ עֲלֵיהֶם זַעֲמִי | כל הָרוֹן אֶפִּי  
כִּי בָאֵשׁ קִנְאָתִי | תֹּאכַל כֹּל־הָאָרֶץ:

9 כִּי אֲזִ אֶהַפֵּךְ אֶל־עַמִּים | שְׂפָה בְרוּרָה  
לְקַרֵּא כֹלֹם בְּשָׁמַי<sup>50</sup> | לַעֲבֹדֵי<sup>51</sup> שֹׁכֵם אֶחָד:  
10 מַעֲבֵר לִנְהַרֵּי כוֹשׁ\* יוֹבִלּוֹן מִנְחָתִי:

\* עֲתִירִי בַת־פּוֹצֵי

11 II בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא לֹא תִבּוֹשִׁי | מִכָּל עִלְלוֹתֶיךָ\*  
כִּי־אֲזִ אֲסִיר מִקִּרְבְּךָ | עֲלִיזִי גְאוּתְךָ  
וְלֹא־תוֹסֵף לַגְּבָהָה עוֹד | בָּהֵר קִדְשִׁי:  
12a וְהִשְׁאַרְתִּי בִקְרִבְךָ | עִם עַנִּי וְדָל  
\* אֲשֶׁר פִּשְׁעָתִי בִי

<sup>44</sup> אֶת־יְהוָה ; as above, Oort, Nowack, Marti.

<sup>45</sup> תִּקְהָה ; as above, Oort, Nowack, Marti.

<sup>46</sup> מִעֲוֹנָה ; as above, & S., G. A. Smith, Oort, Nowack, Marti, Driver.

<sup>47</sup> חֲפִי ; as above, &, Marti.

<sup>48</sup> לֵעָד ; as above, & S., Wellhausen, Nowack, Marti.

<sup>49</sup> לְקַבֵּץ ; as above, & S., Wellhausen, Nowack, Marti.

<sup>50</sup> בְּשָׁמַי יְהוָה .

<sup>51</sup> לַעֲבֹדֵי .

- v    7 I thought surely she will fear me, she will accept  
          instruction,  
          And nothing shall fade from her eyes that I have  
          commanded her,  
          But they diligently corrupted all their doings.

B. THE DELIVERANCE OF JERUSALEM IN THE DAY OF THE JUDGMENT  
 OF THE NATIONS, 3:8-13

- I    8 Therefore wait thou for me, oracle of Yahweh, until the  
          day of my rising up as witness;  
          For my decree is to gather nations, to assemble king-  
          doms,  
          To pour out upon them my wrath, all the fierceness of  
          my anger,  
          For by the fire of my jealousy shall all the earth be  
          devoured.

9 For then will I bestow on the peoples pure lips,  
     That all of them may call upon my name to serve me with one  
     consent;  
     From beyond the rivers of Cush\* they will bring me offerings.

\* . . . . .

- II    11 In that day thou shalt not be put to shame because of  
          all thy doings;\*  
          For then will I take away from thy midst thy proudly  
          exulting ones,  
          And thou shalt no more be haughty in my holy mountain,  
   12a And I will leave in thy midst as a people the humbled  
          and poor.

\*wherein thou hast transgressed against me

12b, 13 III  
 וחסו בשם יהוה | שארית ישראל  
 לא יעשו עולה | ולא ידברו כזב  
 ולא ימצא בפיחם | לשון תרמית  
 ביהמה ירעו ורבעו | ואין מחריד;

## C. THE GLORY OF REDEEMED JERUSALEM, 3:14-19

14 I  
 רני בת ציון | הריעו ישראל  
 שמחי ועלזי בכל־לב | בת ירושלם;

15 II  
 חסיר יהוה מִשְׁפָּטָךְ<sup>52</sup> | פנה איבך<sup>53</sup>  
 מלך\* יהוה בקרבך | לא־תראי<sup>54</sup> רע עוד;  
 \*ישראל

16 ביום ההוא יאמר לירושלם אל־תיראי ציון אל־ירפוי ידיך;

17 III  
 יהוה אלהיך בקרבך | גבור וישיע  
 ישיש עליך בשמחה\* | יגיל† ברנח;  
 \*יחריש באהבתו  
 †עליך

<sup>52</sup> מִשְׁפָּטָךְ; as above, Wellhausen, Nowack, Oort, Marti.

<sup>53</sup> איבך; as above, & S, Wellhausen, Marti.

<sup>54</sup> תיראי; as above, MSS & S, Wellhausen, G. A. Smith, Oort, Nowack, Marti.



- III 12b, 13 And the remnant of Israel will take refuge in the name  
of Yahweh;  
They will not do iniquity nor speak lies;  
And there shall not be found in their mouth a tongue  
of deceit;  
Yea they shall feed and lie down, and none shall make  
them afraid.

C. THE GLORY OF REDEEMED JERUSALEM, 3:14-19

- I 14 Sing O daughter of Zion, shout O Israel;  
Rejoice and be glad with all thy heart, O daughter of  
Jerusalem.
- II 15 Yahweh hath taken away thine adversaries, hath re-  
moved thine enemies;  
Yahweh is King\* in the midst of thee, thou shalt not  
see evil any more.
- \* of Israel
- 16 In that day it shall be said to Jerusalem, Fear not Zion, let not  
thy hands be weak.
- III 17 Yahweh thy God is in the midst of thee, a victorious  
hero;  
He rejoices over thee with gladness,\* he exults† with  
singing.
- \* he is silent in his love  
† over thee

IV 18 \*הִי-יִשְׁאֵל מִי יִשְׁאֵל | עֲלֶיהָ 59 חֲרָפָה;  
 19 הֲנִי עֲשֶׂה [כָּלָה] 59 | אֶת־כָּל מַעֲנִיךְ †  
 \* כִּיּוֹם מוֹעֵד 55 אֲסַפְתִּי מִמֶּךָ  
 † בַּעַת הַהִיא:

V וְהוֹשִׁיעַתִּי אֶת 60 הַצִּלְעָה | וְהִנְדַּחְתִּי אֶקֶבֶץ  
 וּשְׂמֹתֵיהֶם לַתְּהִלָּה וְלִשְׁם | בְּכָל־[עַמִּי] הָאָרֶץ \*  
 \* בַּשָּׁתָם: 61

20 בַּעַת הַהִיא אֲבִיא אֶתְכֶם \* כִּי־אֶתֶּן אֶתְכֶם לִשְׁם וּלְתִהְלָה  
 בְּכָל עַמִּי הָאָרֶץ בְּשׁוּבִי אֶת־שְׁבוֹתְכֶם 63 לְעִינֵיכֶם אֲמַר  
 יְהוָה:

\* וּבַעַת [הַהִיא] אֶקֶבֶץ 62 אֶתְכֶם

55 אֶת מִמֶּךָ; as above, & S, Oort, Nowack.

56 אֶת הִי; as above, &, Oort, Nowack.

57 אֶת מִשְׁאֵת; as above, &, Nowack.

58 אֶת עֲלֶיהָ; as above, Oort.

59 So Graetz, Nowack, Marti.

60 אֶת־.

61 Probably for בְּשׁוּבִי שְׁבוֹתֶם, Wellhausen, Marti.

62 אֶת קֶבֶץ.

63 אֶת שְׁבוֹתֵיכֶם; as above, & S, Wellhausen, G. A. Smith, Nowack, Marti.

- IV    18    Woe! whosoever lifts up a reproach against thee;\*  
      19    Lo I will make [a destruction] of all afflicting thee;†

      \*as in a day of festival I will gather from thee

      †at that time

- v        And I will save that which is lame, and gather the  
              dispersed;  
      And I will make them a praise and a name among all  
      the peoples of the earth.\*

      \*when I restore their prosperity

- 20    In that time I will bring you\* for I will make you a name and a  
              praise among all the peoples of the earth, when I restore your  
              prosperity before your eyes, saith Yahweh.

      \*and in [that] time I will gather you



AN OMEN SCHOOL TEXT

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MORRIS JASTROW, JR.





## AN OMEN SCHOOL TEXT

MORRIS JASTROW, JR.

The better knowledge that we now have of the remarkable collection made by King Ašurbanapal (668–626 B. C.) in his royal palace at Nineveh, thanks largely to Bezold's monumental work,<sup>1</sup> has brought out the significant fact that a considerable proportion of the specifically Babylonian section<sup>2</sup> consists of texts that formed part of the equipment of the temple schools of Babylonia and more particularly of the school attached to Marduk's temple in Babylon.<sup>3</sup> This applies not merely to the distinctively school texts, such as sign lists, syllabaries, word lists, grammatical and lexicographical exercises,<sup>4</sup> but also to the literary productions and practice tablets based on such productions;<sup>5</sup> to the ritual texts which served as a means of instructing the young aspirants to the priesthood in the complicated ritual<sup>6</sup> for the various occasions when the services of the priests were required, and to the collections of omens of all kinds—constituting one of the largest sections in the royal library. Such texts, while they may also be regarded as guides and reference works for full-fledged priests in the interpretation of omens observed, appear to have been prepared primarily for the purposes of the temple schools.<sup>7</sup> The same is true of the mathematical and metrological tablets, and it is probably

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum* (5 vols., London, 1889–99).

<sup>2</sup> On the Assyrian section of the library which is more extensive than generally supposed, see the writer's paper "Did the Babylonian Temples have Libraries?" *JAOS*, XXVII, pp. 175 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Jastrow, *ibid.*, p. 178.

<sup>4</sup> Bezold, *loc. cit.*, Index, pp. 2093–98.

<sup>5</sup> See the examples of such commentaries and practice tablets in King, *Seven Tablets of Creation*, Vol. I, pp. 157–81; Jastrow, "A Babylonian Parallel to Job," *JSBL*, XXV, p. 144; Bezold, *loc. cit.*, Index, pp. 2099–2100; and Weber, *Literatur der Babylonier und Assyrier*, pp. 294–96.

<sup>6</sup> Specimens in Zimmern's *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion*, Vol. II, "Ritualtafeln für den Wahrsager, Beschwörer und Sänger." The Šamaš-Adad series of ritualistic texts of which Zimmern, *loc. cit.*, pp. 190–219, gives some specimens belong to the same general category. See Bezold, *loc. cit.*, Index, p. 2153.

<sup>7</sup> On these omen-texts and collections registered by Bezold in his Index under "Forecasts," pp. 2011–30, and "Omens," pp. 2139–49, see Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, Vol. II, pp. 203–13, and the literature there referred to.

an accident that among the fragments of the Nineveh collection this section is not more largely represented.<sup>8</sup> One is inclined to place in the category of school texts also the bilingual literary texts in Ašurbanapal's library, such as the numerous prayers and myths, hymns and incantations, including both those in which the Sumerian represents the original, and those in which the Sumerian is a translation from the Semitic original. In the former case,

<sup>8</sup> E. g., IV R. 37, and Bezold, *loc. cit.*, Index, p. 2111. Specimens of Babylonian originals of mathematical calculations also in *CT*, IX, 8-13 and 14-15. See Weber, *loc. cit.*, p. 299. See, however, Pinches, *JRAS*, 1907, p. 707, from which it would appear that the British Museum has among its unpublished treasures more tablets of this class. At Sippar, Scheil found quite a number of such metrological and mathematical tablets (*Une saison de fouilles à Sippar*, Cairo, 1903) which are treated by him in chap. iii of his work under the proper designation of "L'École à Sippar" (pp. 30-54). At Nippur, Peters and Haynes found exactly the same kind of mathematical and metrological tablets, only in larger numbers, so that our knowledge of this subdivision of the Babylonian school texts is considerably increased through the recent publication of forty-six tablets and fragments by Hilprecht. The title of the publication, however, *Mathematical, Metrological and Chronological Tablets from the Temple Library of Nippur* (Philadelphia, 1906) is a misnomer. A glance at the texts in this volume suffices to show that *all* except the last—a chronological list that *may* have formed part of a private archive or of a temple business archive—are *school texts pure and simple*. Three of them, for example, contain on the one side syllabaries (Nos. 23, 24, 37) and on the other multiplication tables and measures of capacity—the certain ear-marks of school exercises. Again, on one (No. 20) the exercise is written in one column by the teacher and in a second repeated by the pupil. Mixed and repeated exercises appear on some (e. g., Nos. 20, 21, rev.), while practice strokes are to be seen on others (e. g., Nos. 10, 32, 40). Hilprecht is obliged to admit (p. x) that these are "textbooks," but converts them into "temple library" texts by the assertion that they were "*afterwards* deposited in the Temple Library"! When "*afterwards*"? Apart from the fact that there is not a particle of evidence for this gratuitous supposition, it assumes the existence of a sufficient number of distinctively "literary" texts to warrant us in speaking of a "temple library." Since, however, the evidence for this assumption hitherto presented turns out to be elusive—being based on tablets that were *not* excavated at Nippur, and such objects as were *not* found on the site of the supposed "temple library"—an earnest protest must be entered against the unwarranted use of the words "temple library" in the title of the volume in question which is calculated only to make scholars more determined in their uncompromising attitude toward methods that involve, as has recently been said, "a disregard of the simplest ethical standards." Before scholars can be convinced that the temple at Nippur harbored a great library collection comparable to that which Ašurbanapal gathered in his palace—not in a temple—unimpeachable evidence must be furnished for the existence of a *sufficient* number of hymns, prayers, incantations, omens, and myths, as well as medical and astronomical texts—and such as are not school texts—to justify the use of so well-defined a term as "library." If, however, after waiting patiently for more than seven years nothing but school texts and administrative archives, valuable though these are, are laid before us, the question must perforce be raised whether the temple at Nippur ever possessed extensive literary treasures. As a working hypothesis we are forced to assume that the temple archives in Babylonia were limited as a rule to collections of business records and to school texts of a miscellaneous character, among which we should of course expect to find the ritual texts used in connection with the cult—not, however, a large collection gathered as was Ašurbanapal's library from a *variety* of sources. See—in addition to the writer's paper "Did the Babylonian Temple have Libraries?"—Bezold's remarks in the *Literarisches Centralbl.*, 1907, p. 483, for additional reasons against regarding the tablets found by Peters and Haynes at Nippur as a "temple library" and also Ungnad's strictures on the term "Temple Library" in the *Zeits. d. Deutsch. morg. Gesell.*, Vol. 61, pp. 705-06.

the Semitic translation is added to initiate the pupil into an understanding of the older sacred tongue; in the latter, the Semitic original is added to insure the correct understanding of the Sumerian translation. The medical texts of which specimens have recently been published by Kùchler<sup>9</sup> may also have been prepared for purposes of instruction in prescribing the remedies to be applied in connection with the incantation rites for releasing sufferers from the grasp of the demons who were regarded as the ultimate source of physical suffering, though, at the same time, these texts no doubt served, like the collections of omens, as guides for those who, as priests in active service, were called upon to administer to the sick. Further investigation of this class of texts will probably show that we must distinguish between medical handbooks and medical school texts based on these handbooks, just as in the case of omens, we have, as will be shown presently, "official" as well as "school" editions of the collections of omens compiled by *bârû*-priests.

The school texts in the royal library at Nineveh, reverting to originals that once formed part of the equipment of the schools attached to the temples in the south,<sup>10</sup> thus assume large dimensions. They throw an interesting light on the pedagogical methods pursued in Babylonia, which no doubt were closely followed in Assyria, and we must be prepared to find all manner of helps that were devised to facilitate the understanding of the various branches of the religious literature of Babylonia—and that literature is largely, if not almost exclusively, religious—by means of which the temple pupils were enabled to penetrate into the intricacies of the cult, and into the very essence of the lore which was an outcome of the religious beliefs and tendencies prevailing in the Euphrates valley. Already, we may distinguish a considerable variety of such helps among the textbook division of Ašurbanapal's library. The grammatical and phrase exercises appear to have been prepared chiefly for training pupils in draw-

<sup>9</sup> *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der assyrisch-babylonischen Medizin*, Leipzig, 1904.

<sup>10</sup> A proof of the continued existence of these schools at Borsippa, Babylon, and Sippar to very late days is furnished by syllabaries and lexicographical lists dated in the reigns of Persian kings (e. g., *CT*, XII, 3, 7, 9, 17, 37) and by such a collection as Reisner's *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen aus griechischer Zeit*. See Jastrow's *Did the Babylonian Temples have Libraries?* p. 167.

ing up business and legal documents.<sup>11</sup> The list of gods and stars were drawn, presumably, as helps for the study of astronomy in connection with omen-texts; the elaborate lists of names of plants<sup>12a</sup> may have been prepared in connection with the study of incantations and medical remedies, and so forth, for other branches of study. For the elucidation of literary texts, we have, besides the bilinguals,<sup>13</sup> commentaries arranged on the principle of picking out difficult terms and phrases and explaining them by such as were in more common use.<sup>14</sup> In the case of the commentaries to the story of creation, King has found no less than three different kinds.<sup>15</sup> Again, at times glosses were merely introduced into the texts themselves.<sup>16</sup> All this warrants the conclusion that the helps varied according to the class of texts selected for study. Correspondingly, for each class certain kinds of helps were developed that were best adapted for the character of the class and for the purpose or purposes aimed at.

The interpretation of omens constituting one of the most important functions of the priests, it is not surprising that a variety of devices were developed, which were calculated to illustrate both the method followed in the interpretation of omens and the two fundamental theses underlying the science of divination, namely (1) that occurrences on earth were paralleled by accompanying phenomena in the heavens, leading to omens based on the observation of the sun, moon, planets, and stars, and (2) that through the liver of the sacrificial animal—usually a sheep—as the seat of the soul—and therefore as the divine organ—coming events could be divined, leading to an elaborate system of hepatoscopy.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>11</sup> See Weber, *loc. cit.*, pp. 291, 292.

<sup>12</sup> E. g., II R. 49 and 54-59; III R. 67-69; and Bezold, *Catalogue*, Index, pp. 2094-95.

<sup>12a</sup> *CT*, XIV, 18-49.

<sup>13</sup> Weber, *loc. cit.*, p. 292, n. 1, properly calls attention to "bilinguals" arranged in parallel columns as II R. 17, 18 as certainly prepared for school purposes, and I believe this to be the case also with the other class of bilinguals arranged in interlinear form.

<sup>14</sup> V R. 47 to the text IV R. 60\*.

<sup>15</sup> King, *loc. cit.*, and Weber, *loc. cit.*, p. 296.

<sup>16</sup> So, e. g., in omen collections *CT*, XX, 14, 25, 27, 48. For the latter see Jastrow, "Notes on Omen Texts," *AJSL*, XXIII, pp. 109 ff.

<sup>17</sup> For details the reader is referred to the writer's *Religion Babylonians und Assyriens* (referred to in this article as Jastrow, *Religion*), chap. xx (Lieferungen 10, 11, and 12). I exclude the large class of "signs and portents" (birth-portents, dreams, all kinds of unusual occurrences, accidents, and so forth) which should be differentiated from "omens" proper.

Confining ourselves to the second class of omens, attention has already been drawn<sup>18</sup> to glosses in the text which show distinctly that they were drawn up primarily for instruction and elucidation in the temple schools. A second device was the use of illustrations of parts of the liver introduced in the texts, or of phenomena on the liver.<sup>19</sup> Of these quite a number are known and of special significance is the clay model of a sheep's liver (*CT*, VI, 1) showing the chief parts of the liver and covered with omens designed to illustrate the system followed in the interpretation. A third species of helps is represented by an interesting text that might be designated as an "Introduction to the study of the principles of Hepatoscopy," since its main purpose is to illustrate the connection between the signs observed on the liver of a sacrificial animal and the interpretation assigned to it.

The general character of this text as a help in the elucidation of the methods followed in the interpretation of omens was recognized many years ago by Delitzsch,<sup>20</sup> though it was not possible for him, because of the imperfect state of our knowledge of this branch of the Babylonian-Assyrian literature, to determine at the time what is now clear, that the omens referred to are specifically such as are derived from the inspection of the liver of the sacrificial animal. Moreover, Delitzsch had at his disposal merely a fragment of the text<sup>21</sup> and he was naturally misled into regarding Cols. I and II as containing synonyms. It was equally natural that he was followed in this view by Muss-Arnolt who in his invaluable *Assyrian Dictionary* (1905) enters the words of these two columns, as Delitzsch did in his *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch* (1896), as synonyms.<sup>22</sup> A duplicate fragment of the text was pub-

<sup>18</sup> See above, p. 284, n. 16.

<sup>19</sup> Thus *CT*, XX, 28 obv. and rev. we have illustrations (1) of the hepatic duct (GIR = niptû) with its subsidiary branches and (2) of "splits" within the hepatic duct. Again Boissier, *Choix de Textes relatifs à la Divination Assyro-babylonienne*, Vol. I, pp. 139-43; also pp. 118 and 153 furnish the various forms assumed by a certain species of markings on the liver known as zibê, "clubs," on which see Jastrow, "Notes on Omen Texts" (*AJSL*, XXIII, pp. 103 ff.). In the same way a tablet published by Boissier, *Documents Assyriens relatifs aux Présages*, pp. 36-40 (with plate), contains illustrations of the *processus pyramidalis*, etc. See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 218, n. 3.

<sup>20</sup> *Assyrisches Wörterbuch* (1890), p. 481 (n. 8).

<sup>21</sup> K. 4416 published II R. 43, No. 1.

<sup>22</sup> E. g., Muss-Arnolt, p. 46a (aliktum), 122a (uššurtum), 367a (kabartu) corresponding to Delitzsch, pp. 69a, 312b, and 315a, and so throughout the text. Meissner in his *Supplement zu den assyrischen Wörterbüchern* does the same, e. g., 54b (larû), 47 (ku-ul-tum), where instead of II R he has accidentally written V. R, etc., etc.



lished in 1894 by Boissier<sup>23</sup> but it was not until 1904 that by a combination of six fragments representing at least three independent copies, a more complete edition of this important text was issued through which it was possible to determine definitely its more precise character.<sup>24</sup>

Unfortunately, the text is still far from complete. It consisted originally of six columns, three on the obverse, and three on the reverse; those on the obverse consisting of some forty lines each and those on the reverse of thirty-two lines each, so that in its complete form the tablet covered at least two hundred and twenty lines, and probably close to two hundred and fifty lines. According to the colophon attached to one of the fragments,<sup>25</sup> the tablet is the first of a series known as *šumma multabiltum*.<sup>26</sup> We are fortunate in possessing a list of the opening lines of the seventeen tablets of which the series consisted and which show that the entire series was devoted to hepatoscopy. Parts of the second, third, fourth, twelfth, and thirteenth tablets of this series have also been published by Mr. R. C. Thompson,<sup>27</sup> and from these it follows that

<sup>23</sup> K. 2235 in *Documents Assyriens*, pp. 80-82.

<sup>24</sup> *CT*, XX, 39-42 (KK. 2235, 4416, and 4585; Rm. 2, 466 and Bu. 89-4-26, 168). Bezold's supposition (*Catalogue*, p. 427) that K. 2263 may form part of the tablet in question to which K. 2235 belongs can now be corrected, since it turns out that the tablet belongs to another series. A fragment of a neo-Babylonian duplicate (K. 4432) is also included in *CT*.

<sup>25</sup> Bu. 89-4-26, 168.

<sup>26</sup> The line probably to be completed according to K. 3837 (Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 45, 1) of which KK. 2434, 7628, and 8289 are duplicates (cf. also K. 4013) and KK. 1999 (Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 37) and 2089 (Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, p. 118) as follows: *šumma multabiltum ušurāti zibē ušibi ana pāni-ka*, i. e., 'when the designs of the clubs and the edges(?) are brought to thee.' From other sources we know that the markings on the liver were drawn on a tablet and brought to the *bārû* or 'diviner' for interpretation. In order to account for the discrepancy between the name of the series and the fact that the first line of the first tablet does not, as is customary, begin with these words (cf. *CT*, XX, 1, 15) we must assume that the list of seventeen tablets indicated on K. 1352 (*CT*, XX, 1, 15-32) represents not the text itself, but the commentary to it drawn up for school purposes, or, as we might also put it, the "school edition" of the text, which, in accordance with the purpose served by it, does not follow the plan of the text and presumably does not furnish the whole of it. The existence of two distinct editions of the series is also shown by the other fragments belonging to the series. See the following note.

<sup>27</sup> KK. 3945 and 3951 (*CT*, XX, 43-48) forming Tablets 2 and 3 of the series. The colophon at the bottom of the of Pl. 48 states that this is the end of the third tablet of the series *multabiltum* and furnishes the opening line of the fourth tablet in agreement with *CT*, XX, 1, 18. The third tablet is therefore included and it is clear from a comparison of Pl. 45, 21 and 46, rev. 5 with *CT*, XX, 1, 17 that the school edition of the second tablet ends with Pl. 45, 20. According to Bezold (*Catalogue*, p. 579) K. 3951 is a duplicate of K. 3945 and K. 3986 belongs to K. 3945. Portions of the second and third tablets are also represented by KK. 10681, 10960, 11713, and 12315, and 82, 3-23, 5215 which together with K. 6297 have been "joined" to K. 3945 (Bezold, *loc. cit.*; Vol. IV, p. viii). K. 10805 (*CT*, XX, 50) appears to furnish the colophon also



the series covered a wide range, extending, indeed, to every part of the liver which had a significance in divination, and furnishing the interpretation for an almost endless number of variations observed in the character of the different parts and of their relation to one another, as well as of the markings and other signs noted on the liver surface.<sup>28</sup>

Confining ourselves to the school edition of the first tablet of the series, mention should be made of an attempted translation of the text by Dr. Stephen H. Langdon<sup>29</sup> which, however, because of the author's failure to recognize the fundamental principle underlying divination through the sacrificial animal, namely, that the one organ on which the attention of the diviner was concentrated was the liver, was not successful. Since the correct interpretation and understanding of the text rest upon this thesis, Langdon's rendering is erroneous throughout and it is needless, therefore, to stop at every point and to indicate wherein the translation here given differs from that of Langdon. Credit is due to Langdon, however, for having correctly determined that Cols. I and II of the text are not synonymous.<sup>30</sup> He has also seen that the words in Col. I furnish what he calls the "salient feature" of the "condi-

for the third tablet of the series and would thus represent another copy. The tenth tablet is represented by K. 3983 published in *CT*, XX, 49, the opening line of which is to be completed according to *CT*, XX, 1, 25 and it is to be noted that K. 5151 (*CT*, XX, 7) also represents the beginning of this tablet. While both copies are unfortunately badly preserved, it seems quite clear that the two texts are not duplicates and the question again arises whether the one (K. 5151) may not represent a portion of the "official" edition and the other belong to the "school" edition. The thirteenth tablet is represented by 83, 1-18, 411 published *CT*, XX, 50, but the fact that the colophon and the opening line of the thirteenth tablet (*CT*, XX, 1, 28) appear *within* this text (obv. 7, 8) shows that here also two tablets (the twelfth and thirteenth) have been combined. That this text merely represents an extract from these two tablets may perhaps be concluded from the statement in connection with the colophon that fifty-three "signs" are noted. At all events an indication of this kind, taken together with the unusual circumstance of a colophon within a text and as a heading to what follows, may be regarded as satisfactory evidence that Ašurbanapal's scribes have, in this instance certainly, copied a school text and perhaps merely a school exercise based on the twelfth and thirteenth tablets of the *multa biltum* series. Portions of the seventh tablet of the series, finally, are represented by the unpublished fragment K. 6292, according to the indications in Bezold's *Catalogue*, p. 777, and by D.T. 49 (with the colophon of the eighth tablet) published by Boissier, *Documents*, pp. 248-50, and the same author's *Choix de Textes*, pp. 65-70 with attempted translation. Langdon (*JAOS*, XXVII, p. 88) apparently does not know of Boissier's two editions of this text.

<sup>28</sup>For details and the general character of Babylonian hepatoscopy the reader is referred to the exposition of the subject in the writer's *Religion*, chap. xx, and to an article by the writer "The Liver in Babylonian Divination" to be published in Vol. XXVIII of *JAOS*.

<sup>29</sup>"An Assyrian Grammatical Treatise on an Omen Tablet," *JAOS*, XXVII, pp. 88-103.

<sup>30</sup>*Loc. cit.*, p. 88.

tional clause" in Col. III, and the words in Col. II the "salient feature" of the "result clause." The text, however, does not embody, as he supposes, a series of "rules" for the interpretation of omens nor does the third column furnish the "whole rule" from which the scribe, as Langdon supposes, has made an extract or an abbreviated copy. The purpose of the tablet is, as already intimated, to illustrate the principles and the method followed in the interpretation of omens derived from an inspection of the liver of the sacrificial animal. To this end, the text is divided into three parallel columns. The third column furnishes the sign noted on the liver and the interpretation given to it. In the first column the "catch-word" of the sign is entered, which forms the basis of the interpretation, while in the second, the "catch-word" or "catch-words" of the interpretation are added to *illustrate the connection between the sign and the meaning given to it*. The real difficulty in the text to be overcome is the determination of the terms introduced, which according to the thesis here maintained, all describe parts of the liver or phenomena to be observed on the liver. While some of the terms are still obscure, I believe that I am justified in thinking that most of them have been correctly determined by my investigations. The final test rests naturally in the ability to give a satisfactory meaning to both the signs observed and to the interpretation based on the signs.

In order to assist the reader in following the rendition of the text, a diagram of a sheep's liver is added to this article on which the chief parts are indicated by letters and elucidated by the addition (*a*) of the Latin names, and (*b*) of the equivalent terms used in the Babylonian omen texts (cf. p. 326). It is impossible in this article to enter into a discussion of *all* details and for our purposes it suffices to recall the general theory on which Babylonian hepatoscopy is based, namely, that the liver was regarded as the center of life and the seat of the soul, and that therefore, in the case of the sacrificial animal, the liver was the organ through which the will and intention of the gods as the givers and source of all life could be ascertained. The two deities more specifically associated with divination in general are Šamaš and Adad, who are known as *bêlê bîrî*, "lords of inspection," and

who in the omen tablets in Ašurbanapal's library are invariably mentioned instead of Nebo and Tašmit of the other classes of the collection.<sup>31</sup> The striking character of the organ in question, so much more complicated than, e. g., the heart and lungs, was no doubt a factor in the association of the liver with the seat of life. On opening an animal the liver is seen as the most prominent organ. To its peculiar appearance is added the fact that it is filled with blood—naturally associated even by primitive man with life.<sup>32</sup> The phenomena that it presents through the gall-bladder terminating in a long duct (*ductus cysticus*) which again passes into a duct running across the liver (*ductus hepaticus*) that sends its branches into the various lobes of the liver (*lobus dexter*, *lobus sinister*, *lobus quadratus*, and *lobus caudatus*) are rendered still more striking by the large portal or hepatic vein (*vena portae*) which, like the hepatic duct, sends its offshoots, as subsidiary veins throughout the entire liver. To the layman, the markings of various kinds appearing as lines, indentures, and curves on the liver surface, due largely to the traces of the subsidiary hepatic and vein ducts, furnish another feature that arrests attention, and since no two livers are exactly alike in respect of these markings—as little as the marking on two leaves of a tree—it will be seen that a wide field over which fanciful imagination may roam at will is thus opened up. Lastly, there is besides the large vein (*vena cava* or *vena cava caudalis*), the transverse fissure or liver gate (*porta hepatis*) separating the upper lobe (*lobus caudatus*) from the three lower lobes. At one end of the pyramidal lobe is a finger-shaped appendix, known as the *processus pyramidalis* constantly varying in form, and presenting all manner of curious features. This lobe plays so significant a rôle in Greek and Roman hepatoscopy—based on the older Etruscan rites<sup>33</sup>—that it was called by the Greeks ὁ λοβός, i. e., the lobe *par excellence*, and by the Romans *caput jecoris*, “head of the liver.”<sup>34</sup> At the

<sup>31</sup> Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 226, n. 1.

<sup>32</sup> About one-sixth of the blood of the animal is in the liver.

<sup>33</sup> See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, pp. 210 ff., and 320, n. 3, and Thulin, *Die etruskische Disciplin*, Vol. II (die Haruspicin), (Göteborg, 1906), pp. 3-10 and 50-54.

<sup>34</sup> Thulin, *loc. cit.*, p. 30 ff. The Septuagint correctly renders the Hebrew expression יְחִירַת עַל הַכֶּבֶד (Ex. 29:13; Lev. 3:4; 8:16, etc.) for the *lobus pyramidalis* by ὁ λοβός; see Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 231, and the reference there to Moore's important article in the Nöldeke *Festschrift*, pp. 761 ff.

other end of the pyramidal lobe, there is a second appendix known as the *processus papillaris*, which varying in size and at times extremely small, also plays a part in hepatoscopy though a much less prominent one than the *processus pyramidalis*.<sup>35</sup>

To all these parts and phenomena of the liver the attention of the bârû priests was directed; and by the application chiefly of two principles, one based on the association of ideas, the other on the association of words, an elaborate and complicated system of interpretation was developed, the influence of which may be gauged when it is considered that the system furnished a guide to the rulers and individuals of Babylonia and Assyria from before the days of Sargon (*ca.* 3000 B. C.) to the days of Nabonidus—the last king of the neo-Babylonian empire (555–539 B. C.).<sup>36</sup> No expedition was undertaken, no battle was risked, no building begun and no important official act entered upon without calling in the aid of the bârû priests to examine the sacrificial animal—generally a sheep and frequently more than one—and on the basis of a report on the condition of the liver to render a decision that was regarded as indicative of the divine will or intent.

The task thus cut out both for the full-fledged priest on whom the obligation rested to interpret the omens derived from the inspection of the liver, as well as for those who were being trained for the service, was clearly defined. The position and character of all the various parts of the liver had to be carefully noted, all peculiarities recorded and the form of the markings, their number, and outlines closely observed. It would appear that all these phenomena were written down on memoranda tablets; and in an actual record of a liver inspection from the days of Nabonidus, taken on an occasion when the king wished to restore the statue of Sin and other gods to the rebuilt temple of the moon-god at Harran, no less than seventeen signs are set down and the meaning of each defined.<sup>37</sup> It was for the purpose of securing a correct interpretation of the signs observed that the collections of omens,

<sup>35</sup> For further details regarding the anatomy of the liver, see Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, pp. 220, 221.

<sup>36</sup> For examples of omen-texts from the days of Sargon to Nabonidus see Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, pp. 224–320.

<sup>37</sup> Messerschmidt, *Inscript der Stele Nabu'naiids* (Berlin, 1896), Col. XI. See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, pp. 266–71.

based no doubt in part on past experience and in part on the application of the principles developed by the priests in the unfolding of their system, were made, and which, deposited in the temple archives or more probably in the schools attached to the temples could be consulted as guides and reference works. The occasions on which recourse was had to divination through the liver being primarily of an official and public character, the interpretations generally bear on affairs of state and on public events—war, conquest, crops, the army, the rulers, and the royal household. It is only occasionally that matters of concern to the ordinary individual are introduced. It was, however, a comparatively simple matter to extend the application to more personal affairs. The main object was to determine whether a particular sign was favorable or unfavorable. If the former, the interpretation was not limited to the particular case set down, but could be applied to any other situation that arose.<sup>38</sup> Hence in the omens introduced into the inscriptions of Nabonidus as well as in the earlier documents and in official reports of various periods, the interpretations attached to the omens, copied evidently from some collection serving as a guide, do not necessarily bear upon the question to be answered through the liver inspection.<sup>39</sup> The interpretation is added, primarily, as an indication whether the sign is favorable or unfavorable. In other words, the interpretation serves merely as an example illustrative of the favorable or unfavorable character of the sign in question. With this determined, the answer to the inquiry depended either upon the summary of all the signs noted or upon the application of the illustrative interpretation of the specific case under consideration. These same collections of omens with the interpretations also served as the basis of instruction in the temple schools, but in addition, as already suggested, special school editions of the collections in whole or in part were prepared, adapted for illustrating the method to be followed in the system of interpretation and containing all manner of explanations to facilitate the task of instructing the pupils in the science of hepatoscopy.

<sup>38</sup> Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, pp. 246, 247 for details and illustrations.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 258.



Our text furnishes a particularly valuable example of the pedagogical plan adopted, and, both for this reason and because of its intrinsic value, justifies detailed treatment. As already pointed out, it consists of three columns on each side, the third containing the omen noted with the interpretation, while the first and second are added in order to illustrate the connection between the sign and the interpretation. The proper method of treating the text is, therefore, first to set down the entry in the third column, and then to take up the remaining two.

The first line of the third column reads:

šumma NA<sup>40</sup> erik<sup>41</sup>-ma niptû<sup>42</sup> [ikru]<sup>43</sup> rubû ina ħarrâni illiku<sup>44</sup> ikašad.<sup>45</sup>

"If the biliary duct is long and the hepatic duct is short, the ruler in the expedition which he undertakes will conquer."

To this omen the first and second columns read:

a-rik-tum  
"length"

ka-šit-tum  
"conquest"

which means that the 'length' of the biliary duct forms the basis for the interpretation of the sign as 'conquest.' No special reference is made to the 'shortness' of the hepatic duct, the favorable character of this sign being either assumed as known or regarded as of secondary consideration. From other sources we know that a long cystic duct was a favorable sign, e. g., V R. 63, II, 10 and 23, where it is interpreted as pointing to the 'long life' of the ruler.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>40</sup>For NA=biliary duct (*ductus cysticus*), see Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 234, n. 13. The phonetic reading is unknown.

<sup>41</sup>Written GID-DA. Cf. Brûnnow, Nos. 7511 and 7562.

<sup>42</sup>GIR to be read niptû, —the sign for the hepatic duct (*ductus hepaticus*). See Jastrow, *ibid.* and p. 242, n. 1.

<sup>43</sup>Read GUD-DA to be interpreted as ikru, for which compare CT, XX, 1, 23 where GID-DA and GUDDA occur in contrast, while the phonetic reading ik-ru for the latter is shown by CT, XX, 31, 13, 14 where GIDDA and ik-ru are contrasted. See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 253, n. 6, and Langdon, *JAOs*, XXVIII, p. 147, n. 2.

<sup>44</sup>Written DU with the phonetic complement ku.

<sup>45</sup>KUR(ad) to be read therefore ikašad. Cf. Brûnnow, No. 7393.

<sup>46</sup>Other examples, Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 252, n. 3.



The second line reads:

šumma irru saḥirûti<sup>47</sup> al-ku-[u]<sup>47a</sup> kašittum.<sup>48</sup>

"If the 'network' is continuous—conquest."

To this omen—briefly expressed—the first and second columns read:

a-lik-tum  
"course"

ka-šit-tum  
"conquest"

i. e., the 'continuous' course of the network of markings on the liver is the basis of the interpretation as 'conquest.' The term translated 'network' refers to the grouping of markings more specifically on the left lobe of the liver, where the traces of the subsidiary hepatic and vein ducts produce a varying number of little curves and lines, forming all manner of patterns.<sup>49</sup> The peculiar nature of the sign here noted seems to be that the markings either form a continuous series, suggestive, therefore, of an unbroken course of victory, or that they all run in one direction, pointing to the continuous onward march of the king's army. The third line, presenting both in the sign noted and in the interpretation a more complicated character, reads:

šumma martu<sup>50</sup> ištu imitti ana šumêli dakšat<sup>51</sup>-ma di-ki-[is]-sa<sup>52</sup> uššur<sup>53</sup> bêl limutti<sup>54</sup>-ka ša idku<sup>55</sup> kât-ka ikašad.<sup>56</sup>

"If the gall-bladder is pierced from the right to left and its 'split' is loose, thy hand will overcome thy enemy who advances (against thee)."

<sup>47</sup> ŠA-NIGIN. For the reading and interpretation see Jastrow, II, p. 256, n. 4.

<sup>47a</sup> Cf. la al-kam 'not continuous,' i. e., broken up and divided (Knudtzon, *Assyrische Gebete*, No. 107, rev. 16), and šalḥu 'torn,' i. e., 'broken up' (Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 293, n. 5), the contrast to alku.

<sup>48</sup> KUR(tum)=kašittum. For many examples of omens thus briefly indicated see Jastrow, *loc. cit.*, pp. 258, 259.

<sup>49</sup> See Boissier, *Choix de Textes relatifs à la Divination*, pp. 89 and 93 and *CT*, XX, 46, 54-56; 48, 30, etc., where the network is put down as consisting of from six to seventeen distinct bits.

<sup>50</sup> ŠI=martu 'gall-bladder.' Cf. Brünnow, No. 4196 and Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 229, n. 3.

<sup>51</sup> The phonetic reading for IT-KU (šat) is furnished by the parallel line K. 134, 1 (Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, p. 78). See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 336, n. 11 for a fuller discussion of the term and of other passages in which it occurs.

<sup>52</sup> Di-ki-sa in text, but probably an error for di-ki-is-sa as throughout K. 134. See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 336, n. 1.

<sup>53</sup> BAR(ur)=uššur (Brünnow, No. 1814). For the meaning 'loose' or 'detached' cf. Haupt, *ASKT*, 85, 40 where uššuru is used of a woman whose womb has prolapsed, i. e., become detached. See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 305, n. 6. Note the synonyms in the lexicographical list II R. 39. No. 1, obv. 4-5 pā pitû "open mouth" and pā uššuru 'loosened mouth' for both of which phrases the signs are KA-BAR(RA).

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Brünnow, No. 10958.

<sup>55</sup> ZI(ku)=idku (Brünnow, No. 2308) (with overlapping vowel) from dikû—the common verb to indicate the advance of an army. See Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, pp. 245b f.

<sup>56</sup> KUR(ad)=ikašad as in the first line.

Cols. I and II read:

uš-šur-tum  
"looseness"

ka-šit-tum  
"conquest"

i. e., the fact that the pierced gall-bladder is detached or 'loose' points in this case again to 'conquest.' The 'split' runs to the left, and the 'looseness' is therefore a bad sign for the enemy's host.<sup>57</sup>

L. 4 reads:

šumma ina kap-pi<sup>58</sup> kabitti<sup>59</sup> ša imitti padanu<sup>60</sup> ina kap-pi  
kabitti ša šumēli nap̄artu<sup>61</sup> šu-šur<sup>62</sup> pū<sup>63</sup> nipti ina eli  
šibi<sup>64</sup>(?) illik, nakru-ka itti ili<sup>65</sup> ka-mi u suḫ-ḫur.

<sup>57</sup> See above p. 291.

<sup>58</sup> We have here in the word kappu 'wing' the very appropriate term for a liver 'lobe,' and it is interesting to note that the right and left lobe (*lobus dexter*, *lobus sinister*) were distinguished precisely as in modern anatomical nomenclature. A special designation is also found for the *lobus caudatus* namely UR-MURUB = kabittu ḫabittu (or perhaps ḫabal kabitti) 'the middle liver'—which is likewise appropriate since the *lobus caudatus* lies approximately in the middle of the liver; see Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 231. Whether the right lobe was still further divided into two sections, as in modern nomenclature, by the groove in which the gall-bladder rests into (a) *lobus quadratus* to the left and (b) *lobus dexter* to the right I have not yet been able to determine, though the groove itself was distinguished. See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 325, n. 5.

<sup>59</sup> For UR (= kabittu), the most common sign of the liver, see Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 213, n. 2; for other names and signs, see the writer's article, "Signs and Names of the Liver in Babylonia" (*ZA*, XX, pp. 103-29). It is possible that in omen texts ḫašā as in the omen report (Jastrow, II, p. 276, n. 7) was the designation of the liver and not kabittu.

<sup>60</sup> GIR = padanu (Brünnow, No. 9191) 'road,' the designation of a certain kind of markings on the liver. The term padanu (see the phonetic writing pa-da-na-am, *CT*, IV, 34, obv. 2) indicates that it had the form of a continuous line; see Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 237 (note) and p. 275, n. 2.

<sup>61</sup> GAB, the common meaning of which is paṭāru 'open' (Brünnow, No. 4488), and which is of very frequent occurrence in omen texts as a verb, e. g., GAB(at) = paṭrat (*CT*, XX, 1, 6, and 14, 6, or without a phonetic complement, II, 8, 27 of Pl. 1; Pl. 7 (K. 5151), 4-11; 15, 2-39; 26 rev. and 28 rev., with plural sign, Pl. 14, 13, but also as a noun, Pl. 48, 19. In our passage the noun is evidently intended, hence the suggested reading. Under 'splits' the fissures frequently to be observed on the surface of the liver or on such parts as the gall-bladder, the cystic duct, and the hepatic duct, etc., are meant. In the Sargon omens (IV R. 34, No. 1) as many as seven such fissures in the gall-bladder are instanced; cf. Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 238. The phonetic reading šu-šur suggests that the combination GAB-UŠ, which is also of frequent occurrence, e. g., *CT*, XX, 1, 17, with the phonetic complement tum (also Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, pp. 57, 59) and with the plural sign (*CT*, XX, 45, 21) is to be explained as GAB = 'split' and UŠ (Brünnow, No. 5033) = 'straight' while the phonetic ending tum suggests the reading nap̄artum. GAB-UŠ would therefore be a fuller form for the noun to indicate, as in our text, 'a straight fissure;' see further, Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 337, n. 9.

<sup>62</sup> III, I, from ašāru 'to be straight;' cf. šu-šur in the interpretation of an omen in an inscription of Nabonidus (Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 253, n. 2).

<sup>63</sup> Written KA. The 'mouth' of the hepatic duct is the one end of this part.

<sup>64</sup> Tū appears to be one of the designations for the 'edge of the liver.' For the reading šībi offered tentatively see Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 240 (note), and p. 325, n. 5. I take it that the sign is intended to represent the case in which the hepatic duct is unusually long so that it appears to fall over the liver edge.

<sup>65</sup> For itti ili in the sense of 'with the help of a god' see V R. 63, II, 11 (Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 253).

"If on the right lobe of the liver there is a 'road,' on the left lobe a straight fissure (and) the mouth of the hepatic extends over the edge (?), thy enemy with the help of a god will be captured and surrounded."

To this omen, the adjoining two columns read:

šu-šur-tum	sa-kap nakri
"straightness"	"overthrow of the enemy"

i. e., the 'straightness' of the fissure and of the 'road' (the straightness of which is implied in the term used) forms the basis for the interpretation that the ruler will proceed directly against the enemy and subjugate him. The secondary sign of the extent of the hepatic duct is not specifically referred to, its favorable character, being again assumed as known or not calling for any special comment.

L. 5:

šumma KAK-TI<sup>66</sup> ša imitti ištēnit<sup>67</sup> at-rat ummāni šum damiḫti<sup>68</sup> ileḫi.<sup>69</sup>

"If of the KAK-TI, the one to the right is abnormal, my army will acquire a good name."

To this sign, the two columns read:

a-tar-tum	za-kar šu-mu <sup>70</sup>
"excessive"	"fame"

i. e., the abnormally large character of the KAK-TI suggests by a natural association of ideas great renown.

L. 6:

šumma rēš na zu-ḫur<sup>71</sup> mu-sag<sup>72</sup> rubi<sup>73</sup> ummāni šum damiḫti ileḫi.

"If the top of the biliary duct is elevated, supremacy of the ruler, my army will acquire renown."

<sup>66</sup> Perhaps to be read sikkatu 'plug'—a term of frequent occurrence (e. g., Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, p. 103; *CT*, XX, 14, 17, etc.), the meaning of which I have not been able as yet to determine. For a further discussion, see Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 293, n. 7.

<sup>67</sup> GĪS (it) = ištēnit, though from the list V R. 12, No. 3, 32 it might appear that the combination can also stand for the masculine. In our case the feminine of the following verb speaks in favor of the feminine noun.

<sup>68</sup> ŠAL-ŠIG (Brünnow, No. 10955)—the contrast to ŠAL-HUL (l. 3). For the reading and other passages see Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 336, n. 11.

<sup>69</sup> TI (ḫi) = ileḫi (Brünnow, No. 1700).

<sup>70</sup> Cf. the proper name En-lil-za-kar-šu-mi (V R. 44, III, 41).

<sup>71</sup> Variant: zuḫ-ḫur II, 1, from zaḫāru 'to be high.' See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 327, n. 9.

<sup>72</sup> MU-SAG, i. e., MU = niš (*CT*, XII, 8, 8a) and SAG = rēšu, literally therefore, 'raising of head,' for which see Hunger, *Becherwahrungung*, Text A, 69. A parallel expression is discussed, Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 355, n. 12.

<sup>73</sup> NUN = rubū.

Cols. I and II read:

zuḡ-ḡur-tum  
"elevation"

za-kar šu-mu  
"renown"

The 'elevated' biliary duct points to the heightening of the fame of the ruler and of his army. Note the play between zuḡḡur and zakar šumi.

L. 7:

šummu elānu<sup>74</sup> danni<sup>75</sup> širu kima sikkati<sup>76</sup> izziz<sup>77</sup> zibu<sup>77a</sup> šarri kēnu<sup>78</sup> ummān šarri māḥira<sup>79</sup> la ibaši.<sup>80</sup>

"If above the portal vein, the flesh stands out like a plug, the king's 'club' (or weapon) will endure, the army of the king will be without a rival."

The first two columns read:

sik-ka-tum  
"plug"

li-ḡi-e li-ti  
"acquiring glory"

i. e., the fact that the flesh at the point indicated stands out like a plug, barring, as it were, the progress of the enemy, is the basis for the interpretation that the arms and army of the king will stand firm against all attacks.

L. 8:

šumma šapal<sup>81</sup> marti ka-bar māru<sup>82</sup> eli abi-šu ikabit.<sup>83</sup>

"If the base of the gall-bladder is swollen, the son will be mightier than his father."

<sup>74</sup> Similarly we read, *CT*, XX, 37, 9, 'if the liver gate above the hepatic duct (ana elāni nipti) is depressed,' etc.

<sup>75</sup> DAN probably to be read dannu 'strong' and the designation for the *vena portae* or great vein of the liver lying at the side of the hepatic duct. See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 240, n. 2.

<sup>76</sup> (GİŠ) KAK = sikkatu (Brünnow, No. 5267) — a reading that is confirmed by the word sik-ka-tum in the first column.

<sup>77</sup> GUB(iz) = izziz; cf. Brünnow, No. 4893.

<sup>77a</sup> For the reading zibu of the sign (GİŠ) KU in the omen texts instead of kakku and the meaning 'club' assigned to zibu see below, p. 312, n. 161.

<sup>78</sup> GI-NA.

<sup>79</sup> GAB(ri) = māḥiru (Brünnow, No. 4502), or to be read phonetically gab-ri.

<sup>80</sup> TUK(ši) = ibaši (cf. Brünnow, No. 11237).

<sup>81</sup> ŠIG (Brünnow, No. 11873) contrasted in 79, 7-8, 129, ll. 4-5 (Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, p. 43) to SAG = ḡaḡḡadu 'head' of the gall-bladder. It is therefore a synonym of the usual šuḡ = išdu (Brünnow, No. 4811) used in the omen texts for the 'base,' or what we should call the upper portion of any of the parts of the liver, only that as ll. 1-3 of the text just quoted show, it represents the extreme end of the gall-bladder, whereas šuḡ can be used with the plural sign in the general sense of 'lower parts.' Although I have adopted the reading ša plu it is possible that the sign is to be read išdu just like šuḡ.

<sup>82</sup> TUR-NITAḤ.

<sup>83</sup> DUGUD(it) = ikabit (Brünnow, No. 9228). Cf. *CT*, XX, 31, 19-20 i-kab-bu-ut.

To which line the adjoining columns read:

ka-bar-tum  
"swelling"

e-mu-ku  
"power"

i. e., the 'swelling' of the lower part of the gall-bladder points to 'power,' while the fact that the swelling is 'below' indicates that the one who is 'lower'—therefore a son in contrast to a father—will be the mightier. The parts of the liver are always reckoned from below. Thus of the three divisions into which any part is divided (see Jastrow, II, p. 254, n. 3) the 'head' is the lowest and the 'base' is at what we would call the upper end. The gall-bladder is generally thicker at the 'head' and grows thinner as we reach the 'base' or 'lower' part. If, therefore, a liver shows the reverse order, it is an indication that the natural order will be reversed—the son will be stronger than his father.

L. 9:

šumma kirbannu<sup>84</sup> imitti pû-šu ki-ma kur-sin-ni<sup>85</sup> rapîš<sup>86</sup>  
zibu šarri kēnu ummān šarri i-dan-nin-ma mâtîra la ibaši.

"If the mouth of the inner surface to the right is broad like an ankle-bone, the 'club' (or weapon) of the king will be firm, the king's host will be strong and without a rival."

To this sign Cols. I and II read:

ra-pa-aš-tum  
"breadth"

me-til-lu-tum<sup>87</sup>  
"sovereignty"

The association of ideas between 'breadth' and 'extension' of rulership is obvious. The double interpretation—not infrequent in omen texts<sup>88</sup>—represents an alternative as in ll. 6-7, so that the sign in question may be interpreted with reference to the ruler or to his army according to the occasion of the inquiry.

<sup>84</sup>LAG=kirbannu (Brünnow, No. 5951). This reading is suggested by the phonetic reading ki-ri-ba-an-na 'the inner part' (CT, XX, 15, 27 and Pl. 48, 17). Another LAG with the plural sign added occurs in connection with the hepatic duct (CT, XX, 45, 26), the portal vein (l. 31), the gall-bladder (l. 36) and the 'net-work' (Pl. 46, 57) and is to be read minātu (Brünnow, No. 5973). The part in question is larger (rabî) than 'its interior surface.' See Jastrow, II, p. 298, n. 12 for a full discussion of both terms.

<sup>85</sup>Cf. CT, XX, 25, 18; 27, 5; 29, 6.

<sup>86</sup>DAMAL (iṣ)=irapîš (Brünnow, No. 545). See Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 223, 22-27, etc.

<sup>87</sup>See Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 623.

<sup>88</sup>See examples in Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 253, n. 4.

## L. 10:

šumma maš<sup>89</sup> ma-la ubāni im-ta-ši<sup>90</sup> ardu ma-la bēli-šu  
i-ma-aš-ši u-lu amtu bēli-ša i-ram-ši-ma ma-la bēlti-ša  
i-ma-aš-ši.

"If the papillary appendix in comparison with the pyramidal appendix is large, the servant in comparison with his master will be large, or in the case of a maid, her master will love her, and in comparison with her mistress she will be large."

The first two columns read:

ra-bu-u  
"large"

ma-ṣu-u  
"broad"<sup>91</sup>

The papillary appendix figured on the picture of a liver, CT, VI, 1, it will be observed, is quite small in comparison with the finger-shaped pyramidal appendix. At times, indeed, the form is so tiny as to be scarcely visible, and not infrequently on sheep's livers that I have seen it appeared to be entirely wanting. The circumstance of its being 'large' is therefore unusual, and it is consequently taken as a sign that the one who is small will become great. The contrast between the 'servant' and the 'master,' or the maid and her mistress represents the contrast between

<sup>89</sup> The sign maš (Brünnow, No. 2024) designates the *processus papillaris*—the smaller appendix attached to the caudate lobe. See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 255, n. 4, where the reading BIR (corrected p. 267, n. 3) is an error for maš (see Stroock, *Oriental. Literaturzeit.*, Vol. X, Sp. 72). Niru which at one time I took to be the phonetic reading turns out to be the reading for ME-NI 'the common bile duct' (*ductus choledochus*). See Jastrow, II, p. 326, n. 5.

<sup>90</sup> For maṣû in the sense of 'large,' 'broad,' 'compressed,' and the like (Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 550b) not to be confused with another maṣû (or a māṣu [?]) (Muss-Arnolt, pp. 59 and 570) which on the contrary means 'narrow,' 'small,' etc.

<sup>91</sup> The juxtaposition of rabû with maṣû is at first sight somewhat puzzling because of the apparently double meaning attached to maṣû as either 'small' or 'large' (see preceding note). That a contrast is intended between the appearance of the usually very small *processus papillaris* and the ordinarily much larger *processus pyramidalis* is of course obvious, the former being represented as more fully developed than usual in comparison with the latter; and since the verb maṣû is used to express this idea, it follows that this verb must also be intended in the second column, and not maṣû 'small.' The two terms rabû and maṣû are therefore meant to explain this condition, prognosticating the 'fulness' of the servant and maid as against the master and mistress. The word rabû in the first column is introduced as a synonym of maṣû in order to show the justification of interpreting the omen as pointing to breadth or enlargement. The pupil is in this way taught that the fact that the ordinarily small papillary appendix is 'large' is the basis for the interpretation that servant and maid—instead of the master and mistress—are to be 'large,' or in other words the topsy-turvy character of the two appendices points to a reversion of the natural order—the small will be large and the large will become small. For the preposition mala or mal used to express a comparison see Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 540b.



the two appendices, and the unusual condition of the larger appendix being compressed is looked upon as a confirmation of the interpretation that the inferior shall assert himself (or herself) against the superior.

L. 12:

šumma šumêli marti ša-mid šêpu-ka sa-ad nakri.<sup>92</sup>

"If the left side of the gall-bladder is firm, through thee, destruction of the enemy."

The two explanatory columns read:

ša-mit-tum  
"firmness"

išdân<sup>93</sup> kinâti<sup>94</sup>  
"secure bases"

i. e., the 'firmness' of the left side of the gall-bladder points to 'security' and the fact that it is the left side of the gall-bladder which is 'firm' is a bad omen for the enemy, who is always represented by the left side in contrast to the ruler or to the ruler's army, symbolized by the right side as the lucky or favored side.

L. 13:

šumma kabittu imittu ub-bu-uk<sup>95</sup> išd-a-an kinâti.<sup>96</sup>

"If the liver to the right is secure—secure bases."

<sup>92</sup> A complete parallel to this line is found in one of the omens attached to an inscription of Nabonidus (V R. 63, II, 28) which may be taken as a proof that the interpretations of the omens in a report such as the priests of the king furnished, are taken from collections like ours, compiled as reference works and as guides. See for the line Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 261, n. 5. On sa-ad from sâdu 'destroy' see Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 747a.

<sup>93</sup> Written *suḥ* = iṣ-du (Brünnow, No. 4811) with the complement a-an to indicate the plural or possibly the dual (see Ungnad, *Assyr. Gram.*, § 22) and Lajciak, *Plural- und Dualendungen an semitische Nomen* [Leipzig, 1903], pp. 48-55). The use of iṣ-du 'support,' 'foundation' is introduced in view of šêpu 'foot' in the interpretation, and if išdân be taken as a dual, the reference would be to the legs as 'supports,' just as in the Targum to I Kings 10:19 the same word אֲשֵׁרָה 'supports' is the rendering for יָרֵךְ.

<sup>94</sup> Gi-NA with the plural sign.

<sup>95</sup> II, 1 from abâku which is another Assyrian verb that like maṣḡ (see above, p. 298, n. 90) has two meanings the one contrary to the other (1) 'endure,' 'cling to,' etc. (cf. Arabic

عَظِمَ) and (2) 'throw off,' 'overthrow,' etc. The context—by the association with išdân kinâti—shows clearly that the former sense is here meant, whereas in other passages it is found in the sense of 'remove, misplaced': ub-bu-kat (*CT*, XX, 32, 77, 78) šu-ta-bak-ka (Clay, *Cassite Archives*, XIV, No. 4, 6, etc.). See Jastrow, II, p. 280, n. 8. Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 1774 (81, 2-4, 227) šumma kabittu imittu e-bi-ik furnishes a parallel to our passage. Delitzsch (*HWB*, p. 115a) is hardly justified in assuming a stem אָפַק, but at the most אָפַק by the side of אָבַק—though the two are probably identical as Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 6a, regards them.

<sup>96</sup> Written as in the second column of the preceding line.

The first two columns read:

e-pi-ik-tum  
"security"

išd-a-an kināti  
"secure bases"

The association of ideas is obvious and the circumstance that it is the right side of the liver which exhibits compactness adds to the favorable character of the sign.

L. 14:

šumma maš[e-]ba-at<sup>97</sup> ebûr mâti išir.<sup>98</sup>

"If the papillary appendix is inclosed, the produce of the land will thrive."

The explanatory columns read:

e-bi-tum  
"inclosure"

šubtu<sup>99</sup> ne-eḥ-tum  
"peaceful dwelling"

The interpretation of good crops as 'security' is an interesting association of ideas. In times of disturbance, the even course of things is interfered with and vice-versa, bad crops lead to internal disorders.

L. 15 reads:

šumma martu pânātu-ša<sup>100</sup> ana imitti šaknû ta-a-a-rat ili ana amêli šarru mât-su i-ram-ma.

"If the edges of the gall-bladder lie toward the right, reconciliation of god with man, the king will be gracious to his land."<sup>101</sup>

<sup>97</sup> The restoration is indicated by the word in the first column. The underlying stem is the same from which we obtain uppu 'inclosure' (see Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 78b) and the same verb (II, 1) is found as ub-bu-u IV R. 26, No. 2, 4 i-mat zu-ka-ki-pu a-me-lam la ub-bu-u 'the spittle of a scorpion does not inclose a man;' cf. Meissner, *Supplement*, p. 13b, and also see Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 305, n. 7.

<sup>98</sup> SI-DI(ir) = išir from išaru (Brünnow, No. 3461). The phrase occurs frequently in astrological omens, e. g., Craig, *Astrological-Astronomical Texts*, p. 57, obv. 4; 60 (K. 3002), 11-16; 10 (la išir); 68, obv. 9, etc., etc.

<sup>99</sup> KI-KU = šubtu (Brünnow, No. 9824). The phrase is of frequent occurrence in historical texts (see the passages in Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, pp. 662b ff.) as well as in omen texts, e. g., CT, XX, 4 (K. 6889), 11; 34, 6 šubtu ne-eḥ-ti išab, etc. Cf. Jastrow, II, p. 260, n. 7.

<sup>100</sup> IGI(MEŠ)—the points or edges of the gall-bladder, perhaps to be read amerûti See below, p. 301, n. 101a.

<sup>101</sup> Literally 'will love.' The two interpretations are to be regarded as alternatives according to prevailing conditions or to the nature of the inquiry.

Unfortunately the first column to this line is injured.<sup>101a</sup> The second column reads:

ta-a-a-ra-tum "reconciliation"

We are therefore left in doubt as to the exact feature of the sign noted which suggests the return of god to man, and the love of the king for his land, which is likewise viewed as a reconciliation on his part. A fuller form of such an interpretation is found in the omens attached to a text of Nabonidus.<sup>102</sup> A parallel to the sign noted is found in this inscription (Col. XI, 23) where it is interpreted as piḫittu 'appointment,' i. e., pointing to a favorable answer to the inquiry whether such and such a one is to be intrusted with some official service.<sup>103</sup>

L. 16:

šumma ḫaḫkad na ka-bi-is ummāni-ka ina reš ēḫli-šu  
namra<sup>104</sup> ikkal.<sup>105</sup>

"If the head of the biliary duct is depressed, thy army will, out of the best of his (sc. the enemy's) land, acquire glory."

The two explanatory columns read:

[ki-ib]su<sup>106</sup>  
"depression"

a-kal nam-ra<sup>107</sup>  
"acquiring glory"

<sup>101a</sup> Perhaps to be restored a[me-ru-ti] in the sense of 'edges,' corresponding to IGI(MEŠ) in Col. III (Brünnow, Nos. 9267 and 9325). See Meissner, *Supplement*, p. 10a and IV R.2 I\*, Col. III, 1-2. IGI-GAB-A(MEŠ)=a-me-ru-ti.

<sup>102</sup> *Inscription der Stele Nabu'naiids* (ed. Messerschmidt), Col. XI, 14-21. "Those who hated will love (ir-ta-a-mu same verb as in our passage). In a land of hostility there will be reconciliation (su-lum-ma-a), Sin, and Šamaš will walk at my army's side and overthrow the enemy, the angered gods will be at peace (šalmu) with man." Cf. Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 268.

<sup>103</sup> On the custom of consulting omens through a liver inspection in the case of appointments to office, see Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 263, n. 10 and the references there given.

<sup>104</sup> ḪA-LA=zittu or namru. See Jastrow, "Notes on Omen Texts" (*ASJL*, XXIII, pp. 100 ff.) where this passage and parallels are fully treated.

<sup>105</sup> KU=a kálu (Brünnow, No. 882). On a kálu as a synonym of kašādu and the phrase here used see Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 254, n. 8, as well as the article quoted in the preceding note.

<sup>106</sup> The correct restoration suggested by Hunger, *Becherwahrung bei den Babyloniern*, p. 37.

<sup>107</sup> Two words suggest the reading namru for ḪA-LA in the third column and ikkal for KU. Instead of namra, however, zittam as a synonym is possible. See for the interpretation of this line with a full discussion of numerous parallel passages, Jastrow "Notes on Omen Texts," *ASJL*, XXIII, pp. 97-103.

The fact that the biliary duct is deeply set points to the firm footing that the king's army will secure in the enemy's territory.

L. 17:

šumma na kima azkari<sup>108</sup> ana šaplānu<sup>109</sup> māt nakri šal-ta<sup>110</sup> ilami.<sup>111</sup>

"If the biliary duct is like a crescent at the lower end, the enemy's land will be surrounded with hostility."

The two explanatory columns read:

šap-liš ka-na-šu<sup>112</sup>  
"bent below"

kašitti<sup>113</sup> kâtâ  
"conquest"

i. e., the circumstance that the 'lower' part of the biliary duct is curved so as to resemble a crescent, points to the 'humiliation' of the enemy's land or, in other words, to its conquest. It will be observed that the sign involves a twofold association of ideas—the 'curving' and the fact that the curving is 'below'—both suggesting a lowering and a bending to superior power.

L. 18:

šumma mu reš kabitti<sup>114</sup> ša imitti ul-lu-uš<sup>115</sup> ul-lu-uš lib-bi ummāni.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>108</sup> UD-SAKAR=azkaru 'new-moon' and then the crescent of the moon as so frequently depicted on seal cylinders (Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 26a). The biliary duct appears as crescent-shaped, e.g., on the clay model of a liver (CT, VI, 1).

<sup>109</sup> KR-TA(nu)=šaplānu (Brünnnow, No. 9673)—the contrast to elānu in l. 7. The direction of the parts of the liver being, as already indicated (see above p. 297), from below upward or from right to left, the 'lower end' of the biliary duct refers to what we would call the 'upper' or 'left' end.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 226, 11; CT, XX, 12 (K. 9213), 7, etc.

<sup>111</sup> NI-GIN(mi)=ilami (cf. Brünnnow, No. 10334).

<sup>112</sup> The contrast e-liš ka-na-šu with the explanation u-šur-tum 'defeat' is found in the lexicographical list Rm. 131, 7 (Meissner, *Supplement Texts*, p. 20), which appears to be likewise devoted to an explanation of terms occurring in divination texts, arranged on the same principle as ours. See below p. 310, n. 147.

<sup>113</sup> KUR(ti)=kašitti.

<sup>114</sup> MU-SAG-UR frequently used in association with U-SAG-UR, e.g., CT, XX, 1, obv. 4-5, Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 38, col. I, rev. 14, etc. Inasmuch as in Roman hepatoscopy the 'head of the liver' *caput jecoris* (see above p. 289) is the designation of the *processus pyramidalis*, I am inclined to take SAG-UR=reš kabitti 'head of the Liver' as the point of this appendix. Therefore MU-SAG-UR=the 'upper' surface of the point and U-SAG-UR the 'under' surface. See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 229, n. 1. U-SAG-UR is to be read kubšu (Brünnnow, No. 5864), the reading of MU-SAG is still unknown. The element UR is often omitted in the case of both of these designations, e.g., CT, XX, 14, 12; 15, 28, etc.

<sup>115</sup> II, 1 of alāṣu, the context suggests 'enlarge' as the fundamental meaning of alāṣu.

<sup>116</sup> For other examples of this phrase, see CT, XX, 31, 13, 14; Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 8, rev. 12 and 14, etc., and in the complete parallel to our line in the *Inscription der Stele Nabu'naiḥ* (Messerschmidt), Col. XI, 38. See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 271.

"If the upper part of the liver to the right is enlarged, rejoicing of heart of my army."

To this line, the adjoining two columns read:

ul-šu  
"enlargement"

ul-šu-um-ma  
"rejoicing"

Here we have, as in the following line, the direct play upon words as the basis for the association of ideas, the 'enlargement' of the point of the *processus pyramidalis* suggesting the 'enlargement' of the spirits of the army.

L. 19:

šumma gi-biš imitti marti uktabir<sup>117</sup> gi-biš ummâni ana mât nakri.

"If the bag of the gall-bladder to the right is swollen, (advance of) my forces to the enemy's country."

The two explanatory columns read:

gi-ib-šu  
"swelling"

gi-ib-šum-ma  
"amassing"

As in the previous line, the word to the right indicates the verbal noun, and to the left the substantive form proper—distinguished by the emphatic ending *m*.

L. 20:

šumma ina imitti marti zibu<sup>118</sup> šakin<sup>119</sup>-ma šapliš immar<sup>120</sup> zibu ma-ag-ša-ru zibu Šamaš.<sup>121</sup>

"If to the right of the gall-bladder there is a 'club' seen below, the club (or weapon) will be powerful—it is the club of Šamaš."<sup>121</sup>

<sup>117</sup> *Ĥu-si*=uktabir. See Jastrow, II, p. 269, n. 3.

<sup>118</sup> (Giš) *ku* to be read as above p. 296, n. 77<sup>a</sup>, pointed out to be *zi-bu*, when used to designate some phenomenon on the liver, is of very frequent—indeed constant—occurrence in divination texts. It is the name given to certain markings on the liver that were fantastically viewed as 'weapons' and associated with the weapons of various gods, according to their varying forms. These markings are particularly prominent in the case of livers of sheep raised in marshy districts and are in part at least pathological in character. See Thulin, *Die etruskische Disciplin*, Vol. II, pp. 38, 39. For a full discussion of these markings see Jastrow, "Notes on Omen Texts" (II. "The Weapon of the Gods"), *AJSL*, XXIII, pp. 103-5.

<sup>119</sup> *gar* to be read *šakin*, the phonetic complement in being frequently added, e.g., *CT*, XX, 31, 1, 5, 7, 9, 11, etc., or for the plural *nu* as above, p. 300, l. 15.

<sup>120</sup> *igi* to be read *im-mar* as passages with the phonetic complement *mar* added show, e.g., *CT*, XX, 32, 77; Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, pp. 52, 17; 69, 12.

<sup>121</sup> An explanatory note added to specify the particular kind of marking meant. See Jastrow, *AJSL*, XXIII, 113.

The two explanatory columns read:

mag-ša-ru  
"power"

da-na-nu  
"strong"

The underlying stem *gašāru* signifying 'to be strong,' the meaning of the noun form cannot be doubtful; its explanation as *dananu* 'strong' is a further aid to the determination of its meaning. In this case, there is a deviation from the principles to be observed in the relationship of the two explanatory columns to each other, inasmuch as *dananu* does not actually occur in the interpretation, but is added as an explanation of *magšaru*. For this reason, as well as because of other considerations set forth elsewhere, I take *magšaru* as the actual designation of the club (or weapon) of the sun-god with which the particular form of 'club' observed is compared. The interpretation, concisely put, is intended to suggest that since the 'club' is a *magšaru*, the sign points to the 'strength' of the weapons of the ruler.

L. 21:

šumma iṣ-ri<sup>122</sup> imitti inammir<sup>123</sup> ul-lu-uṣ lib-bi ummâni.

"If the border to the right is resplendent, rejoicing of the heart of my army."

The two explanatory columns read:

nu-um-ru  
"brilliancy"

ḫu-ud lib-bi  
"joy of the heart"

i. e., the 'brilliancy' of the border of the liver suggests the 'joy' of the army. The word in the first column thus offers a confirmation of the reading *inammir*, while the second column furnishes a synonym to *ulluṣ libbi*.

L. 22:

šumma kabittu imitti atar<sup>124</sup> dannu<sup>125</sup> ul-lu-uṣ lib-bi ummâni.

<sup>122</sup> Iṣ-ri is clearly the designation of the border (or circumference) of the liver.

<sup>123</sup> Written LAḫ(ir) = inammir (cf. Brünnow, No. 8145). On the color of the liver see below p. 306.

<sup>124</sup> DIRIG = atāru (Brünnow, No. 3729).

<sup>125</sup> Written GAR-KALAG according to Brünnow (No. 12088), like KALAG (Brünnow, No. 6194) alone. The reading of the first column atar nam-ru suggests that GAR-KALAG may be read namru. On the basis of this passage alone, however, it is hazardous to assume this value, since the first column frequently suggests a synonym in preference to the word used in the omen. At all events the meaning is perfectly clear and the difference between dannu and namru is not of any moment in this instance.



"If the liver to the right is very firm, rejoicing of the heart of my army."

The explanatory columns read:

atar nam-ru	ḥu-ud lib-bi
"very shining"	"joy of heart"

The interesting text from this point on is unfortunately defective, and while some of the lines can be partially restored, we are unable to carry on the analysis for the rest of the text in the same complete manner as we have done hitherto. However, even in its defective condition, the text furnishes some further elucidations of the principles of Babylonian hepatoscopy and of the application of these principles to specific signs observed on the liver. It is worth while, therefore, to attempt an interpretation.

L. 24 reads:

šumma KAK-TI<sup>126</sup> ša imitti u[šumēli ḥalkā(?)<sup>127</sup> šī-lim-tum.<sup>128</sup>  
 "If the KAK-TI to the right and [left are destroyed], annihilation."

The two explanatory columns read:

ummanâte ma'dûti <sup>129</sup>	zu-ku-ru-ti ašaridi <sup>130</sup>
"numerous hosts"	"supremacy of my general"

The connection between the first column and the sign observed is obscure, and must remain so till the reading and exact meaning of KAK(ti) can be determined.

L. 25 reads:

šumma ina kaḫḫad marti di-ḥu nadī-ma . . . . .[ḥud lib-bi  
 zanān šamê].

"If at the head of the gall-bladder there is a hole and . . . . .  
 [joy of heart, plentiful rain]."

The explanatory columns enabling us to restore the end of the line from the faint traces read:

<sup>126</sup> See above p. 295, n. 66.

<sup>127</sup> Read ḤA-A (with plural sign) = ḥalkā, like CT, XX, 45, 18. Cf. also Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 293, n. 7.

<sup>128</sup> Of frequent occurrence in omen texts, e.g., CT, XX, 2, rev. 6; 6, 9-11; 7, 19-21; Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 47, 15; 12, 16, etc. See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 299, n. 14.

<sup>129</sup> ERIM with plural sign (Brünnnow, No. 8170) followed by ZUN with plural sign (Brünnnow, No. 8623). Read, therefore, ummanâte ma'dûti.

<sup>130</sup> SAG-KALAG with MU as suffix of first person = ašaridi (Brünnnow, No. 3619).

di-ḥu lib-bu  
"hole inside"

ḥu-ud lib-bi zanān<sup>131</sup> šamē  
"joy of heart, plentiful rain"

L. 25:

šumma kabittu imitti i-haš-[ši-šu<sup>132</sup> ul-lu-uš lib-bi um-māni].

"If the liver to the right [is resplendent, rejoicing of the heart of my army]."

The explanatory columns read:

ḥi-iš-ša-tum  
"resplendency"

ul-lu-uš lib-bi  
"rejoicing of the heart"

The association of ideas is the same as in ll. 21–22, and also in the following line, where the 'brilliant,' 'shining' color of the part of the liver singled out suggests enlargement and success. The color of the liver, as is well known, varies considerably according to pathological conditions in the sacrificial animal, and it is interesting to note that in Greek and Roman hepatoscopy likewise the color of the liver enters into the interpretation of the signs observed. Aeschylus,<sup>133</sup> for example, in describing the benefits conferred on mankind by Prometheus includes therein his teaching mankind to derive omens from the inspection of the entrails,<sup>134</sup> specifying the doctrine as follows:

"The smoothness of the entrails, having what color would be pleasing to the deities, the well-formed and variegated character of the gall-bladder and lobe."

<sup>131</sup> SUR (an) = za nān; cf. Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 59, 7, where we find the phonetic writing za-na-an šamē. The combination ŠUR AN-E frequently occurs in the astrological texts, e. g., Craig, *Astrological-Astronomical Texts*, Pl. 27 (81, 2-4, 206), rev. 21. Virolleaud's reading (*L'Astrologie Chaldéenne*, fasc. 8, p. 11, 10) izannun šamē is to be corrected accordingly.

<sup>132</sup> From ḥašāšu for which the ideogram is 𒄩-𒄪 (V R. 39, 89) and which is therefore a synonym of kuzbu, ulṣu, šullulu (from alālu)—all having the meaning of 'splendor,' 'enlargement,' 'joy,' and the like. See Brünnow, Nos. 8244–48.

<sup>133</sup> *Prometheus*, ll. 495–97. See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 350.

<sup>134</sup> Σπλάγχνα 'entrails' which by the side of ἱερά 'sacred parts' or ἱερεῖα 'victims' is the term used by Greek writers and never ἥπαρ, just as the Latin writers speak of the *exta* and not of *jecur* when they refer to hepatoscopy in general. Such a usage no doubt points to the inclusion of other organs—as lungs, heart, and entrails—in divination rites, and yet it is noteworthy that when in Greek or Latin writers *specific* details of the inspection of an animal for divination purposes are given, the organ in all except a very few cases specified is the liver, and all specific signs observed are such as are found on the liver, showing, therefore, that here, too, it is the liver which is *par excellence* the organ of revelation. See the passages in Blecher, *De Extispicio*, pp. 3–32. Indeed, according to Thulin, *Die etruskische Disciplin*, Vol. II, pp. 44, 45, other organs outside of the liver are rarely referred to and appear to have been consulted only when showing abnormal phenomena, whereas in ordinary cases the examination was limited to the liver. See also Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 216.

## L. 26:

šumma martu nam-ba-[ṭa-at kima(?) . . . ul-lu-uš lib-bi ummāni].

"If the gall-bladder shines like(?) . . . rejoicing of the heart of my army."

The adjoining two columns reading

nam-ba-ṭu  
"brilliant"

ul-lu-uš lib-bi  
"joy of heart"

require no further comment.

## L. 27:

šumma martu šīru [libû<sup>135</sup> rubû libbu duḥudšu ika-šad(?)]<sup>136</sup>

"If the flesh of the gall-bladder [is fatty, the ruler through his strength will conquer(?)]."

Cols. I and II to this line read:

li-bu-u  
"fat"

duḥ-du  
"abundance"

The fatty gall-bladder or its fatty appearance is interpreted as pointing to prosperity and abundance.

## L. 28:

šumma ina imitti pantî<sup>137</sup> šul-[ul-lu ebûr mâtî maḥīra nap-ša ibāšši].<sup>138</sup>

"If to the right the liver surface is [resplendent—the produce of the land will be high-priced]."

<sup>135</sup> Read ŠAL-LU which according to Craig, *Assyr. Relig. Texts*, Vol. II, Pl. II, obv. 13 is to be read li-bu-u 'fat'—precisely as the explanatory column has it. See Meissner, *Supplement*, p. 105; and Zimmern, *Beiträge*, p. 172 (No. 57, n. 6). The word occurs frequently in incantation and ritual texts.

<sup>136</sup> The word duḥdu 'abundance' in Col. II of this line suggests the restoration of this line according to CT, XX, 50, 17, and Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 95, 10. Practically the same phrase is found also CT, XX, 2, rev. 8: 49, rev. 32 (also to be restored Pl. 6 [Rm 86] 6) Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 8, rev. 13. See also the omen in the Inscription of Nabonidus, VR. 63, Col. II, 18 and the comment in Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 257, n. 2, and p. 327, n. 5. The restoration would appear in the text as

NUN ŠA ŠI-ŠI-KI (šu) KUR (ad)

<sup>137</sup> BA=pantû, the name of the liver surface on which the gall-bladder, the biliary, and hepatic ducts are found, and all the other parts and chief phenomena of the liver, but which, according to modern anatomical nomenclature is the hind or inferior surface, whereas the Babylonians, because this surface was first seen upon opening a sheep, called it the "upper" surface or "face" of the liver, and the other side the "back." The word pantû from being the chief side of the liver came to be used in a general way for the liver. See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 227, n. 2, and the writer's article, "Signs and Names of the Liver in Babylonia," ZA, XX, pp. 112-27.

<sup>138</sup> The restoration suggested by the reading in Col. II and the passages III R. 54, No. 3, 1-3, though of course a variant phrase like I. 3 maḥīra ina-pu-uš (cf. III R. 60, 73) is also possible. See a similar passage in our text Pl. 41, Col. V, 15, na-pa-aš maḥīri.

Cols. I and II read:

šul-ul-lu<sup>138a</sup>  
"resplendent"

maḥīru<sup>139</sup> nap-šu  
"high price"

The sign again refers to the high coloring of the liver or, more precisely, of the surface of the liver, which is explained as pointing to commercial prosperity. High prices in ancient Babylonia appear to have been indicative of "good times"—a financial boom.

L. 29:

šumma ḳabal nipti ana[elānu larû<sup>140</sup> ibaši rubû ina harrāni illiku ikašad].<sup>141</sup>

"If in the middle of the hepatic duct above there is a branch, the ruler on his expedition will conquer]."

Cols. I and II read:

la-ru-u  
"branch"

ki-šit-tum  
"conquest"

The association of ideas appears to rest on the fact that the subsidiary duct branches out from the middle of the hepatic duct on the 'upper' side—'middle' and 'upper' prognosticating a favorable issue.

<sup>138a</sup>The ideogram of this word being, according to Brûnnow, No. 8248, HI-LI (see above p. 306, n. 132), there can be no doubt as to its general meaning, as 'shining' and the like. Examples of verbal forms of alālu in the same sense *CT*, XX, 5, 13, 22-25 (i-tal-la-lu-ši i-tal-lu-ka, etc.), Knudtzon, *Assyrische Gebete*, No. 8, rev. 11.

<sup>139</sup>KI-LAM, the common ideogram for maḥīru (Brûnnow, No. 9803) so constantly occurring in business documents.

For napšu and forms of the verb in combination with maḥīru see Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 710b. In omen texts we find as interpretations also (a) maḥīru iṣaḥīr, Craig, *Astrol.-Astron. Texts*, Pl. 2, 25, 27, 40, etc., and (b) maḥīra mātu inapuš, Craig, Pl. 21, 16; III R. 60, 73.

<sup>140</sup>In view of passages like *CT*, XX, 11 (K. 6393) 7; 11 (K. 6724) 18-19; 18 (K. 12471) 3; 24 (K. 3676), obv. 4-5; 25, 5-6; 28, 2, 6, there can be no doubt of the restoration of anaAN-TA-(nu) [=elānu-] PA TUR (ši).

What a PA looks like is shown by the diagram *CT*, XX, 28, which, besides furnishing a proof that GIR is the hepatic duct, makes it clear that PA is a subsidiary hepatic duct. The diagram illustrates a variety of such subsidiary ducts branching out to the right, in the middle and at the base of the hepatic duct, both above (elānu) and below (šaplānu). One of the common equivalents of PA is ḥaṭṭu 'scepter.' From this to some such meaning as 'branch' is only a short step, while the reading larû in the first column may reasonably be taken to be the phonetic value of PA when applied to subsidiary duct. See Jastrow, II, p. 297, n. 1. The word in question is found here for the first time, and it is therefore idle to speculate as to its fundamental meaning. We may provisionally enter it as 'branch'—to fit the context. The omen texts furnish quite a number of words not found elsewhere, as e. g., zibu 'club,' diḥu 'hole,' kaskasu 'flake,' niptû hepatic duct, niru common bile duct, etc., so that it is not surprising to come across another.

<sup>141</sup>Restored according to *CT*, XX, 39, 1. See above p. 292, n. 45.

L. 30:

šumma maš kima [ku-ul-ti . . . ul-lu-uš lib-bi ummāni].

"If the papillary appendix is like [a kultu . . . rejoicing of the heart of my army]."

Cols. I and II:

ku-ul-tu<sup>142</sup>

ul-lu-uš lib-bi ummāni  
"rejoicing of heart in my army."

For the next eleven lines the third column is lacking altogether and there is not much to be made of Cols. I and II, which are likewise badly broken.

L. 31, Cols. I and II:

li-[me]-tum<sup>143</sup>  
"surrounding"

ašibûte-šu ippaṭarû (?) ê-  
ṭir<sup>144</sup> ili  
"its inhabitants will be freed  
through the protection of a god"

For ll. 32-35 only the second column remains:

[li-me (?)]-tum

bar-ri-e<sup>145</sup> bit amêli  
"superabundance of the house  
of man"  
la ka-šit-tum  
"no conquest"  
la ka-šit-tum  
"no conquest"  
sa-kip-tum lumun libbi<sup>146</sup>  
"overthrow, misfortune"

<sup>142</sup>Without the third column, it is impossible to determine the meaning of this word which I have not met with as yet elsewhere in the omen texts. Langdon, *JOS*, XXVII, p. 97, n. 3, thinks it may be some object of wood. This is possible, though his supposition that the comparisons in these texts are usually with such objects is erroneous, cf. Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, pp. 79, 85, 103, etc. The comparison is very frequently with small animals or with parts of animals or with fruits, or, in fact, with almost anything.

<sup>143</sup>Limetum points to a verb ilamī in the first part of the line devoted to the description of the sign. The catch-words of the interpretation begin with the following KU-A with plural sign, perhaps to be read ašibûte. Note that the duplicate Rm 2, 466 has GAB-MEŠ=p a ṭ r ū.

<sup>144</sup>KAR (ir) pointing to the reading ê ṭir ili; cf. Brünnow, No. 7739. The verb e ṭêru occurs not infrequently in omen texts, e. g., *CT*, XX, 14, 8-27, 9, where e ṭêru with e k ê m u, ša tik and ka b ā s u all are entered as synonyms and as possible readings for KAR.

<sup>145</sup>Cf. i-bir-ri as the interpretation of an omen, Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, 88, 17 and 94, rev. 6; also ub-bir (l. 4), ub-bir-šu (l. 5).

<sup>146</sup>ŠA-HUL=lumun libbi. The two expressions sakiptum and lumun libbi are of course introduced as alternatives. Langdon (*JOS*, XXVII, p. 97), who misses the point here as in other instances, attempts to combine them.

Cols. I and II of ll. 36 and 37 are too fragmentary to be considered.

L. 38:

a-[ru-ur-tum (?)]  
"curse"

L. 39:

[si-(?)-si-il-tum]<sup>147</sup>

a-ru-ur-tum  
"curse"

L. 40:

ša-[laḥ-]tum<sup>148</sup>  
"tear"

maš-la-'a-tum<sup>149</sup>  
"capture"

With the help of various passages in omen texts,<sup>150</sup> the third column can be restored with great probability as follows:

šumma [irru saḥirūti imitti šal-ḥu maš-la-'a-ti ummāni].

"If the network is torn apart, capture of my army."

<sup>147</sup> Restored from Rm 131, 5 (published by Meissner, *Supplement*, p. 20 of Texts). This fragment is part of a text *much like ours*, so that here, too, we must beware of taking the words of the two columns as synonyms, *as has hitherto been done*. They represent the catch-word of the sign noted and of the interpretation of liver omens respectively, belonging to a lost third column. Whether the entire text was a duplicate is doubtful, even though several lines (36-42=Rm 131, 2-9) agree. There is no agreement between this fragment and any of the lines preserved on the reverse of our text. I hope to treat this fragment more fully on some other occasion. No doubt further investigation will show that there are other lexicographical texts, hitherto regarded as furnishing synonymous expressions, which belong to the same category. Note that in Rm 131, 5 the first sign *si* is missing, but the restoration suggested by Delitzsch, *HWB*, p. 506b seems plausible. I suspect that *si* (7)-*sil-tum* represents a term with which a comparison was instituted in the first part of the corresponding line of Col. III, devoted to the description of the signs noted.

<sup>148</sup> To be restored according to Rm 131, 6. That the second sign (Brünnow, No. 7766) is to be read *laḥ* and not *par* as Meissner, *Supplement*, p. 97b, proposed (who was followed by Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 1093b), or *bir* as Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, p. 89, assumed, may be concluded from the omen report K. 1523 (S. A. Smith, *Keilschrifttexte Asurbanapals*, Vol. III, Pl. 26), *šumma irru saḥirūti šal-ḥu maš-la-'a-ti rubi nidūti ummāni*, i. e., "if the network is torn, capture of the chief (or king), overthrow of my army." The word in the first column having reference to the sign observed, the association is no doubt in our text also between some form of the verb *šalāḥu* and a noun *šalaḥtum*. That the sign is an unfavorable one is distinctly stated in the summary of the signs K. 1523, 15, 16; cf. Jastrow, II, p. 293, n. 6.

<sup>149</sup> Occurring a number of times as the interpretation of an omen, e. g., *CT*, XX, 31, 31, 32 (*maš-la-'a-ti ummāni* and *maš-la-'a-ti ummān nakri*); 16, (K. 6848), 4, 5, where no doubt *ummān* and *ummān nakri* are also to be supplied besides K. 1523, just referred to. These passages show conclusively that the word has some such sense as 'capture' and since we have a word *šallu* 'captive' (Muss-Arnolt, *loc. cit.*, p. 1035b), well vouched for, we need not hesitate to assign the force of 'capture' to *maš-lā'tum*. The association of *šalāḥu* with *maš-lā'tum* embodies, therefore, a play upon words as well as upon ideas.

<sup>150</sup> See the previous note and compare also K. 4045, 10 (Boissier, *loc. cit.*), *šumma irru saḥirūti imitti parsū u šal-ḥu*, 'if the network to the right is divided and torn,' Ll. 42-44 began with *ša-NIGN* so that it is permissible from this circumstance also to restore the same signs in ll. 40, 41 and perhaps also in l. 39. The verb, it is to be noted, occurs in the case of other parts of the liver as, e. g., with the *porta hepatis*, *CT*, XX, 31, 31, 32 (*šal-ḥat*). In the case of the 'network' the sign indicates that the group of lines and curves are broken up instead of being continuous (*alkū* as in l. 2), see above p. 293, n. 47a.



## L. 41, Cols. I and II:

e-[liš]<sup>151</sup> ka-na-šu  
"bent above"

u-šur-tum<sup>152</sup>  
"defeat"

## L. 42, Cols. I and II:

[li-me-]tum<sup>153</sup>  
"surrounding"

u-šur-tum  
"defeat"

## L. 43, Cols. I and II:

[si-ši-ir-tu]<sup>154</sup>  
"surrounding"

[šanê tēmi]<sup>155</sup>  
"loss of reason"

The reverse of the tablet which we have now reached comprising Cols. IV to VI is also in a most lamentable condition, without a single line complete for all three columns.<sup>156</sup>

For ll. 1-10 the third column is missing entirely and for the first line also Cols. V and VI<sup>157</sup> of the explanatory columns. Ll. 2-10 read so far as preserved as follows:

2. tal-lu

3. nim-ru  
"shining"

4. ia-ar-tum<sup>158</sup>  
"flow" (?)

zanân[šamê]<sup>159</sup>  
"rain from heaven"

<sup>151</sup> According to Rm 131, 7. Contrast to šaplis kanāšu (above Col. I, l. 18).

<sup>152</sup> Cf. Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 51, 15; mātu u-šur-ti ramāni-ša iṣabat as a distinctly unfavorable omen as shown by l. 13 where for a similar omen we find mātu ḥušaḥḫu immar "the land will see famine." Ušurtu is therefore to be derived from ašāru 'to humble,' 'lower,' and the like.

<sup>153</sup> Rm 131, 8.

<sup>154</sup> Rm 131, 9, which adds as a synonym li-me-tum—an indication that in the third column an ideograph was used—probably Brūnnow, No. 10328—which could be read either as lamû (No. 10334) or saḥāru (No. 10339) as, e. g., Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, p. 92, 13.

<sup>155</sup> Rm 131, 9 reads šan-e uš-[uš]=tē-e-mi as Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 47, 2, compared with the parallel passages CT, XX, 10, 4 and 12, 14 [K. 9213] (ša-ni tē-me) 27, 11. The third column is perhaps to be restored on the basis of Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, p. 92, 13, in combination with CT, XX, 10, 4 as follows:

šumma irru saḥirûti ištēnit(?) issaḥirû nu-kur mil-ki šanê tē-e-mi ina ḥarrāni illik taḫ-pu-da,  
i. e., "if the network is altogether (?) surrounded, perverted judgment, (and) loss of reason in the expedition that thou planest"—but this cannot of course be regarded as certain. See Jastrow, II, pp. 295 f., n. 6.

<sup>156</sup> How far Rm 131 ran parallel with our text it is impossible to say, but presumably not very far since there is no correspondence between Rm 131 and any portions of Cols. V and VI of the reverse of K. 2225 etc.

<sup>157</sup> Note that on the reverse it is Col. IV that furnishes the omens, Col. VI the catch-word of omen and Col. V the catch-word of the interpretation.

<sup>158</sup> Cf. CT, XX, 15 (K. 6848), 6 [mê] a-a-r-ti from āru (Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 3b, and see Jastrow, II, p. 339, n. 5.

<sup>159</sup> Cf. above, p. 306, n. 131.



10. kamtum ħur-ru-ur-tum<sup>170</sup>  
 "inclosure hollowed out"

kišitti kāti<sup>171</sup>  
 "conquest"

L. 11:

kam-tum eli kamti	kamâte u-a kamâte-šunu ikka- mû(?) <sup>172</sup>
"inclosure" over "inclosure"	"with inclosures of woe are their inclosures inclosed"

From here on the fourth column is partially preserved, and with the help of the fifth and sixth columns, and of parallel passages, the lines can to a certain extent be completed:

L. 12, Col. IV, reads:

šumma ina imitti [niptû bu-bu-'u-tum nadat dimtu ana  
mât šarri êrub].<sup>173</sup>

"If on the right side of [the hepatic duct there flows serum, sorrow will enter the land of the ruler]."

To this line Cols. V and IV read:

bu-bu-'u-tum <sup>174</sup>	di-im-tum
"serum"	"tear"

The association of ideas rests on the play between bubûtum as a 'flowing' of some kind and tears, while the other meaning of bubûtu 'hunger' and distress in general no doubt also enters as a factor.

therefore to be read erû according to Brûnnow, No. 4168; it is found combined with the same verb as here in Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 6, 13; 98, 19 (with phonetic complement šî); 219, 14, etc.

<sup>170</sup> Cf. ħa-ri-ir CT, XX, 50, 5, 6 of the *processus pyramidalis*.

<sup>171</sup> Corresponding, no doubt, to kât-su ikašad in the interpretation as, e. g., CT, XX, 47, 55.

<sup>172</sup> LAL-MEŠ u-a LAL-MEŠ-šû-nu LAL-MEŠ. An exceedingly difficult line for which see CT, XX, 21 (83, 1-18, 433), 7, and Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, p. 124. Only so much may be regarded as certain, that LAL, occurring three times, rests on the play between kamtum and the meaning kamû 'inclose' vouched for the sign in question. Cf. Brûnnow, No. 10094. Cf. S. A. Smith, *Miscellaneous Assyrian Texts*, p. 22 (K. 258), 4. LAL (mu) = ikkamû and l. 28 ina ka-ma-a-ti. In place of u-a the parallel CT, XX, 21 has the sign Brûnnow, No. 10251—the usual one for u-a 'alas,' 'woe,' etc.

<sup>173</sup> Completed according to CT, XX, 33, 101. Cf. also ll. 102-5. Traces of GIR = niptû 'hepatic duct' are visible.

<sup>174</sup> For bubu'tu as the liquid—gall and other juices—in the gall-bladder and in the various ducts, see Jastrow, II, p. 334, n. 4.

L. 13, Col. IV, may be restored as follows:

šumma ina kaḫḫad na di-[ḫu šakin zunnu izanun šamū  
ina reš arḫi ša-pi-ik].<sup>175</sup>

"If at the head of the biliary duct [there is a hole, the heavens will cause rain to come down in abundance at the beginning of the month]."

Cols. V and VI to this line read:

di-ḫu<sup>176</sup>  
"hole"

zu-un-nu<sup>177</sup>  
"rain"

L. 14, Col. IV:

šumma ina imitti panti<sup>178</sup> sul[-lu<sup>179</sup> šakin aššat amēli  
a-ka-a ul-lad].<sup>180</sup>

"If on the right side of the liver surface there is a 'street'(?), the wife of a man will give birth to a cripple."

Cols. V and VI:

sul-lu  
"street"

a-ku-u'i-al-lad  
"cripple will be born"

L. 15, Col. IV:

šumma ina imitti panti sul-[lu dag-šu<sup>181</sup> šakin na-pa-aš  
maḫiri ibaši].

"If on the right side of the liver surface [there is a pierced 'street'(?)] prices will be high."

<sup>175</sup> For the restoration see the duplicate K. 4432, 3 in combination with Thompson, *Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers*, No. 139, rev. 3, and Craig, *Astrological-Astronomical Texts*, Pl. 68 (Rm. 104), obv. 12, etc.

<sup>176</sup> A most common designation for a species of markings on the liver, for which the usual ideograph is BURU (Brünnow, No. 8632). For the proof that it is a hole see Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 237.

<sup>177</sup> The neo-Babylonian duplicate K. 4432 reads:

zu-un-[nu iz-za-nun] šamū ina reš arḫi ša[-pi-ik]

"rain will be abundant, the heavens at the beginning of the month will pour down."

<sup>178</sup> BA = panti 'liver surface.' See above p. 307, n. 137.

<sup>179</sup> Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, p. 118, discusses this term, but his conclusions are not satisfactory. The sullu of which K. 2090 furnishes a design is clearly again a species of markings on the liver, and in view of the fact that we have GIR = pa da nu 'road' as the name of one kind of markings, I would suggest identifying the designation with the well-known sullū 'street.' See Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 760a.

<sup>180</sup> Restored according to K. 258 (S. A. Smith, *Miscellaneous Assyrian Texts*, p. 22), obv. 26; cf. Delitzsch, *HWB*, p. 52b, whose suggestion of a kû 'cripple' I follow, though of course it is possible that some other bodily defect is intended.

<sup>181</sup> Cf. above p. 293, n. 51.

Cols. V and VI:

sul-lu dak-šu  
"pierced street"

na-pa-aš maḥīri<sup>182</sup>  
"high price"

L. 16, Col. IV:

šumma ina išid ṣēri ubāni [ . . . la itanpuḥ Adad iraḥiṣ  
u-lu aššat amēli zikara ul-lad].<sup>183</sup>

"If at the base of the back of the *processus pyramidalis* . . . . .  
does not shine forth, Adad will cause an overflow, or the wife of a man  
will give birth to a male."

Cols. V and VI read:

la itanpuḥ<sup>183a</sup>  
"not shining forth"

ri-ih-ṣu<sup>184</sup> aššat amēli zikara ul-lad  
"overflow" (or) "the wife of a man gives birth  
to a male."

L. 17, Col. IV, can be partially restored as follows:

šumma irru saḥirūti e-[bi-ma<sup>185</sup> di-ik-šu<sup>186</sup> kima zibi tuš-  
tap-pal zibē ummāni išakanū].

"If the network is inclosed and a point [like a club is set deep, the  
clubs of my army will prevail]."

<sup>182</sup> See above p. 308, n. 139. The neo-Babylonian duplicate has on the contrary RU (at)  
= nadat maḥīri 'low price.'

<sup>183</sup> For the restoration see CT, XX, 3, 3 and 13; 32, 57; 33, 85, 97-98, RA (iṣ) which a  
passage like ours—explained in Col. VI as ri-ih-ṣu—shows is to be read iraḥiṣ. Cf.  
Brünnow, No. 6361. The phrase Adad iraḥiṣ is also frequent in astrological-astronomical  
omens and reports, e. g., Craig, *Astrological-Astronomical Texts*, p. 63, 24-29, 57, 12; 60 (K.  
3551), 5; 44, obv. 10, 23, etc.; Thompson, *Reports of Astrologers*, etc., Nos. 24, 1 (RA [iṣ]) and  
215 rev. 2 (i-ra-ḥi-iṣ) etc., etc.

<sup>183a</sup> KAR-KAR = i-tan-pu-ḥu (Brünnow, No. 3188). Cf. CT, XX, 1, 1.

<sup>184</sup> In the text this word appears in Col. VI, but it clearly is the catch-word of the  
interpretation Adad iraḥiṣ and therefore belongs to Col. V, alongside with aššat  
amēli zikara ullad, which must be taken as referring to an alternative interpretation  
like CT, XX, 39, 10 (see above p. 298). In the neo-Babylonian duplicate the correct position  
of the word is clearly indicated by the omission of the dividing-line between the two  
columns. This duplicate also adds pū-šu maṣū 'with a large mouth.' See III R.  
65, 27, rev., where among birth portents we note a child born with a KA SI, i. e., KA = pū  
'mouth,' and SI = maṣū 'large' (see above p. 298, n. 90), according to Brünnow, No. 3395,  
corresponding, therefore, to SIG = maṣū (Brünnow, No. 11872) in our text, though in  
both cases a form of the verb enšu 'weak' is also possible (Brünnow, Nos. 3884 and 11870),  
and perhaps in view of II R. 27, 52 c-d SIG = en-šu ša uz-ni, i. e., 'weak, said of the ear'  
in the sense of 'defective' is to be preferred.

<sup>185</sup> For e-bi, compare the frequent occurrence in the omens attached to the prayers or  
rather the oracles published by Knudtzon (*Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*), Nos. 1,  
rev. 14 and 16; 2, rev. 10; 29, rev. 16 and 19; 32, rev. 5:33, rev. 10, etc. It is no doubt the same  
verb as underlies [e-] ba-at (CT, XX, 39, 14). See also above p. 300, n. 97, and Jastrow, II  
p. 305, n. 7.

<sup>186</sup> Di-ik-šu suggested by the word in Col. VI, for which see above p. 293, n. 52. It is,  
of course, possible and even probable that instead of the noun a verbal form of the under-

Cols. V and VI:

di-ik-šu  
"split"

zi-bu  
"club"

L. 18:

šumma ina šapal marti ša imitti zi-[iḫ-tum<sup>187</sup> nadat bar-tum ina ékalli ibaši].

"If at the lower part of the gall-bladder on the right there is a sharp point(?) . . . revolt of my army."

Cols. V and VI:

zi-iḫ-tum  
"spur" (?)

bar-tum<sup>188</sup>  
"revolt"

L. 19, Col. IV:

šumma martu ši-iḫ-[ši malat<sup>189</sup> a-su-u ana marši ḫāt-su la ub-bal].<sup>190</sup>

"If the gall-bladder [is full of impurity, the physician shall not apply his hand to the sick person]."

Cols. V and VI:

ši-iḫ-ši  
"impurity"

mur-ṣu  
"sickness"

The association of ideas is clearly based on the sickly looking gall-bladder, and the passage incidentally helps us to specify the sense of the stem šaḫāṣu which thus turns out to be a close parallel to the Hebrew שֶׁחִיטָה 'abomination.'

lying stem was used. Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, p. 75, by taking diḫṣu and zibu erroneously as synonyms, though elsewhere (pp. 124, 125) he suspects that the two first columns on obverse and reverse of our text cannot embody synonyms in all cases, misses the point entirely.

For the conjectural restoration at the end of the line see Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 45, 6 and 8, and *CT*, XX, 2, rev. 4-5 and 7, 15. The term zibu 'club' (see above p. 303, n. 118) shows at all events that (giš) ku = kakku or zibu occurred in the interpretation, while the use of zi-bu in Col. V adds further proof that (giš) ku, when occurring in omen texts, whether as designation of a species of markings in the description of the omen or in the interpretation, is to be read zibu and not kakku. See above p. 312, n. 161.

<sup>187</sup> The sign zi still to be seen, so that the restoration, in view of the word in Col. VI can hardly be doubtful.

<sup>188</sup> For bar-tum 'revolt' see Jastrow, II, p. 339, n. 4.

<sup>189</sup> Cf. III R. 65, No. 1, rev. 11, where among birth omens the case is mentioned of a newborn infant ši-iḫ-ši ma-lii.

<sup>190</sup> Restored according to *CT*, XX, 10, 6, and Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 47, 5-6. See Jastrow, II, p. 296. As an alternative one might suggest marṣu šuātu imāt 'that sick man will die,' like Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, p. 67, 28.



L. 20:

šumma martu mu-un-[ta-ṭi-ra-at(?) Adad iraḥiṣ].<sup>191</sup>

"If the gall-bladder appears moist (?) . . . . Adad will cause an overflow."

Cols. V and VI:

me-iṭ-ru<sup>192</sup>  
"moist"

ri-iḥ-ṣu  
"overflow"

L. 21:

šumma irru saḥirūti ešērit<sup>193</sup>[ma kima um-ša-ti<sup>194</sup> . . . . ekimtu ummāni].<sup>195</sup>

"If the network consists of ten (parts) [and is pointed (?) like a thorn (?) . . . . capture of my army]."

Cols. V and VI:

um-ša-tum  
"thorn(?)"

ekimtu<sup>196</sup>  
"capture"

There lurks in the association evidently a play of some kind upon umṣatu which is vouched for in the sense of 'distress, need,' and as the name of a sickness (Meissner, *Supplement*, p. 10a), but which is likewise the name of a plant (V R. 27, No. 7, 61). Since it is a synonym of rubatum and elpitum (see Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 30, n. 4), it perhaps designates a thorn.

L. 22:

šumma DAN<sup>197</sup> kima [kak-ku-tum<sup>197a</sup> . . . .

"If the portal vein is like a kakkutu."

<sup>191</sup> Suggested again by the occurrence of rihṣu as the catch-word of the interpretation as above, p. 315.

<sup>192</sup> Cf. Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 535a. Col. IV probably contained the participle, I, 2, of maṭāru, namely mu-un-ta-ṭi-ra-at (or muntaṭrat) for muntaṭirat.

<sup>193</sup> The 'network' consists of a varying number of curves and lines from five to as many as seventeen being mentioned in the texts. Cf. Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, p. 93, where ll. 16-17, 'ten' parts as in our passage are indicated. The usual number seems to be fourteen. See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 256, n. 4.

<sup>194</sup> For the restoration see Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, p. 91, 6 (K. 3805) where the 'network' is compared to various objects.

<sup>195</sup> See above p. 312, n. 163. If the omen is favorable, the interpretation would correspondingly be ekimtu ummān nakri.

<sup>196</sup> KAR (tum) ekimtu like above, p. 312.

<sup>197</sup> For DAN = dānu 'hepatic vein' see above p. 296, n. 75.

<sup>197a</sup> Comparisons of parts of the liver with all kinds of objects, instruments, vessels, animals, etc., are very frequent in omen texts. See, e. g., Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, pp. 79 (gall-bladder), 91 (network), 103 (KAR-TI), 104 (DAN), 139, 8-9; 141, 2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14, 16, etc., (zibu); CT, XX, 3, 23, 25; 7, 2-5; 10, 15 (hepatic duct), etc.

Cols. V and VI:

kak-ku-tum                      piš-la-a-tum<sup>198</sup>

The next three lines are taken up with various forms of the markings on the liver known as diḫē 'holes.'<sup>199</sup>

L. 23:

šumma šaplānu ma-[ši(?)-ma<sup>200</sup> ša imitti(?) diḫu nadi Adad irahiš].

"If the lower part (of the portal vein (?)) [is large (?)] and to the right (?) there is a hole, Adad will cause an overflow."

Cols. V and VI:

di-ḫu                                      ri-iḫ-šu  
"hole"                                      "overflow"

L. 24:

šumma šapliš marti ša imitti di-[ḫu šalmu nadi Adad zunna danna irahiš].

"If below the gall-bladder to the right [there is a dark hole, Adad will send a mighty downpour]."

Cols. V and VI:

di-ḫu šalmu<sup>201</sup>                      ri-iḫ-šu dan-nu  
"dark hole"                      "mighty overflow"

L. 25:

šumma ina libbi niri<sup>201a</sup> di[-ḫu libbu diḫu nadi zunnē ina šamē ibašū].<sup>202</sup>

"If within the common bile duct [there is a hole within a hole, there will be rain from heaven]."

<sup>198</sup> Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, p. 95, 19, 20 (also to be restored CT, XX, 29, obv. 16), we have a verbal form it-ta-na-p-šal from pašalu for which, since it is used in juxtaposition with ik-bi-is 'depressed,' Boissier suggests 'misplaced.' I am rather inclined to take it in the sense of 'deeply set.' For our word, however, this passage is of no avail. In a lamentation song (Haupt, *Akkadisch-Sumerische Keilschrifttexte*, No. 19, obv. 10) we have an expression a ptašilki 'I touch thee' (Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 81, n. 3). Is piš-la-tum perhaps to be connected with this sense? Or has the first sign (Brünnow, No. 6926) also the value maš and are we to read mašlā'tu 'capture' as above? Until we can determine the meaning of kak-ku-tum it is idle to speculate any farther. Is this perhaps also the designation of some prickly or bristling plant suggested by the 'bristling' appearance of the portal vein?

<sup>199</sup> See above, p. 314, n. 176.

<sup>200</sup> Traces of ši are to be seen. Cf. im-ta-ši above, p. 298, n. 90.

<sup>201</sup> Diḫu MI. See above, p. 312, n. 167, and for further uses of MI = šalmu cf. Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, p. 70, 1-2 (with the kišad kabitti 'neck of the liver'), 72, 12-13 di-ḫu nadi-ma šalmu with the amartu kabitti 'edge of the liver') 67, 34, MI(at) = šal-mat in connection with the head of the gall-bladder; 87, 2, di-ḫu šalmu nadi (with the 'network'), etc., etc.

<sup>201a</sup> For ME-NI = niru ductus choledochus, see Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 354, n. 2.

<sup>202</sup> For the restoration see the following note.

Cols. V and VI:

di-ḥu libbu di-ḥi  
"hole within a hole"

zunnē ibašṭ<sup>203</sup>  
"rainstorms will take place"

The last six lines of the tablet are taken up with the various forms of the markings on the liver that are fantastically compared with weapons and therefore called zibē 'clubs.' That these markings follow the three lines devoted to diḥē 'holes' is an indication of a certain order observed in the arrangement of the tablet itself, since 'clubs' and 'holes' represent the two main divisions of the markings on the liver and therefore occur far more frequently than others like padanu 'road',<sup>204</sup> sullu 'street',<sup>205</sup> (?) dikšu 'point',<sup>206</sup> and the like. The lines in our text in connection with parallel passages from collections of omens furnish the definite proof as set forth in detail elsewhere in a special article by the writer,<sup>207</sup> that these 'clubs' according to their shape were compared with the weapons of the gods, frequently mentioned in religious texts and pictured as symbols of the gods on the kudurru monuments or boundary stones.<sup>208</sup>

Referring the reader for further details to the article in question, we may content ourselves with an enumeration of the weapons with brief explanatory remarks, all the more so since with one exception the important fourth column for these lines which should furnish the sign noted, and the interpretation, is wanting.

L. 26, Col. IV, can be restored as follows:

šumma ina bi-rit ni-ri u [nipti<sup>209</sup> KAK-SU-U zibu išitu ša  
EN-LIL šakin, EN-LIL išita-šu ka-liš išakan u-lu Adad]  
mâta i-ra-[ḥi-iṣ].<sup>210</sup>

<sup>203</sup> Written A-AN-MES GAL-MES. Cf. Craig, *Astrological-Astronomical Texts*, p. 60, obv. 18. zunnē (or mē) ina šame ibašṭ.

<sup>204</sup> See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 237, and 275, n. 1.

<sup>205</sup> See above, p. 314, n. 179.

<sup>206</sup> Above p. 315.

<sup>207</sup> "Notes on Omen Texts" (II. "The Weapons of the Gods"), *AJSL*, XXIII, pp. 103-15.

<sup>208</sup> See on these symbols the Introduction to Dr. W. J. Hinkes' work *A New Boundary Stone of Nebuchadrezzar I from Nippur* (Philadelphia, 1905), chap. i.

<sup>209</sup> Read GIR = niptū, which is not the reading of Na as I erroneously held at the time of writing "Notes on Omen Texts," *loc. cit.*, p. 112; see Jastrow, II, p. 279, n. 2. The traces of GIR are quite clear.

<sup>210</sup> Correct the restoration given in "Notes on Omen Texts" accordingly. On the basis of CT, XX, 3, 13, where we read: šumma GIR šinā-ma ina bi-ri-šu-nu KAK-SU-U

"If between the common bile duct and the hepatic duct [there is a KAK-SU-U, the club of destruction of Enlil, Enlil will bring about destruction everywhere, or Adad will cause an overflow in the land]."

To this line Cols. V and VI read:

KAK-ŠU-U  
"KAK-SU-U"

zibu išitu<sup>211</sup> ša En-lil  
"club of destruction of Enlil"

From a text published by Boissier (*Choir de Textes*)<sup>212</sup> where we read šumma KAK-SU-U zibu išitu ša En-lil, it follows that KAK-SU-U is actually the designation of one of the weapons of Enlil, or at all events is associated with *one* of his weapons, just as elsewhere we learn of a zibu noted on the liver which is designated as the weapon of Ištar (zibu Ištar), and the specific name of which is given in a gloss as di-e-pi.<sup>213</sup> In the passage in question KAK-SU-U<sup>214</sup> is used without any further specification, precisely as elsewhere ūmu šaķu 'mighty storm' is used

šakin Nergal ikkal, Adad ira-ḥiṣ-ma En-lil amāta-šu ka-liṣ iṣakan, "If the hepatic duct is doubled and between the two there is a KAK-SU-U, Nergal will destroy, Adad will overflow, and Enlil's command will cause destruction everywhere," it is evident that the words to be seen in Col. IV, māta i-ra[ḥi-iṣ], refer to Adad. We must therefore assume here, as in other cases, an alternative interpretation (cf. *CT*, XX, 33, 97-98) or as in the line just quoted a double interpretation, referring to both Adad and Enlil, and it is possible that Nergal also was introduced. In justification of placing the words zibu išitu ša Enlil immediately after KAK-SU-U and taking them as the description and name of the marking known as KAK-SU-U, we may point to the fragment published by Boissier, *Choir de Textes*, p. 118, referred to in the following note. Enlil also occurs with Nergal in Boissier, *Choir de Textes*, p. 141, 11-12. In all these cases Enlil of Nippur is meant, as is indicated by the writing En-lil which, as Clay has conclusively shown in his article ("Ellil, the God of Nippur," in *AJSL*, XXIII, pp. 269 ff), always designates this deity whose name down to the latest period was pronounced Ellil (from En-lil). In Boissier, *Choir de Textes*, p. 141, 12, we find him, however, designated as EN-E-KUR-RA, i. e., 'lord of Ekurra,' which may, of course, be due to a late copyist. In *CT*, XX, 12 (K. 9213), 4-5, we find (ilu) Bel (Brünnow, No. 1497) which can, of course, stand for Marduk.

<sup>211</sup> Cf. Brünnow, No. 11209, occurring also *CT*, XX, 7, 19-20 išitu ana ummāni imḫut and išitu ana ummān nakri imḫut as well as l. 21, išitu u saḥ-maṣ-tum (see Jastrow, *Religion*, II, p. 346, n. 10) 'destruction and uprising;' cf. *CT*, XX, 33, 97, 98. Adad ina māt[rubī] iraḥiṣ u-lu išitu ina māt rubī ibaši and Adad ina māt nakri iraḥiṣ u-lu išitu ina māt nakri ibaši—an alternative interpretation (a) either 'Adad will cause an overflow in the ruler's (or enemy's) land or (b) destruction in the ruler's (or enemy's) land will take place,' and where we may assume on the basis of *CT*, XX, 3, 13, that išitu refers to the act of Enlil, just as ilu ina māt rubī (or ina māt nakri ikkal) (*CT*, XX, 33, 99-100) refers, as in *CT*, XX, 3, 13, to Nergal.

<sup>212</sup> *Choir de Textes*, p. 118 (K. 2089), 2. Cf. Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 46, rev. 4.

<sup>213</sup> V R. 63, II, 29-30. See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 261, n. 10, and "Notes on Omen Texts" (*AJSL*, XXIII, p. 105). A fuller name of the weapon da-i-pu za-ai-ri 'overthrower of enemies' occurs as the weapon of Marduk in the *Creation Epic* (Tablet IV, 30, ed. King). A zibu associated with Ištar is also mentioned, *CT*, XX, 48, 39.

<sup>214</sup> *CT*, XX, 44, 51, KAK-SU-U appears qualified as ekimtum 'misplaced' (see above, p. 312), but occurring in a line which is chiefly devoted to different kinds of markings (see above, p. 319).

to describe a zibu, which, as we know from another passage, consists of a twofold zibu.<sup>215</sup> Unfortunately, we do not know the phonetic reading for KAK-SU-U nor of any of the four designations of zibê that follow, namely (Col. VI):

- L. 28. PAL-SU-U.
- L. 29. DI-DI-SU-U.
- L. 30. (giš)KU PEš(tuš).
- L. 31. UT-DI-SU-U.

In the case of all these four designations the adjoining column (Col. V) has

zibu išitu  
"club of destruction"<sup>216</sup>

while Col. IV begins in all four lines with the sign ša, which is followed after a break—that appears, however, to have been left *blank*—at the end of the line by the names of gods, of which only the last one is preserved, namely, Šamaš.

I am inclined to conjecture that the ša is an indication that the signs noted for these four lines, as also for the fifth and last one of the tablet, are the same as for l. 26, except that the *character* of the marking varies according to the indications given

<sup>215</sup> *Inscription der Stele Nabu'naiids* (ed. Messerschmidt), Col. XI, 11-13. See Jastrow, "Notes on Omen Texts," pp. 106-8, where other occurrences of ā mu ša ku are given.

<sup>216</sup> Other occurrences of this sign GUG(?) = išitu in omen texts are as follows: *CT*, XX, 7, 21, *pirištu išitu u saḥ-maš-tum* 'omen of destruction and uprising' to be taken as an abbreviated interpretation for some such phrase as is found *CT*, XX, 3, 13, *Nergal ikkal*, etc., or, as we have assumed for our passage, *Enlil išitu kališ išakan*, etc. Similarly *CT*, XX, 7, 19-20, *išitu ana ummāni imkūt* and *išitu ana ummān nakri* the interpretation is given in an abbreviated form, the term *išitu* being regarded as sufficient to suggest the kind of 'destruction' that is meant; and the same is the case *CT*, XX, 33, 97-98, as well as *CT*, XX, 6 (Sm. 1412), 9-11, which are to be restored according to Pl. 7, 19-21. A further abbreviation occurs Sm. 674 (Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 1425), where we find (l. 4) simply *išitu u saḥmaštum*. In the text Rm 2, 106 (Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 1645) we encounter a *zibu išitu* as a part of the sign noted and which is therefore to be assumed as a term used *in place* of one of the six fuller designations in our text (*CT*, XX, 42, 26-32), though it is curious that no further specification of any deity is added. Since, however, in the preceding line the 'weapon of Šamaš' known as *at-mu-u ki-e-nu* 'just decree' is mentioned, we assume that *zibu išitu*, which thus turns out to be a very general term for a god's weapon, refers here to this same god, Šamaš. Note that *zibu išitu* is to be supplied also for the four following lines in Rm 2, 106, the purpose being to specify the different places near the hepatic duct where the *zibu*, associated with the weapon of Šamaš, appears, and according to which the interpretation varies. The omen collections are full of such abbreviations, just as are other religious texts prepared for school purposes. See, e. g., Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, pp. 17, 26, 27, 30-31, etc. *Išitu* also occurs as part of the interpretation of an omen, e. g., Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 226, 15, and the verb (plural) *CT*, XV, 50, 1. See Langdon, *JAOs*, 28, 147, who has, however, not recognized the plural sign in the passage which he there discusses.

in Col. VI. Col. IV for ll. 28–32 if written out would therefore read:

28. šumma ina birit niri u nipti PAL-ŠU-U zibu išitu ša (ilu) . . . šakin, etc.

“If between the common bile duct and the hepatic duct there is a PAL-SU-U, the club of destruction of the god . . . . .”

29. šumma ina birit niri u nipti DI-DI-SU-U zibu išitu ša (ilu) . . . šakin, etc.

“If between the common bile duct and the hepatic duct there is a DI-DI-SU-U, the club of destruction of the god . . . . .”

30. [šumma ina birit niri u nipti zibu šalaltuš(?)<sup>217</sup> zibu išitu ša Ira(?)<sup>218</sup> šakin Ira ri-šu-ut ummāni illik].

“If between the common bile duct and the hepatic duct there is a ‘triple’ zibu, the club of destruction of Ira(?), Ira(?) to the help of my army will go.”

31. šumma ina birit niri u nipti zibu UT-DI-SU-U zibu išitu ša Šamaš<sup>219</sup> sakin, etc.

“If between the common bile duct and the hepatic duct there is a UT-DI-SU-U, the club of destruction of Šamaš. . . . .”

The name of the weapon in the last line (l. 32) written GAB-LAḪ (𒂍) is to be read saḫmaštu ‘uprising.’<sup>220</sup> The first part of Col. IV is therefore to be read:

šumma ina birit niri u nipti saḫmaštum zibu išitu ša Ea šakin, etc.

“If between the common bile duct and the hepatic duct there is an ‘uprising’ zibu, ‘the club of destruction of Ea. . . . .’”

<sup>217</sup> Written PEŠ (Brünnow, No. 11878) the sign for three, and which, therefore, in view of the phonetic complement tuš (Brünnow, No. 10515), I propose to read šalaltuš literally ‘three of it’ in the sense of ‘triple.’ What a ‘triple’ zibu looks like may be seen in the illustration attached to the school text in Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, p. 143. In view of CT XX, 48, 40, it is perhaps to be associated with Sin.

<sup>218</sup> The traces point to the sign, Brünnow, No. 958, the usual one for the god of pestilence, Ira, who is a form of Nergal, or rather is one of his manifestations. The god is also mentioned in the omen text—also a school text—published by Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, p. 141, 2, which passage, together with CT, XX, 28, obv. 4, suggests the conjectural restoration for the end of the line, though of course other phrases are possible, as, e.g., ri-šu-u-a ‘my help’ (Boissier, *loc. cit.*, p. 143, 8), or ri-šu-šu ippalkitšu ‘his helpers will desert him,’ CT, XX, 13, obv. 11–12, etc.

<sup>219</sup> Note atmû kēnu as the name of the weapon of Šamaš in Rm 2, 106 (see above, p. 321, n. 216). A zibu associated with Šamaš is also mentioned, CT, XX, 48, 36.

<sup>220</sup> Compare Sm 674 (Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 1425) GUGU(?)U GAB-LAḪ (ḫu) with CT, XX, 7, 21, GUGU U saḫ-maš-tum from which we obtain the equation GAB-LAḪ (ḫa or ḫu) = saḫmaštum ‘uprising.’ GAB-LAḪ as the interpretation of signs noted on the liver is found outside of the passages above referred to under išitu (above, p. 321, n. 216), CT, XX, 31, 35, 36. GAB-LAḪ (= saḫmaštu) ummāni ‘uprising of my army’ and GAB-LAḪ ummān nakri ‘uprising of the enemy’s army’ (also to be supplied, CT, XX, 4 (K. 6689), 7, 8, and Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 220, 2, 3). See also Boissier, *Documents Assyriens*, p. 226, 16, 17, etc., etc.



In each of these lines we are furthermore justified in assuming at the end of the fourth column, an indication of what the gods referred to—Ira, Šamaš, and Ea, and the two whose names are not preserved<sup>221</sup>—would do. All this, however, it must be borne in mind, is not set forth but only tacitly assumed. The chief purpose of the last five lines is to furnish the designations of various forms of 'clubs' observed on the liver and to specify the gods with whose weapons these markings are associated. Cols. V and VI, accordingly, in the case of these five lines, deviate in a measure from the general principle of this school text in supplying us with names of 'clubs' and the associations which they suggest, but not actually with catch-words of the sign and of the interpretation respectively, except in so far as the 'clubs' determine such interpretation. The same is the case with l. 26 where although the sign noted, as well as the interpretation, is written out in full, Col. VI repeats the designation of the 'club,' while the adjoining fifth column gives the name of the god with whose weapon the form of the marking is associated. Considering for a moment the five unidentified names of 'clubs,' it will be observed that four of them end in *SU-U*, which appears likewise as the name of a stone<sup>222</sup> occurring in religious texts<sup>223</sup> and elsewhere. One of the common equivalents of *SU* being *erēbu* 'increase' (Brünnow, No. 166), it is reasonable to conclude that this element in the name specifies an 'excess' or large amount of some quality, somewhat like the *Atar* in such combinations as *Atar-ḥāsis* or *Ḥāsis-atra*, 'exceedingly wise.' Proceeding on this hypothesis, *KAK-SU-U* might mean 'excessive in deed,'<sup>224</sup> *PAL-SU-U* 'excessive in hostility,'<sup>225</sup> *DI-DI-SU-U* 'excessive in conquest,'<sup>226</sup> and *UT-DI-*

<sup>221</sup> We should expect *Ištar* and *Sin* to be mentioned since both of these together with *Šamaš* occur in the text *CT*, XX, 48, 36-39, several times referred to (above p. 320, n. 213). For *Ištar*'s weapons see also above, p. 320, n. 213, and *Sin* is found (in combination with *Almu Allamu*), *CT*, XX, 23, obv. 11. If the 'club' *UT-DI-SU-U* should turn out to be the same as *atmū kēnu*, we might restore the line according to *Rm* 106. See Jastrow, "Notes on Omen Texts" (*AJSL*, XXIII, p. 102).

<sup>222</sup> Cf. Brünnow, No. 216, and Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*, p. 744.

<sup>223</sup> E. g., in the *Ninib* myth (Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. I, p. 464).

<sup>224</sup> The most common equivalent of *KAK* = *epēš u* 'do' and its derivatives, 'strength,' 'elevation,' etc. (Brünnow, No. 5254).

<sup>225</sup> *PAL* = *nakāru* 'hostile' and the like (Brünnow, No. 272).

<sup>226</sup> *DI-DI* = *kašād u* 'conquer' (Brünnow, No. 9563).

SU-U 'storm excessive in perfection'<sup>227</sup>—names that would all be appropriate as designations for the weapons of deities, and on a par with saḫmaštum 'uprising' and di-e-pu 'overthrow,' ūmu šaḫu 'mighty storm,' etc. The first line of the second tablet of the series preserved in the colophon continues the enumeration of various kinds of zibē, but the line also shows that in the second tablet a different plan was followed. We no longer have a setting forth of the principles underlying the system of hepatoscopy, but a continuous enumeration of signs noted with the interpretation directly attached. The colophon line reads as follows:

šumma zibu šu-šu-ru ša imitti marti, zibu šul-mu[ša šu-mēli marti zibu šarri(?) . . . ša-]niš<sup>228</sup> zibu šâlilu.

"If an 'overthrow' zibu is to the right of the gall-bladder and a 'perfection' zibu to the left of the gall-bladder, the club of the ruler will overthrow (?) (or) the club will be a protection."

Among the omens connected with the campaigns of Sargon,<sup>229</sup> we find an almost parallel sign noted, a šušuru club to the right of the gall-bladder and a suḫuru 'inclosure' club to the left, and the interpretation involved is favorable, precisely as it is in our line. The colophon which has already been discussed<sup>230</sup> offers nothing further of moment, except that as in the case of colophons attached to omen series and to rituals in which the consultation of the omen gods *par excellence*, Šamaš and Adad, the bēlê bîrî<sup>231</sup> 'lords of inspection' is involved, these two gods, instead of Nebo and Tašmit are invoked as the ones who inspired Ašurbanapal

<sup>227</sup> DI = šul mu (Brünnow, No. 9538), suggested also by CT. XX, 42, 33, where mention is made of a zibu DI (mu) = šul mu. But for this, seeing that DI-SU-U is the name of the weapon of Šamaš the 'judge' among the gods, one might have thought of DI = di nu 'judgment' (Brünnow, No. 9526). For the remaining name the "triple" zibu see above, p. 322, n. 217, and compare the "double" zibu in the omens attached to the *Stele der Inschrift Nabu'naiids* (ed. Messerschmidt), Col. XI, 11, probably intended as a description of Ninib's weapon. See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 268, n. 4, and for the names of various other weapons associated with Ninib which bear much the same character as the interpretations here proposed, see Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. I, p. 461.

<sup>228</sup> Literally "secondly" used interchangeably with u-lu to indicate an alternative interpretation. See, e. g., CT, XX, 50, rev. 3, and the passages in Jastrow, II, p. 253, n. 4, and p. 261, n. 9.

<sup>229</sup> IV R.2 34, rev. 3-4. Cf. Jastrow, II, p. 241, and the explanatory notes to the passage.

<sup>230</sup> See above, p. 286. Note that the opening line of the second tablet does not agree with CT, XX, 16, pointing therefore to two "recensions" of the multa biltum series.

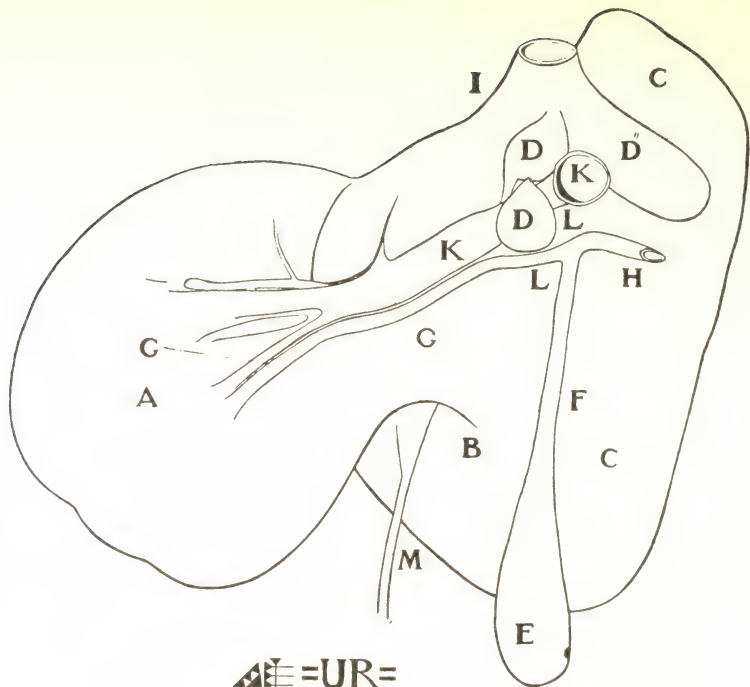
<sup>231</sup> See Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 249, n. 5.

with wisdom to collect the literary productions of the past in his palace.<sup>232</sup>

The investigation of this important school text has, I trust, shed some further light on the interesting methods followed by Babylonian pedagogues in initiating their pupils into the mysteries of hepatoscopy. Were it fully preserved it would probably have solved most, if not all, of the difficulties that still remain to be cleared up in the study of these texts. Let us hope that some fortunate chance has in store for us the finding of the original from which the scribes of Ašurbanapal prepared their copies, or if not the original, which, as in the case of all the omen texts of the royal library, probably dates back to the days of Hammurabi,<sup>233</sup> a later copy prepared for the temple school at Babylon, or for one of the other schools attached to the temples in the south.

<sup>232</sup>For other passages see Jastrow, *Religion*, Vol. II, p. 226, n. 1.

<sup>233</sup>Indicated, e. g., by the frequent use of the sign *sa* (Brünnow, No. 11720) instead of *sa* (Brünnow, No. 3070) as the suffix of the third person feminine and which is characteristic of texts of the Hammurabi period. See also above, p. 320, n. 210. I owe this suggestion to Dr. Arno Poebel. The Assyrian copyists did not modernize their texts, but conscientiously followed the models before them. The absence of Marduk and the prominence given to Ealil in these omen texts of Ašurbanapal's library likewise point to their great antiquity, so that even the copies of Hammurabi's days would go back to a still earlier age, to a time when the chief god of Nippur was still at the head of the pantheon. We should expect, therefore, to find copies of omen texts like the one here investigated among the remains of the temple school at Nippur. If any such texts were found by Haynes at Nippur in 1900, it is not unreasonable to expect that after seven years' delay *some* specimens at least should be published; and it is perhaps not superfluous to emphasize that even literary texts, if they turn out to be school exercises or school copies, belong to a temple school and not to a hypothetical temple library. Progress in every science is marked by increasing and more clearly defined differentiations in the technical nomenclature. A failure to distinguish between "temple archives," "official reports," "temple school documents" and literary texts pure and simple, which alone, *if occurring in large numbers*, would justify us in assuming that they belong to a "temple library" falls necessarily at the present stage of Assyriological investigation under suspicion of being a strategic device to cover a retreat from an indefensible position. It is not a question of terms but of what we wish to convey when we use a certain term.



𐎶𐎵=UR=  
Kabittu (Liver)

𐎶𐎶𐎶=BA=Pântû (Liver surface)

- |   |                                       |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| (A) lobus sinister 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶<br>kappu kabitti ša šumêli | (E) vesica fellea 𐎶𐎶𐎶=š1=maru         |
| (B) lobus quadratus   | (F) ductus cysticus 𐎶𐎶𐎶=NA            |
| (C) lobus dexter 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶                              | (G) ductus hepaticus 𐎶𐎶𐎶= GIR= nipa   |
| kappu kabitti ša imitti   | (H) ductus choledochus 𐎶𐎶𐎶= ME-NI     |
| (D) lobus caudatus 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶= UR-MURUB                              | (I) vena cava caudalis                |
| kabittu kablitu   | (K) vena portae 𐎶𐎶𐎶= KALAG= dānnu     |
| (D') processus papillaris 𐎶𐎶𐎶 MAŠ= niru(?)                        | porta hepatis 𐎶𐎶𐎶= GAR-TAB= naṣṣapitū |
| (D'') processus pyramidalis 𐎶𐎶𐎶= ŠU-SI ubānu                      | (L) lympho glandulae 𐎶𐎶𐎶= DI= šulmu   |
|   | (M) fossa venae umbilicalis           |

MARKINGS

𐎶𐎶𐎶=GISIKU=zibu "club" 𐎶𐎶𐎶= BURU= dīḥu "hole" 𐎶𐎶𐎶= GIR= padanu "road"  
𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎶𐎶= KAK-ZAG-GA= kaskasu= liver fluke (keberigel)

THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGE OF THE  
PARABLES OF ENOCH

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Guillaume Postel, who in Rome was shown a copy of the Ethiopic *Book of Enoch* by an Abyssinian priest<sup>1</sup> and had its contents explained to him,<sup>2</sup> seems to have regarded it as a genuine work of the patriarch with interpolations from a *Book of Noah*.<sup>3</sup> It was his opinion, based partly on the testimony of Josephus concerning the two inscribed stelae erected by Seth,<sup>4</sup> partly on general considerations, that Enoch wrote this book in Hebrew.<sup>5</sup> The same view appears to have been held by Gilbert G  n  brard.<sup>6</sup>

Joseph Scaliger had no knowledge of the Ethiopic text, but he inferred from the character of the Greek fragments preserved in the *Chronographia* of Georgius Syncellus, which he published for the first time, that they were translated from the Hebrew. He deemed it necessary to apologize for introducing so tedious and indelicate a work on the ground that it was a translation from the Hebrew, possessed a high age, and had been quoted by Jude.<sup>7</sup> Like Erasmus, Clarius, and Nicolas Zegers,<sup>8</sup> he evidently looked upon it as an apocryphal writing. His statement, 'vettissimus est liber' should be considered in the light of this estimate, and it is possible that 'ex hebraismo' should be interpreted as broadly as Jerome's 'ab hebraeo sermone' generally is.

<sup>1</sup> 'Contextum mihi a sacerdote Aethiope expositum,' *De Originibus*, 1553, II, p. 11, in Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphus V. T.* 2, 1722, II, p. 215; cf. Conrad Gesner, 'Enochi librum Guilelmus Postellus invenit,' *Appendix to Bibliotheca Universalis*, 1555, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> See D. G. Morhof, 'ejusdem libri exemplum forte fuisse quis credat, quo usus est, sed alio interpretante, Postellus,' *Polyhistor* (1687), 4 1747, p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> 'Ex libris Noachi et Henochi collecto,' *De Originibus*, loc. cit.

<sup>4</sup> *Ant. Jud.* i, 70, ed. Niese.

<sup>5</sup> 'Hebraica sanctave aut Fo  nix lingua . . . quae primo fuerit toti generi humano in usu,' *De Foenicum literis*, 1551, reprinted in Havercamp, *Sylloge Scriptorum*, II, 1740, pp. 706 f., 715.

<sup>6</sup> *Chronographia*, 1580, I, p. 14.

<sup>7</sup> *Animadversiones in Chronologiam Eusebii*, 1606, p. 245.

<sup>8</sup> In *Critici Sacri*, VIII, 303 ff.

Drusius may, at one time, have thought of the Aramaic, as he explained 'Venit Dominus' in Jude's quotation: 'id sonat in lingua Syrorum, Maranatha, extremum genus excommunicationis apud Ebraeos, quod et Samatha dicitur quasi **מְרַח אַתָּה**.'<sup>9</sup> But in emending 'cum sanctis millibus suis' into 'cum decem millibus sanctis suis,' he recurred to the Hebrew **בְּרִבְבוֹת קִדְשֵׁי**,<sup>10</sup> rather than to the Aramaic **בְּרִבְבוֹת קִדְשֵׁיהּ**,<sup>11</sup> and in his last note he translated the whole passage into Hebrew.<sup>12</sup> Scaliger's view was accepted by Louis Cappel.<sup>13</sup> Grotius, also,<sup>14</sup> looked for a Hebrew or Aramaic original, as he ascribed the apocryphon to the Rabbis, mentioned its quotation in Zohar, and repeated the linguistic explanations of Drusius. Less important was the defense of a Hebrew original by Jean Boulduc,<sup>15</sup> Joachim Mader,<sup>16</sup> and William Whiston,<sup>17</sup> who believed in the Enochian authorship.

On the other hand, J. H. Hottinger<sup>18</sup> maintained that the book was written in Greek by a Hellenistic Jew. This would explain both Hebraisms and Greek paronomasias, like *Φαρμαρος* (for *Φαρμακος*, Fabricius) *ἐδίδαξεν Φαρμακειας*,<sup>19</sup> as well as the ignorance of Hebrew names in the passage mentioning *Ναφηλειμ* and *Ελιουδ*.<sup>20</sup> He was followed by Heidegger,<sup>21</sup> Morhof apparently,<sup>22</sup> and Fabricius.<sup>23</sup> The arguments could not easily be met as long as the patristic quotations and the Syncellus fragments

<sup>9</sup> *Enoch*, 1615, in *Critici Sacri*, I, 2, p. 383. On the phrase **מְרַח אַתָּה**, misinterpreted by Drusius, and the imperative, **אַתָּה**, cf. Schmidt, *JBL*, 1894, pp. 50 ff.; 1896, p. 44; on **שְׂמִתָּה** for **שְׂמִדָּתָה**, cf. Buxtorf and Levy s. v.

<sup>10</sup> In *Critici Sacri*, VIII, p. 312.

<sup>11</sup> The original Aramaic text in *Enoch* 1:9 probably read **הָאָה אַתָּה בְּרִבְבוֹת קִדְשֵׁי**, and was suggested by the author's Aramaic rendering of **אֵת רַבְּנָת בָּא מְסִינִי יְהוָה** and **קִדְשֵׁי** (so **𐤒𐤓𐤕𐤕**) in Deut. 33:2. He, of course, did not know any of the Aramaic, Greek, or Latin versions familiar to us.

<sup>12</sup> *Notae in Parallela Sacra*, p. 55 in *Critici Sacri*, VIII.

<sup>13</sup> *Spicilegium*, 1629, pp. 136 f.

<sup>14</sup> In *Critici Sacri*, VIII, 315, 317.

<sup>15</sup> *Ecclesia ante legem*, 1630, I, c. 14.

<sup>16</sup> *De scriptis et bibliothecis antediluvianis*, 1686, pp. 19 ff.

<sup>17</sup> *A Collection of Authentick Records*, I, 1727, p. 288.

<sup>18</sup> *De prophetia Henochi in Primitiae Heidelbergenses*, 1659, pp. 7 f.

198:3. The Akhmim text reads *Αρμαρος* and omits *φαρμακειας*.

<sup>20</sup> 7:2. The Aramaic text probably read **עֲלִירָתָה**, 'majestates,' on which the following word translated *μεγαλειότης* was a paronomasia. It is omitted in the recension exhibited by the Eth. and Akhmim texts.

<sup>21</sup> *Historia patriarcharum*, 1671, pp. 267 ff.

<sup>22</sup> *Polyhistor* 4, 1747, p. 46.

<sup>23</sup> *Loc. cit.*, pp. 179, 185.

were the only sources; and they undoubtedly influenced not only Hermann Witsius,<sup>24</sup> who, following Cave and Dodwell, ascribed the work to some 'Hellenistic Cabbalist,' or Christian heretic of the second century, but also Richard Simon,<sup>25</sup> John Toland,<sup>26</sup> Jean Astruc, who declared 'j'avoue que les écrits attribuez aux anciens patriarches me paroissent supposez,'<sup>27</sup> and Johann Salomo Semler who held that 'die Beschreibungen in Briefe Judä und 2 Petri sind aus Apocryphis griechischer Juden.'<sup>28</sup>

In 1769, the Ethiopic *Enoch* which until then had apparently been seen by only three Europeans, Pico della Mirandola, Guillaume Postel, and Gilles de Loches, was discovered in Abyssinia by James Bruce. In harmony with local tradition, he seems to have looked upon the book as a part of the Scriptures possessed by the Jews in Abyssinia before the introduction of Christianity and translated by them from the Hebrew.<sup>29</sup> He regarded it, in fact, as having been held in high authority even among the pagans,<sup>30</sup> and identified it with the Sabaeen book ascribed to Enoch,<sup>31</sup> while distinguishing it from that quoted by Jude as well as from that possessed by the Rabbis.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, he considered it a Gnostic work, and was so disgusted with it that he could at first read only a few chapters.<sup>33</sup> J. G. Eichhorn,<sup>34</sup> in commenting upon his account, suggested that Egyptian Jews may, in the time of the Ptolemies, have emigrated to Abyssinia,

<sup>24</sup> *Meletemata Leidenses*, 1703, pp. 501 ff.

<sup>25</sup> *Note sur Jude 14*, in Fabricius, *loc. cit.*, pp. 204 f.

<sup>26</sup> *Books ascribed to the Apostles, etc.*, in *A Collection of Several Pieces*, 1726, p. 383.

<sup>27</sup> *Conjectures sur les mémoires originaux dont il paroît que Moïse s'est servi pour composer le Livre de la Genèse*, 1753, p. 287.

<sup>28</sup> *Anhang zu dem Versuch einer biblischen Dämonologie*, 1776, pp. 321, 330 f.

<sup>29</sup> *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile*, 1790, I, pp. 489 ff.

<sup>30</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 500.

<sup>31</sup> The neo-Platonic philosophers of Harran, surrounded on all sides by Christians, may very well have been familiar with Enoch, and identified him with Hermes, long before they were obliged to seek toleration as monotheists and 'people of a book' under the shelter of the name 'Sabaeans,' by which Muhammad had meant the Mandaeans. Chwolson, *Die Sabier*, 1856, I, 627 ff. exaggerates the wickedness of these pagan philosophers, leans too heavily upon his theory of craftiness and fraud, and underestimates the honest syncretism as well as the genuine theistic unitarianism of this movement.

<sup>32</sup> *An Account of the Book of Enoch by James Bruce* in Laurence, *Libri Enoch Prophetæ Versio Ethiopica*, 1838, pp. x f.

<sup>33</sup> *Travels*, I, 499.

<sup>34</sup> *Allgemeine Bibliothek der biblischen Literatur*, III, 1790, pp. 123 f.

and made a translation of the Alexandrian version into Geez. Ten years later, Sylvestre de Sacy<sup>35</sup> introduced some chapters of the book in a Latin translation. He was the first scholar clearly to express the opinion that it was originally written in Aramaic. In a review of Laurence's translation, he observed, 'je partage entièrement son opinion, pourvu qu'on prenne le nom de langue hébraïque ici avec quelque latitude; car il se pourrait que l'original eût été écrit en chaldéen, ou dans l'idiome que parloient les habitans de la Palestine au temps de J. C. et des apôtres, et qui ne nous est que bien imparfaitement connu.'<sup>36</sup> Laurence had, indeed, himself stated that the lost Greek copy was 'perhaps nothing more than a mere translation from some Hebrew or Chaldee original;'<sup>37</sup> but the alternative did not seem to the French orientalist to be strongly enough emphasized.

Even after the publication of the English version, the arguments of Hottinger appeared to Lücke<sup>38</sup> sufficient to warrant the assumption of a Greek original. Against this view, A. G. Hoffmann<sup>39</sup> urged the Hebrew names of the angels and the quotations in Zohar, and maintained that the Greek book was translated from Hebrew or Aramaic. It is the merit of Edward Murray<sup>40</sup> to have first presented the important reasons for a Semitic original found in the paronomasias of *Enoch* 77:1-3. This was subsequently recognized by Hoffmann, who added new arguments.<sup>41</sup> Murray was forced by his untenable theories to think of Hebrew; some interpolations he ascribed to an Abyssinian author.<sup>42</sup> Gfrörer<sup>43</sup> was not familiar with Murray's arguments when he sided with Lücke. Bruno Bauer,<sup>44</sup> who regarded the 'Son of

<sup>35</sup> *Magasin Encyclopédique*, VI, 1800, pp. 382 ff., reprinted by Laurence, *The Book of Enoch*, 1821, pp. 169-80.

<sup>36</sup> *Journal des Savans*, 1822, p. 548.

<sup>37</sup> *The Book of Enoch*, 1821, p. iv. In the introduction to the last edition of this work, 1833, pp. viii ff. the anonymous author of 'The Evolution of Christianity,' who had access to Laurence's latest notes, understands him to favor 'the theory of an Aramaic or Syro-Chaldaean origin,' and himself adds an argument drawn from the identity of names of angels in this book and those in Aramaic inscriptions on Babylonian terra-cotta bowls found by Layard.

<sup>38</sup> *Versuch einer vollständigen Einleitung in die Offenbarung des Johannes*, 1832, pp. 52 ff.; 2d ed. 1852, pp. 110 ff.

<sup>39</sup> *Das Buch Henoch*, I, 1833, pp. 22, 30.

<sup>40</sup> *Enoch Restitutus*, 1836, pp. 43 ff.

<sup>41</sup> *Loc. cit.*, II, 1838, pp. 929 f.

<sup>42</sup> *Loc. cit.*, pp. 63 ff., 74.

<sup>43</sup> *Das Jahrhundert des Heils*, 1838, I, pp. 95 f.

<sup>44</sup> *Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte*, 1841, pp. 401 ff.

Man' passages and 90:37 f. as of Christian origin, probably assumed that they were written in Greek. This was distinctly affirmed by Friedrich Böttcher<sup>45</sup> in regard to the Christian interpolations, while he deemed the earlier text to have been translated from Hebrew. His suggestion that the name of the sun 𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤍 in 78:1 was in Aramaic ܐܬܪܝܢ should not have been overlooked by all exegetes. Less felicitous was his 𐤌𐤍 = aliquid for 𐤍𐤕 'word' in 90:38, where Aram. ܐܪܡܝܐ was transliterated ρημα.<sup>46</sup>

August Dillmann decided that the original must have been either Hebrew or Aramaic.<sup>47</sup> He criticized Laurence for not possessing the necessary qualifications 'properly to translate and understand such a work translated from the Aramaic into the Greek and from the Greek into the Ethiopic.'<sup>48</sup> But even after the discovery of the Akhmim text, he did not absolutely commit himself beyond the statement that a 'Hebrew-Aramaic original' had been proved at least for chaps. 1-36.<sup>49</sup> Jellinek<sup>50</sup> maintained that the book was originally written in Hebrew; while Ewald<sup>51</sup> held that it was a translation of an Aramaic or Hebrew original. The authority of these scholars did not, however, deter C. H. Weisse<sup>52</sup> from considering the entire work as a Greek production; and even Köstlin<sup>53</sup> thought it possible that the *Parables* were written in Greek. Hilgenfeld<sup>54</sup> voted for Hebrew, Volkmar,<sup>55</sup> Michel Nicolas,<sup>56</sup> and Philippi<sup>57</sup> for Greek.

A decided step forward was taken when Joseph Halévy<sup>58</sup> presented his suggestive essay on the subject. But in spite of his arguments, Maurice Vernes<sup>59</sup> assumed an Aramaic origin for the groundwork, while he thought that the interpolations, to which

<sup>45</sup> *De inferis*, 1846, pp. 259, 261 f. He apparently also thought of possible Ethiopic interpolations, as he looked for a critical edition to help in settling 'quae mendosa, quae ex graecis hebraeisve male reddita, quae alienis locis collocata,' p. 261.

<sup>46</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 262.

<sup>47</sup> *Das Buch Henoch*, 1853, pp. li ff.

<sup>48</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. lviii.

<sup>49</sup> *Sitzungsberichte d. k. preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, 1892, p. 16.

<sup>50</sup> *ZDMG*, 1853, p. 249.

<sup>51</sup> *Abhandlung über des äthiopischen Buches Henoch Entstehung, Sinn und Zusammensetzung*, 1854, p. 8.

<sup>52</sup> *Die Evangelienfrage*, 1856, p. 223.

<sup>53</sup> *Theologische Jahrbücher*, 1856, p. 376.

<sup>54</sup> *Die jüdische Apokalypitik*, 1857, p. 95.

<sup>55</sup> *ZDMG*, 1860, pp. 131 f.

<sup>56</sup> *Des doctrines religieuses des Juifs*, 1860, pp. 262 ff.

<sup>57</sup> *Das Buch Henoch*, 1868, pp. 124 ff.

<sup>58</sup> *Journal Asiatique*, 1867, pp. 352 ff.

<sup>59</sup> *Histoire des idées messianiques*, 1874, p. 72.

he reckoned the *Parables* and about half of the work, were written in Greek.<sup>60</sup> Subsequently he abandoned the latter theory, and left the question open between Hebrew or Aramaic.<sup>61</sup> Hausrath<sup>62</sup> followed Dillmann, as did also Schodde.<sup>63</sup> Eugène de Faye<sup>64</sup> regarded the *Parables* as the work of a Hellenistic Jew with Christian interpolations, and consequently as written in Greek. Hebrew was favored by Lazarus Goldschmidt,<sup>65</sup> who translated Dillmann's version into this language, with sometimes very valuable notes. In editing the Akhmim text, Adolphe Lods<sup>66</sup> discussed the original language, but was not able to decide between Hebrew and Aramaic; and Dieterich<sup>67</sup> still inclined to the Greek. Charles, however, strongly held that the author wrote in Hebrew, and often repeated this view.<sup>68</sup> It is a significant fact that this scholar, to whom students of Enoch are so deeply indebted, has recently reached the conclusion that chaps. 6-36 and probably 72-82 were written in Aramaic, while 37-71, 83-104, and probably 1-5 were written in Hebrew.<sup>69</sup>

Arguments in favor of an Aramaic original were drawn by Schürer<sup>70</sup> from the presence in the Akhmim text of such words as *φουκα* = פוכא (18:8), *Μανδοβαρα* (28:1) and *Βαβδηρα* (29:1), corrupt for *Μαδβαρα* = מַדְבָּרָא. Israel Lévi<sup>71</sup> pointed out that any Jew would know the meaning of Hebrew words like Jared and Hermon, while only one speaking Aramaic would write מַדְבָּרָא, פוכא, and אֶרְמֹנָל. B. D. Eerdmans<sup>72</sup> added to these הַלְבוּנָא (31:1) תְּרִמְיֹן (6:6), which would be preferable to Heb. הַחֲרִיבֹן, and בְּרִנְשָׁא in the 'Son of Man' passages; and he was fortified in his position by De Goeje,<sup>73</sup> who called attention to the

<sup>60</sup> Oskar Gebhardt also expressed a certain scepticism as to "einen etwaigen hebräischen Urtext," Merx's *Archiv f. wiss. Erforschung d. A. T.*, II, 1872, p. 241.

<sup>61</sup> In Lichtenberger's *Encyclopédie des sciences religieuses*, 1877, I, 409, and *La grande encyclopédie*, art. "Apocalypses juives."

<sup>62</sup> *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*<sup>3</sup>, I, p. 185.

<sup>63</sup> *The Book of Enoch*, 1882, pp. 43 f., 59 f.

<sup>64</sup> *Les apocalypses juives*, 1892, pp. 205 ff.

<sup>65</sup> *Das Buch Henoch*, 1892, pp. xiii f.

<sup>66</sup> *Le livre d'Enoch: Fragments grecs*, 1892, pp. lvi ff.

<sup>67</sup> *Nekyia*, 1893, p. 216.

<sup>68</sup> *The Book of Enoch*, 1893, p. 21; *Encyclopedia Biblica*, 1899, I, cols. 220 f.; *DB*, 1902, I, pp. 705 f.

<sup>69</sup> *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch*, 1906, pp. x, xxvii ff.

<sup>70</sup> *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1893, col. 75; *Geschichte d. jüd. Volkes*<sup>3</sup>, 1898, III, 203.

<sup>71</sup> *Revue des études juives*, 1893, p. 149.

<sup>72</sup> *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1895, pp. 51 ff.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.



term **בֵּר** (*Barous* 10:19) in our oldest Aramaic inscription. In a paper presented to the Society for Biblical Literature in 1895, I expressed my conviction that the original was written in Aramaic.<sup>74</sup> Hans Lietzmann<sup>75</sup> reached the same conclusion. Wellhausen<sup>76</sup> quoted the plural *χρουνβω* (14:11, 18) and several cases of the *status emphaticus* in favor of an Aramaic original. Theodor Zahn<sup>77</sup> expressed his belief that Jude quoted, not from the Greek, but from the Hebrew or Aramaic *Enoch*. G. Beer<sup>78</sup> thought of Hebrew or Aramaic, with an evident leaning toward the latter, strengthened by Prätorius,<sup>79</sup> whose judgment is indicated by his suggestion that the Greek translator read **נִנְיָן** for **נִנְיָן** in 29:1. Paul Fiebig<sup>80</sup> and J. Van Loon<sup>81</sup> declared for the Aramaic. But Johannes Flemming<sup>82</sup> was not ready to decide between Hebrew and Aramaic. Enno Littmann<sup>83</sup> favored the former, and François Martin,<sup>84</sup> on the whole, thought Hebrew more probable. Finally, F. C. Burkitt<sup>85</sup> drew from the analogy of **מִלְכָּא** **מִלְכָּא** and **מִלְכָּא** **מִלְכָּא** inferences that seem to indicate that he regarded the author of the *Parables* as having written in Aramaic.

The view that the *Parables of Enoch* were originally written in Greek, held by Hottinger, Heidegger, Fabricius, Semler, Lücke, Gfrörer, Böttcher, Weisse, Köstlin, Volkmar, Nicolas, Philippi, Vernes, De Faye, and Dieterich, is not likely to be seriously defended again. Every competent scholar today recognizes that they must originally have been written in a Semitic language, and that none other than Hebrew or Aramaic can be considered, as was seen by Scaliger, Drusius, Grotius, Laurence,

<sup>74</sup> "Was **בֵּר** a Messianic title?" *JBL*, 1896, p. 47; *Encyclopedia Biblica*, IV, 1903, col. 4710; *The Prophet of Nazareth*, 1905, p. 117.

<sup>75</sup> *Der Menschensohn*, 1896, p. 45.

<sup>76</sup> *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, VI, 1899, p. 241.

<sup>77</sup> *Einleitung in d. N. T.*, II, 1899, pp. 105 f.

<sup>78</sup> *Das Buch Henoch* in Kautzsch, *Pseudepigraphen*, 1900, pp. 217 f., 235; Guthe's *Bibelwörterbuch*, 1903, p. 253. In Hauck's *Prot. Realencyklopädie*, 1905, VI, 239, he suggested the possibility of some parts having been written in Hebrew, others in Aramaic.

<sup>79</sup> Quoted by Beer, *Das Buch Henoch*, p. 256.

<sup>80</sup> *Der Menschensohn*, 1901, p. 86.

<sup>81</sup> *Th. Tijdschrift*, 1902, p. 441.

<sup>82</sup> *Das Buch Henoch*, 1901, pp. 1, 33, 59, 87, 121, 133.

<sup>83</sup> *The Jewish Encyclopaedia*, V, 180.

<sup>84</sup> *Le livre d'Enoch*, 1906, p. lvii.

<sup>85</sup> *Journal of Theological Studies*, 1907, p. 447.

Hoffmann, Dillmann, Ewald, Hausrath, Schodde, Lods, Beer, and Flemming. But is it possible to go farther and to affirm that the author or authors wrote in Hebrew, as especially Whiston, Murray, Jellinek, Hilgenfeld, Halévy, Goldschmidt, Charles, Littmann, and Martin have done? Or can it be maintained that these chapters were written in Aramaic, as De Sacy, Schürer, Lévi, Eerdmans, De Goeje, Schmidt, Lietzmann, Wellhausen, Prätorius, Fiebig, Van Loon, and Burkitt seem to have done? The answer must depend upon the possibility of explaining by the Aramaic those peculiarities for which hitherto recourse was had to the Hebrew, and of discovering new indications of one language or the other behind the Ethiopic text.

Halévy<sup>86</sup> cited three instances from the *Parables* themselves (40:9; 51:3; and 62:16) and a large number from the interpolations (41:5, 44; 60:6, 14, 15; 65:8, 10a, b, 11; 67:13; 68:2, 3; and 69:1, 6, 8, 13), in which he deemed it necessary to assume a Hebrew original; Charles<sup>87</sup> called attention to five from the *Parables* (40:9; 45:3; 46:4b; 52:9; and 56:7) and five from the interpolations (65:10a, b, 11; 67:13; and 69:13), which seemed to him conclusively to point in the same direction.

To begin with the *Parables*, both of these scholars regarded the statement concerning Raphael (40:9) as containing a reference to the derivation of the name Raphael which is possible only in Hebrew—**רפא**=‘to heal.’<sup>88</sup> But Nöldeke declares that ‘**רפא** ist gemeinsemitisch’ and refers to *Ephr. Syr.* II, 447 C, and the Palmyrene names **ܪܦܝܐܢܐ** and **ܪܦܝܐܢܐ** for the Aramaic.<sup>89</sup> In 45:3 we should read: ‘and he will try their works;’ the Aramaic was probably **ܕܝܚܝܐ**. There is no reason to regard 46:5a as a dittograph of 46:4b. If the text has suffered expansion, it is more natural to suppose that **ደነሥሐመ፡ ለነገሥት፡ ወለኃዳሳን፡ አምስካባቲሆመ፡ ወለጽኢዓን፡ አመናብርቲሆመ፡** is a reminiscence of Luke 1:52, **ወነሡተመ፡ ለኃዳሳን፡ አመናብርቲሆመ፡** In 51:3 Halévy’s instinct led him rightly to Micah 7:5. But **פִּי פִתְּחִי** does not solve the riddle. For **פִּתְּחִי** has no such meaning as ‘thought’ or

<sup>86</sup> *Loc. cit.*, pp. 364 ff.

<sup>87</sup> *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch*, 1906, pp. xxx ff.

<sup>88</sup> Halévy, *loc. cit.*, p. 364; Charles, *loc. cit.*, p. xxx. <sup>89</sup> *ZDMG*, XL, 1886, 723.

'intellect' in Hebrew. The author probably wrote מְלִילוֹת פִּימֻה = 'the eloquence of his mouth.'<sup>90</sup> But מְלִילוֹת has the sense of 'rationality' as well as 'eloquence;' and the translator gave the Ethiopic equivalent for the latter, ለምሳሌ, thus introducing 'the thoughts of his mouth' which have caused so much trouble.

A similar mistake was made by the translator in 52:9 where he rendered מְלִילוֹת by ይኸከል, 'will be denied,' not observing that מְלִילוֹת also means 'destroy' and should have been so translated here.<sup>91</sup> In 56:7 an excellent text is secured by itacising ለምሳሌ, not found in *g*, and accepting the negative of *t*<sup>2</sup> (አይከውን). The ለብሔር of the older group of MSS has removed the occasion for Halévy's speculations in 62:16.

None of these passages shows that the *Parables* were written in Hebrew. In fact, the difficulties for which Halévy and Charles have resorted to Hebrew can in some instances be met only on the theory that the work was written in Aramaic.

As the *Apocalypse of Noah* seems to have been translated from the Greek, and parts of it were probably interpolated in the *Parables* by the Ethiopic editor, there is, indeed, no necessity *a priori* for supposing that it was originally written in the same language as the Enoch books. But a consideration of the passages quoted from the interpolations points even here to the Aramaic. It is not certain that 41:3-8; 44, belonged to the *Apocalypse of Noah*, but the secondary character is unmistakable, and the ultimate source of these verses may quite probably have been the apocalyptic writing quoted elsewhere in the *Parables*. According to Halévy's conjecture, ለመሐል: ዘነሐ in 41:5 goes back to בשבוע שעמדו בה which in the dialect of the Mishna signifies 'to be bound by an oath.' If this is so, an Aramaic speaking Jew may have known and used the phrase, and ኃደ: might be due to a confusion of עמד and עמר, 'to dwell.' Unfortunately, Halévy quotes no instance of this usage. Charles thinks of שכנר being mistaken for נשבער. This would be possible also in Aramaic; but the mistake is not very probable. Radermacher suggests a corruption of ὠρκισθησαν into ὠκισθησαν,

<sup>90</sup> In Micah 7:5 Pesh. and Trg. both have מְלִילוֹת פִּימֻה.

<sup>91</sup> The root מְלִילוֹת has the meaning of 'deny' in Afel, and probably also in Ittafel.

but this would not explain the Ethiopic text. The text accepted by Flemming and Charles seems to be a compromise of two variants **אנא: חצא:** and **אסחא: חצא:**. The former may represent **באתר דעברו** 'wherever their position may be,' the latter is probably a gloss suggested by **במנוחא, דימנחא** **לעפניו** 'because of the oath by which they were united.' In 44 the partitive **בן** is as natural in Aramaic as in Hebrew. In 60:6 the MS *u* has the negative which was missed; hence there is no reason for thinking of a confusion of **עבר** with **עבר**. In 60:14 the Aramaic **סדרא** would give the same sense as the Hebrew **סדר**; but the idea of 'pauses' (Aram. **פשהותא**) in the thunder is quite as plausible as 'arrangements' of the thunder; and this applies also to 60:15. In 65:8, there is no objection to the text **לפניו** = 'is pre-eminent.' Charles conjectures that **לפניו** in 65:10a goes back to a misreading of **לפניו** for **לפניו**. It is far more probable that the Aramaic **ימנע** 'will be withheld' was mistaken for **ימנע** 'will be counted.'

Halévy suggested that in 65:10b **לפניו**, 'months,' is a translation of **הרשים**, corrupted from **הרשים**, 'sorceries,' and Charles thinks that this alone 'restores sanity to the text.' In itself, it would not be impossible that the text read **כל קבל דהרשיא**, which became corrupted into, or was mistaken for, **הרשיא**, a word sometimes used by Aramaic-speaking Jews (Pal. *Taanith* iii, 69a) instead of the regular **ירחא**. But would this really give an acceptable sense? Charles translates: "because of the sorceries which they have searched out, and through which they know that the earth and those who dwell upon it will be destroyed." It certainly is a strange idea that the terrible judgment of the flood would come because men had succeeded in discovering that the earth with its inhabitants would be destroyed. Scarcely less peculiar in this book would be the notion that men had themselves searched out such sorceries, and that they would use them to find out that they were to be severely punished. It seems to me probable that the Aramaic text read: **כל קבל דחמסחון יתעבר** **דנחון ולא ימנע מן קדמי** **בדיל דירחא עד די** **אנון יבעון וידעון** **אין תחאבד ארצא ויתבין בה**: "because of their violence their judgment will be carried out, and will not be withheld by me, on

account of the months during which they will inquire and learn how the earth and its inhabitants are to be destroyed." The 'months' may refer to the short period in the six hundredth year of Noah's life, when men learned through him how the earth was to perish, and enhanced their guilt by not repenting 'while the longsuffering of God waited.'<sup>92</sup>

To this interpretation it may be objected that the episode, in order to fall within the earthly life of Enoch, cannot have been thought of as occurring later than the one hundred and fortieth year of Noah's life (Charles). But why cannot this consultation have taken place after Enoch's translation? Before that event, there was no necessity of going to 'the ends of the earth' to consult him. As Martin<sup>93</sup> has pointed out, Gilgamesh also goes to the ends of the earth to visit Ut Napishtim. That is where paradise was. Noah has to cry three times for Enoch. Then an earthquake occurs, a voice is heard from heaven, and Enoch appears, asking why he has been called in this manner. Chapter 60 is dated in the five hundredth year of Noah (Enoch is corrupt for Noah). It is noticeable that there is no revelation at that time in regard to the flood. He hears that a judgment is coming, and learns some secrets concerning Leviathan, Behemoth, the winds and the thunder, but nothing about a deluge. Chapter 65 is consequently later. Now he hears of the angels coming to let loose the waters. This communication apparently came not long before the catastrophe. It is in harmony with this that the disclosures to Noah in Gen., chaps. 6 and 7, seem to be made in the six hundredth year of his life.

In 65:11 the translator rendered תִּירָבָּה by ܦܪܝܬܐ, 'return,' instead of by ܚܝܬܐ, 'repentance,' the Aramaic word having both meanings. Since ܡܠܬܐ means both 'prince' and 'angel,' there is no need, as Flemming has pointed out,<sup>94</sup> of supposing a confusion of Heb. מַלְאָכִים and מְלָכִים, or Aram. מַלְאַכְךָ and מַלְכְּךָ, in 67:13. Halévy's suggestion of a דִּירָבָּה meaning 'punishment' and misunderstood 'inspiration,' in 68:2 is not convincing. In Gnostic thought, each spirit had its δύναμις (the Christ on the

<sup>92</sup> I Pet. 3:20.

<sup>93</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 138.

<sup>94</sup> *Das Buch Henoch*, 1901, p. 86.



cross cries ἡ δύναμις μου, ἡ δύναμις μου, κατέλειψάς με, *Ev. Petri*, 19); the original חֵיל דְּרוּחַ (ἡ δύναμις τοῦ πνεύματος) refers to this 'power.' Instead of 'irritates me,' אִרְגִּזוֹנִי should have been rendered 'causes me to tremble.' The three words before the second אִחֲזֵנִי should be omitted with *a*; and we should read with *b*<sup>2</sup> שֶׁלֹּא יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה. The original of the latter phrase was probably וְלֹא יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה 'without being destroyed,' שָׂרָא meaning 'destructus est' in Ethpaël, and 'liquefactus est' in Ethpeel.

A large number of MSS give the text in 68:3 'whose heart is not touched with pity?' (דְּבִין לֹא יִתְרַחֵם לְבָה) which is in harmony with the following 'and whose reins are not moved?' (וְדְבִין לֹא יִתְדַלְּחוּן כְּלִינוֹהִי). The author seems to have had in mind Ps. 73:21. The older group of MSS, however, reads חֲלֵלֵהוּ, 'whose heart does not condemn him?' This phrase is clearly a reminiscence of I John 3:20, 'if our heart condemns us,' where the Ethiopic version uses the same term ርዕሐሐሐ: ለሰ. This should serve as a warning against too much confidence in one group of our very young MSS. The end of the verse may have read: בֵּין דְּהִין פִּתְגָמָא דְּנֶשֶׁק עֲלִיהוֹן דְּמִשְׁקִין כְּמִין דְּהִין 'on account of this sentence that has gone forth upon those who have brought forth such things.' The word פִּתְגָמָא may at first have been translated פֶּה, while אִחֲזֵנִי was later added to define the meaning; מִשְׁקִין may have intentionally carried the suggestion of מְזִנִּיא, 'fornicators.' In 69:1 יִאֲרִיזוּהוֹן was by a mistake translated 'he will exasperate them,' instead of 'he will cause them to tremble.' Halévy supposes the original of Gadreel in 69:6 to have been עֲדִירָאֵל, and in this he is probably right. In support of the meaning 'to fight' for the verb עָדַר, he appeals to I Chron. 12:33, 38. But the text is doubtful in both places; some Hebrew MSS have לָעָדַר in the former and עָרַב in the latter (Kennicott). The Aramaic עָדַר means 'to help,' probably also in *Genza*, left, p. 21, l. 21 (ed. Petermann), where אֲתַעֲדָרְלָהּ no doubt represents אֲתַעֲדָרְלָהּ. If it ever had the shade of meaning of the Arabic عَدَر 'to become a traitor,' a name signifying 'God's helper' that also conveyed the suggestion of 'God's traitor' would be very suitable. Penemue(1) in 69:8 is, no doubt, from the same root as פְּנִימִי, but 'the interior of God' is not a



probable name. Panamu occurs as a name among the Aramaic-speaking kings of Zenjirli.

Halévy assumes that the original text in 69:13 had פקדה, which he thinks the translator took in the sense of 'number,' as in I Chron. 23:11, while he ought to have understood it to mean 'function, charge,' as in Num. 4:16. But פקדה in I Chron. 23:11 means 'class,' not 'number,' and there seems to be no other passage where it has this significance. It is not impossible that the Greek translator of the Noah apocalypse misunderstood מנהל, 'negotium,' as though it came from חשב, 'to count,' or mistook מנהל for מנהל. But the whole context has manifestly suffered in transmission. I would suggest that the Ethiopic originally read: ወሳደስ፡ ስሙ፡ ተሳዕት፡ ዝነቱ፡ ውላቱ፡ ጎልቂ፡ በላቂ፡ ሳብዕ፡ ርእሰ፡ ማሐላ፡ . . . . ወስሙ፡ ሐቃኤ (ል), and was a rendering of וְשִׁמְיָתָא שִׁמְיָתָא הָדָן הוּא רַב בְּרוּכָא שְׂבִיעִיָּא יֵשׁ דְּשִׁבְעָתָא דְּפִרְשָׁה לְקַדְיִשָׁא כִּד עֲנַר הוּא בְּמִרְיֻכָּא שְׂבִיעִיָּא וְשִׁמְיָה (ב) 'and the sixth, his name was Teba'at: this one became a rebel in the tumult; and the seventh was the administrator of the oath which he revealed to the angels while he dwelt in heavenly glory, and his name was Ḥaḡael.' The 'son of the serpent' may be due to a reader who missed, in the catalogue of terms borrowed from Ps. 91, the companion of the serpent in vs. 6, אֲרִיָּא (Trg. בֶּר אֲרִיָּו); אֲרִיָּא may have become אֲרִיָּא; ሰፈር is not found in q; ወሳደስ may have been misread ወልደዝ; רַב, like ጎልቂ, means 'to rebel,' בְּרוּכָא, like ላቂ, 'tumult;' ሳብዕ may have become corrupted into ሳብኤል; יֵשׁ דְּשִׁבְעָתָא means 'keeper, administrator of the oath,' as יֵשׁ אֲרִיָּא means 'toparch,' יֵשׁ דִּירָא 'abbot;' שְׂבִיעִיָּא may have been an intentional paronomasia on שְׂבִיעִיָּא. The description, drawn indirectly from the *Book of Enoch* by Leon of Modena, that is quoted by Goldschmidt,<sup>66</sup> is not so strange when 'the son of the serpent' has been removed. Halévy rightly maintains that ላቂ and ሕክሕ go back to ለቂ, and that this is the name of an angel, and not of an oath.

There are many indications of an Aramaic original beside the instances to which attention has been called where the difficulties

<sup>95</sup> *Das Buch Henoch*, 1892, p. 85.

are better explained by Aramaic than by Hebrew. The plurals Kiruben, Surafen, and Ophanin (61:10; 71:7), certainly represent the Aramaic כְּרֻבִין, שְׂרָפִין and עֹפָנִין. The anticipatory pronominal suffix, which Charles<sup>96</sup> rightly regards as showing dependence on the Aramaic in 9:8 and 19:2, is used very frequently in the *Parables*, and the prolepsis of object or adverbial clauses before the predicate occurs more often than in books originally written in Hebrew.

Of considerable importance is the peculiar use of ܐܢܬܐܬܐ or ܐܢܬܐܬܐܬܐ. While in many passages it is employed like the Hebrew לִפְנֵי or בִּלְפְנֵי, there are not a few instances in which the Aramaic ܩܕܡ ܒִּן furnishes a closer analogy. In 37:4 the text probably read: ܥܕ ܕܐܢ ܐܬܝܠܚܒܬ ܒִּן ܩܕܡ ܒܪܐ ܕܪܗܬܐ, 'until now there has not been given by the Lord of Spirits wisdom such as this that I am receiving;' in 37:8, ܕܡܢ ܐܬܠܚܩ ܥܠ ܒִּן ܩܕܡ ܒܪܐ ܕܪܗܬܐ, 'thus it was determined concerning me by the Lord of Spirits;' in 47:4, ܕܡ ܕܥܕܝܩܝܐ ܝܬܢܩܡ ܒִּן ܩܕܡ ܒܪܐ ܕܪܗܬܐ, 'the blood of the righteous will be avenged by the Lord of Spirits;' in 48:2, ܒܫܥܬܐ ܕܗܐ, ܫܘܒܝܐ ܐܬܩܪܐ ܒִּן ܩܕܡ ܒܪܐ ܕܪܗܬܐ, 'in that hour his name was called by the Lord of Spirits,' and similarly in 48:3; and in 48:6, ܥܠ ܕܐܬܠܚܒܪ ܐܬܬܡܢ ܒִּן ܩܕܡ ܒܪܐ ܕܪܗܬܐ, 'therefore he was chosen and hidden by the Lord of Spirits.'

The verb ܕܦܝܪ, which seems to have been used by the author, has been uniformly rendered 'deny' in the Ethiopic. But it also means 'scorn, despise, reject,' and one or another of these words should have been used at least in 45:1; 47:7; and 48:10. There is not the slightest evidence that the kings of the earth and the mighty lords who despise the name of the community of saints (45:1), believe in gods made with hands (46:7), persecute the believers (46:8), and scorn and reject the Lord of Spirits, are apostate Jews who have renounced the faith they once professed. In 46:7 ܕܥܒܕܘܬܐ ܒܐܝܕܘܬܐܐ should have been rendered 'which are made with hands;' cf. the active for the passive construction in Ezra 4:15; Dan. 7:13, and elsewhere. The statement, 'whose work depends upon the Lord of Spirits,' in 38:2, is not clear.

<sup>96</sup> *The Ethiopic Version of the Book of Enoch*, 1906, p. xxviii.

Probably the text read: **וְכֵן תִּתְחַזַּק צְדָקָתָא לְאַפִּי דְּצִדִּיקָא בְּחַיִּיָּא דְּעִבְרִיתָהוֹן נִקְשָׁת בְּמִיָּא דְּרוּחִיא**. This should have been translated: 'and when mercy shall be shown to those who have proved themselves righteous, whose worship has been rendered solely to the Lord of Spirits;' since **בְּחַיִּי** means 'proved, tested' as well as 'elect;' **עִבְרִיתָהוֹן** 'their work' may have been a wrong vowelizing for **עִבְרִיתָהוֹן** 'their worship' (cf. **עִבְרִיתָהוֹן זִיָּה**), and **נִקְשָׁת** means 'be attached to, adhere to, be reserved for,' as well as 'depend upon.'

The title **מִיָּא דְּרוּחִיא** only occurs elsewhere in II Macc. 3:24: **τῶν πνευμάτων κύριος** (Syr. **ܡܝܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ**); but it is really an interpretation of **יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת**, as 39:12 shows. It is more likely that such a translation should have been made in an Aramaic than in a Hebrew work in which the name **צְבָאוֹת** 'יְהוָה' would have been left unchanged. The free rendering 'he fills the earth with spirits' may be due to the Ethiopic translator who was influenced by the word **ፊደላት** in the Ethiopic version of Isa. 6:3 (cf. *Enoch* 14:23 **οἱ ἄγγελοι**). The divine name **ܥܠܐ : ܡܦܕܐ** is probably a rendering of **רִישׁ יְמִיָּא**, the natural meaning of which would be 'Lord of Days.' While it is not a translation of **עֲתִיק יְמִיָּא** in Dan. 7:9, for that is **ܐܬܝܩ : ܡܦܕܐ**, it must have been inspired by the title in Daniel, as the allusion to the 'hair white as wool' and the 'son of man' shows. The author, no doubt, was familiar with the name **רִישׁ יְמִיָּא**, and preferred to designate God as the ruler of our days and of all time rather than as an old man. Against this view it may be urged that, according to 46:1 an 'old head' is meant, and that consequently, in 46:2, the one like a man goes with 'the Old Head,' and, in 47:3 'the Old Head' sits down on a throne. But the present text in 46:1 is certainly corrupt. It cannot have read originally: 'there I saw . . . to whom a head of days belonged,' but, in all probability: **רַבִּין הָוָא** **הָוִית וְאַלֹו רִישׁ יְמִיָּא** 'there I saw and behold! the Lord of Days.' When the title is rightly understood, there is no inappropriateness in its use either in the Noah Apocalypse or the appendix.

The names of the angels apparently refer to their condition and functions before the fall. The great majority of them are Aramaic. Thus, (1) **ܫܡܝܝܐ** = **ܫܡܝܐ** **ܕܗܘܐ**, 'he sees the Name,

i. e., God,' or שמיא הוא, 'he surveys the heavens,' as he reveals 'the revolution of the world' (8:1); (2) Arakib = ארכב, 'he causes to ride,' 'the charioteer;' (3) Araḳiel = ארקאל, 'God's earth,' or הרקאל, 'God determines;' (4) Kokabiel = כוכבאל, 'God's star;' (5) Terael = טראאל, 'God gives,' or תרעאל, 'God's gate;' (6) Ramiel = רמאל, 'God is exalted;' (7) Daniel = דניאל, 'God's judge,' or 'God is judge;' (8) Hasakiel = השקאל, 'God's sky;' (9) Baraḳiel = ברקאל, 'God's lightning;' (10) Azael or Azazel = עזאל or עזזאל, 'God is strong;' (11) Armaros = חרם, 'he consecrates a mystery,' or 'he keeps a secret under ban;' (12) Batariel = בתראל, 'the hinder part of God;' (13) Samiel = סמאל (Sammael), 'the invisible things of God;' (14) Hano-niel = הננאל, 'God is gracious;' (15) Rekael = רכאאל, 'God is king;' (16) Sampsiel = שמשאל, 'God's sun;' (17) Satarel = סטראל, 'God's side,' or Yetarel = יתראל, 'God excels;' (18) Tumael = תומאאל, 'God's perfection;' (19) Turiel = טוראל, 'God's mountain;' (20) Sariel = סהראל, 'God's moon.' Ara-kiel, Ramiel, Samiel, and Azael occur as names of angels in *Oracula Sibyllina*, ii, 215. On Sammael cf. Buxtorf, *Lexicon s. v.* Tera = 'gate,' Utra = 'abundance, excellence,' and Tura = 'mountain,' are found in the *Genza* of the Mandaeans as names of demons.

While in 8:1 ff. seven of these angels, viz., Azazel, Semyaza, Armaros, Barakiel, Kokabiel, Tamiel and Sariel, are selected for special mention, the leaders in 69:4 ff. are not in the larger group. They are: (1) Yeḳon = יקון, εικων 'image' (?); (2) Asebel = השבאל, 'the thought of God,' or 'God gives heed;' (3) Gadreel = עדראל, 'the helper of God;' (4) Penemue(1) = פנמואל, 'face of God' (?); (5) Kasdeya = כשטא, 'the archer,' 'sagittarius;' (6) Teba'at = טבעת, 'the circle,' the upper side of the Raḳia'; (7) Haḳael = 'the law of God.' Yeḳon seduced the angels to reproduce their image and likeness. Haḥsbiel gave them evil counsel instead of strengthening them by good thoughts. Gadriel, or Adriel, who should have helped God, became a traitor teaching bloody warfare. Kasdeya, or Keshata, sent the arrows whose demonic effect Aramaic-speaking interpreters have suggested in the Targum to Ps. 91:6. Teba'at failed at his post

when the angels descended. Hāḫael, ambitious for the power of the ineffable name, broke the order of nature himself, and was obliged to surrender to Michael the administration of the oath. When Yekon and Asbiel are said to lead astray 'all the children of the holy angels,'<sup>97</sup> this is a false translation of **בְּנֵי אֲלֹהִים קְדוֹת**. As **בֶּן אֱלֹהִים** is 'an angel' (Dan. 3:25), **בְּנֵי אֲלֹהִים** are 'angels,' and the phrase should have been rendered 'all the holy angels.' The Greek translator of the Noah Apocalypse may be responsible for this error by rendering **בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים**, τῶν ἀγγέλων, instead of τοῦ θεοῦ.

The most convincing evidence, however, of an Aramaic original is furnished by the Ethiopic translations of the term 'Son of Man.' They are: **ወልደ ሰብእ**: 46:2, 3, 4; 48:2; 60:10; **ወልደ ሰብእ**: 62:5 (some MSS have **ወልደ ሰብእት**); 69:29a, 29b (some MSS have **ወልደ ሰብእት**); 71:14, and **ወልደ እግረ**: **እመሐደው**: 62:7, 9, 14; 63:11; 69:26, 27; 70:1; 71:17. Of these the last is the most peculiar. Literally, it means 'the son of the offspring of the mother of the living.' It is possible that **እመ ሐደው**: was the title of some mother-goddess worshiped by the Geez people before their conversion to Christianity. One might think of Ta-urt 'the great one' who came to Egypt from Ethiopia and found her way back there again,<sup>98</sup> or the otherwise unknown moon-goddess whom, according to Plutarch,<sup>99</sup> the Egyptians called *μήτηρ τοῦ κόσμου*. But it remains most probable that Eve is meant, cf. Gen. 3:20. The meaning of **እግረ**: is 'embryo, foetus,' from the Semitic root **גָּרַר**, 'to roll, to wind in a circle;' and **እግረ**: **እመሐደው**: is used both as a collective and of the individual, and is a rendering of οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, and especially of υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου (Num. 23:19; Ps. 8:5; Job 16:21; Jer. 30:11).

It is a curious fact that when our Ethiopic translation of the New Testament was made, the ordinary method of rendering a noun definite by a prefixed **ወ-እቲ**: or **ዘንቲ**: or **ዘኩ**: was not followed. Instead of **ወ-እቲ**: **እግረ**: **እመሐደው**: which we would

<sup>97</sup> Enoch 69:4, 5.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. A. Wiedemann, *Die Religion der alten Ägypter*, 1890, pp. 88 f.

<sup>99</sup> *De Iside et Osiride*, c. 43, p. 76, l. 4. ed. Parthey.



have a right to expect, we find uniformly **ወልደ : እገለ : እመሕያው :** and nowhere preceded by a demonstrative, as a rendering of *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*. There is only one natural explanation: the translation was made under the influence of the Aramaic **בריה דבר נשא** which also means literally 'the son of the son of man.' In other words, it was made by Aramaic-speaking Christians, not before the sixth century. For **בריה דבר נשא** occurs only in the *Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum* and occasionally, as a reminiscence, in the Old Testament version made by Paul of Tella (618 A. D.). As in the case of this latter work, so in the Ethiopic version, the New Testament title occasionally crowded out the simpler **ወልደ : ሰብእ :** as in Dan. 7:13; Ezra 2:1 *al.* *Enoch* 60:10 suggests that this process had not set in yet when the *Parables* were translated.

If the term **ወልደ : እገለ : እመሕያው :** were uniformly used for 'son of man' in the *Parables*, it would be natural to suppose that the translator had before him the title *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, and therefore employed the familiar New Testament title. This, however, is far from being the case. Before chap. 62 he uses no other term than **ወልደ : ሰብእ :**, the equivalent of the Aramaic **בר נשא**. Later he employs four times the phrase **ወልደ : ሰብእ :** which corresponds to the Aramaic, **בריה דגברא**, as Burkitt<sup>100</sup> recognizes. This title maintained itself long, in spite of its suggestion of a human paternity, and is found in the Palestinian Lectionary, the Curetonian fragments, and the Sinaitic text. It is scarcely conceivable that a translator having before him a Greek text in which the New Testament title *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* was uniformly used should have employed three distinct Ethiopic expressions, and these of such a nature as to correspond exactly to three different Aramaic terms. The conclusion seems inevitable that he translated directly from the Aramaic. Whether he found in his text **בריה דבר נשא** as often as would appear from his version, must be left undecided; in 70:1 it is clearly an interpolation, and 71:18 is a late addition. If the Aramaic text contained such phrases as **בריה דגברא** and **בריה דבר נשא**, it must have passed through Christian hands, and it is greatly to their credit that, in half a

<sup>100</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 447.



thousand years, they did not tamper with it more seriously than the keenest criticism has seen reason to suppose.

A study of the linguistic peculiarities leads to the conviction that this work was translated from Aramaic into Ethiopic. General considerations strengthen this conclusion. If the *Parables of Enoch* were translated from a Greek text, one would certainly expect to find somewhere a quotation from it, or reference to it, in early Christian literature. Books of Enoch are quoted, with indication of the source, in the *Epistle of Jude* and the *Epistle of Barnabas*, by Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Origen and Anatolius of Laodicea, in *Pistis Sophia* and the *Apostolic Constitutions*, by Jerome, Augustine, Nicephorus, and Georgius Syncellus. Beside these, a very large number of Christian writers in all parts of the church manifestly drew upon the Enoch books without mentioning the reputed author. But nowhere in ecclesiastical literature is there the slightest trace of acquaintance with this work on the part of apostolic fathers, heretics, or Catholic teachers, from New Testament times to the discovery of the Ethiopic translation.

Yet it is difficult to believe that men who reverently cited the *Book of Enoch* as 'Scripture,' or who eagerly sought in its revelations information concerning the angels, should have found nothing worthy even of passing notice in these remarkable *Parables*. Could it have been of no interest to them that the translated Enoch had himself seen the pre-existent Christ, heard his hidden name proclaimed, referred to him by the title which to them signified his incarnation as a man, and spoken of his revelation to a congregation of believers? Would there have been no comfort to them in Enoch's prophecy that the Son of Man would sit upon his throne of glory to judge angels and men, avenge the bloody persecution of his congregations of saints, and live with them for ever? Some explanation must be found of this extraordinary silence in regard to the *Parables of Enoch*. The exegetes have none to offer, and, in fact do not seem to be conscious of the problem.

Long and earnestly have I looked for traces of a Greek version of this document, but always in vain. At one time it seemed to me possible that the Christian interpolator of *Test. XII Patr.*,

Nephtalim 4, had in mind *Enoch* 46:3; 71:14. Might he not have thought of 'the man who has righteousness' or 'the man who is born for righteousness,' when he spoke of "the coming of the compassion of God, a man having righteousness and doing mercy to those afar off and to those who are near"? If so, the word *ἄνθρωπος*, rather than *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, would be significant. But the context suggests that *δικαιοσύνη* here has the same meaning as in Gen. 20:13, where it is the rendering of *צדק* (Syr. ܙܕܩ); and the passage is apparently a free creation like *Levi*, chap. 16, being added in the Greek to that which the original author freely paraphrased from *Enoch*. Quite decisive is the fact that these Christian interpolations in *Test. XII Patr.* attach themselves to the most unlikely places in the rest of the work, but never to those passages in the *Parables* that have the strongest Christian affinity.

A reference to this part of *Enoch* also seemed to me possible in Tertullian's words: 'a Judaeis potest jam videri propterea rejecta, sicut et cetera fere quae Christum sonant.'<sup>101</sup> May not the description of the 'Son of Man' have been just the part of the book that seemed to him to have reference to Christ? He does not appear to have known the Noachic apocalypse. But this would only show that the interpolations were absent in the Greek copy. Yet the very anxiety of Tertullian to prove to Christians the value of the book renders it improbable that he should have left unquoted the significant passages dealing with 'the Son of Man,' while he exerted himself on behalf of those reciting the errors of the angels. It is probable that 'the other things which had a reference to Christ' were the clumsier interpolations by Christian hands in *Test. XII Patr.*, the *Oracula Sibyllina*, and other books.

Origen, indeed, seems to have been familiar with *En.* 67:6, 7, as his reference to thermal waters indicates.<sup>102</sup> But this chapter belongs to the Noah apocalypse. A hymn in Paris Papyrus 3009, published by Dieterich,<sup>103</sup> shows in one or two passages a certain similarity to *Enoch* 69:13 ff. Gaster thinks<sup>104</sup> that the author

<sup>101</sup> *De cultu feminarum*, i, 3, in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, I, col. 1308.

<sup>102</sup> *Contra Celsum*, v, 52, in Migne, *Patr. Graec.*, XI, col. 1261.

<sup>103</sup> *Abraxas*, 1891, pp. 138 ff.

<sup>104</sup> *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1901, pp. 109 ff.

of this Logos Ebraikos actually quoted the *Book of Enoch* in the second century B. C. He misunderstands Dieterich's conclusions as regards the date. This Gnostic production, in which the name of Jesus occurs, belongs to the second century A. D., and the kinship of ideas is not such as to justify the assumption of acquaintance with the *Book of Enoch*.

A large number of passages have been quoted by Charles and Martin to show literary dependence upon this part of *Enoch* by various New Testament writers. Some of these have a certain resemblance without intimating a dependence, others show a similarity that may be due to the same milieu of ideas, while still others exhibit such a practical identity of language as suggests imitation. There is no direct quotation, however. The only New Testament writer of whom we are certain that he used the *Book of Enoch* is Jude. He quoted his source, but he drew nothing from the *Parables*, though his interest in Christ and in eschatology would have made it most natural for him to do so. His phrase, 'the seventh from Adam,'<sup>105</sup> does not prove that he knew the *Apocalypse of Noah*.<sup>106</sup> If one could count that way, two could. As regards the expressions that really suggest dependence, it is certainly far more difficult to conceive of a Greek version of the *Parables* being used by several New Testament writers, without mention of the work, and then totally disappearing, while other parts of the Enoch literature, not thus honored, were preserved and highly prized, than that the present Ethiopic text has here and there received, in the course of transmission, a certain coloring by Christian hands. While a Greek translation of the *Apocalypse of Noah* may have been known to Origen,<sup>107</sup> there seems, therefore, to be no evidence of a Greek version of the *Parables*. The disappearance of the Aramaic text can cause no surprise. It is through translations, more or less faithful, and more or less interpolated, that we know such works as I Macc., *Baruch*, *Judith*, *Tobit*, *Pss. Sol.*, *Ass. Mosis*, *Jubilees*, *Test. XII Patr.*, the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, the *Apocalypse of Ezra*, and the *Gospel according to Matthew*.

<sup>105</sup> Jude 14.

<sup>106</sup> *Enoch* 60:8.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. Lawlor, *Journal of Philology*, 1897, p. 201.



# DHIMMIS AND MOSLEMS IN EGYPT

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RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL





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### I

The treatment of protected peoples—Jews, Christians and so-called Sabians—by Islamic rulers forms an interesting chapter in the history of the relations of the conquering Arabs with the peoples whom they subjected. In certain parts of Arabia itself both Jews and Christians were too powerful for Muḥammad to antagonize in such manner as to turn them into open enemies. We know in detail the statutes laid down by the prophet for the Anṣār, the Muḥājirīn and for the Jews in Medina.<sup>1</sup> Almost from the very first one of the burning questions related to the churches and the synagogues which either existed before the coming of Islam or which had been built in after times. No authentic tradition has been forthcoming which could fix upon the founder of their religion the responsibility for the later prescripts of rulers and jurists. The only tradition of the prophet which can have reference to the subject is that found in the *Kitāb al-Muwattaʾ* of Mālik to the effect “Two religions cannot exist together in Arabia;”<sup>2</sup> which tradition is also handed down with a wider meaning as “There cannot be two Ḳiblas in one country.”<sup>3</sup> It

<sup>1</sup> Wellhausen, *Skizzen*, IV, pp. 67 ff.; résumé in Müller, *Der Islam*, I, p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> On the authority of Abū 'Uбайдah, Ibn Ḥaūbal, *Musnad*, Cairo, 1893, V, p. 362; لا تجتمع دينان في جزيرة العرب. *Al-Muwattaʾ*, IV, p. 71 (cited *REJ.*, XXVIII, p. 75); *JA.*, Nov.-Dec., 1851, p. 513. It is also cited from Abū Da'ūd's *Sunan* as a tradition of Ibn 'Abbās by Ibn Taimiyyah, *REJ.*, XXXI, p. 215. See, also, Ṭabari, I, 1987, 13. Another tradition is more direct: اخرجوا المشركين من جزيرة العرب. *al-Bukhārī*, ed. Krehl, III, p. 295 (cf. *al-Hindī*, *Kanz al-'Ummāl* in *Musnad*, II, p. 311, margin). A further tradition is to the effect that Muḥammad sent to the Jews in their بيت المدارس (بيت المدراس) at Madinah, saying: اسلموا تسلموا واعلموا ان الارض لله (بيت المدراس) *ar-Risālah*, p. 294. *al-Bukhārī*, II, p. 294.

<sup>3</sup> لا تصلح قبلتان بارض. *Ibn Hishām*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 779; *al-Ṭabari*, I, p. 1590; *Ibn al-Athīr*, II, p. 171. Cf. *REJ.*, XXXI, p. 220. *Al-Hindī*, *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, has the reading, واحدة في ارض (margin, below).

is true that in the fourteenth century a Shāfi'ite jurisconsult of some eminence in Egypt, one Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Wahid al-Naqqāsh, in a fetwa that he wrote in the year 759 A. H. (1357-58 A. D.)<sup>4</sup> relates a tradition of the prophet that "The building of churches in Moslem countries is forbidden, even the repairing of such as have fallen in ruins;" to which he adds a second one "No churches are to be allowed in Moslem countries."<sup>5</sup> Unless he has reference to one of the traditions referred to above, his own is worthless, as it is not supported by any Isnād and falls within the category of those called by the traditionists Munḳaṭi'un.<sup>6</sup> In fact, it is contravened in express terms by the well-reputed acts and sayings of Muḥammad.<sup>7</sup> In the Medina statutes it is expressly said that Jews are allowed to keep their religion;<sup>8</sup> and to the leader of the new forces going to Yemen he sent word "Do not turn the Jews from their religion."<sup>9</sup> The letter of Muḥammad to the bishop of Najrān, as well as that to the bishop of the Banū al-Ḥārith ibn Ka'b, assuring them of the possession of their churches and of the continuance of their services, may also be cited in evidence.<sup>10</sup>

A very similar course had been adopted by the other leaders and by the first caliphs; probably, it is true, for purely political reasons. In the treaty made with the inhabitants of Jerusalem at Jābia 17 A. H. (638 A. D.), Omar promised "security for their persons, their possessions, their churches, their crosses and for all things that concern their cult."<sup>11</sup> The same was done at other

<sup>4</sup> See M. Belin, "Fetoua relatif à la condition des Zimmis," *JA.*, Nov.-Dec., 1851, pp. 415 ff. Al-Naqqāsh was born 720 A. H. (1320 A. D.) and died 763 A. H. (1361). Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, II, p. 247, makes him a follower of Mālik; but, according to Abū al-Maḥāsīn, he was a Shāfi'ite.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 513.

<sup>6</sup> See the *Taḥrīb* of al-Nawawī in *JA.*, 1901, p. 492, etc.

<sup>7</sup> On the falsification of traditions for various purposes, see the illuminating chapter in Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, II, pp. 88 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Wellhausen, *loc. cit.*, p. 70.

<sup>9</sup> **وَأَنْ لَا يَفْتَنَ يَهُودِي عَنْ يَهُودِيَّتِهِ** al-Bilādhurī, p. 71.

<sup>10</sup> Wellhausen, *loc. cit.*, pp. 106, 132, 193. The text is also found in al-Bilādhurī, p. 654, Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, pp. 40, 41 (with slight variants). From this last comes the translation in Sprenger, *Muhammad*, III, p. 502. It is cited in the Fetwa of Ibn Naqqāsh, *loc. cit.*, p. 493. Cf. also, Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, II, p. 351.

<sup>11</sup> Ṭabarī, I, 2405, al-Ya'qūbī, II, 167: **اَنْكُمْ اٰمَنُوا عَلٰى دِمَائِكُمْ وَاَمْوَالِكُمْ . وَكَنَّا سَكْمٌ لَا تَسْكُنُ وَلَا تَحْرَبُ اِلَّا اِنْ تَحْدِثُوْا حَدِثًا عَامًّا** "Securos fore

places, e. g., at Tiberias.<sup>12</sup> In the treaty which Abū 'Ubaidah made with the Syrians, it is expressly stated that churches and synagogues shall be left as they are and not touched; though regulations are attached to prevent the Dhimmis from hurting the sensibilities of the Moslems by the public exhibition of their worship and of their crosses.<sup>13</sup> The same was the case at Al-'Ānah and in the agreement made with the Catholikos of Al-Naḥīb and al-Kawāthil.<sup>14</sup> Abū Yūsuf adds that these conditions were faithfully carried out by Abū Bakr, Omar, Othman, and Ali. In some cases where a church building was needed for a mosque, a part of it was left for Christian worship; as at al-Anbar<sup>15</sup> or at Damascus, where the Moslems and Christians shared the cathedral of St. John for a space of eighty years.<sup>16</sup> Khālīd, the Sword of God, had promised the patriarch security for the persons of the inhabitants, for their possessions, for their churches and for the wall of their city.<sup>17</sup> Under Omar, the demand was made for the contravention of this agreement; but the caliph resolutely opposed it, as did also the Umayyads, Muāwiyah, and 'Abd al-Mālik. Walīd, however, took the whole church by force; and Omar II gave to the Christians in exchange all the churches in the Ghūtah that had been taken by force. Edessa surrendered to 'Iyādh ibn Ghanam on condition that the cathedral and other buildings should be reserved for the Christians; but the latter engaged not to build other churches than those which existed at

psos quod ad vitas suas, et liberos, opes, et ecclesias suas; illas scilicet nec dirutum iri, nec habitatum," Eutychius, ii, 284 (Migne, *Patrologia*, CXI, p. 1069). Cf. Reynolds, *The History of the Temple of Jerusalem tr. from . . . al-Stūti*, London, 1836, p. 168.

<sup>12</sup> Al-Ya'qūbī, ed. Houtsma, II, p. 159.

<sup>13</sup> فَإِنْ بَيْعَهُمْ وَكَتَائِسَهُمْ تَرَكْتَ عَلَىٰ حَالِهَا وَلَمْ تَهْدَمْ لَهُمْ وَلَمْ يَتَعَرَّضَ لَهُمْ فِيهَا. هَذَا مَا كَانَ بِالشَّامِ بَيْنَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ وَاهْلِ الذِّمَّةِ.

Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, p. 82 below—in the interesting chapter on the relation of Muḥammadans and Dhimmis.

<sup>14</sup> Abū Yūsuf, *loc. cit.*

<sup>15</sup> Al-Bilādhurī, p. 179, 9.

<sup>16</sup> Al-Bilādhurī, p. 125; Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*, p. 51. The same was done with the Cathedral at Cordova; Ibn 'Adhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, ed. Dozy, II, 244; Simonet, *Historia de los Mozarabes de España*, p. 806.

<sup>17</sup> "[Notum sit] me vobis securitatem praestitisse quod ad vitas vestras, domosque, ac opes, et ecclesias vestras, ne diruantur, vel inhabitentur, sed pacifice vobis concedantur," Eutychius, ii, 278 (in Migne, *Patrologia*, CXI, p. 1098).

the time of the conquest<sup>18</sup>—a condition which had been implied in the agreement before mentioned, but which does not seem to have been specifically mentioned.

The conditions thus stipulated were in the nature of a compromise, and paved the way for trickery and for deceit upon both sides. Upon the part of the Dhimmis it led to the falsification of documents which were to prove that a special arrangement or agreement had been made, assuring them the possession of one or the other religious edifice. The most noted example of such a falsification is the copy of the agreement said to have been made by Muḥammad with the monks of Mt. Sinai and preserved there to this day.<sup>19</sup> It is drawn up in the usual later documentary style and purports to have been made in the year 2 A. H.; being witnessed to by a goodly array of men: 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, Abū Bakr ibn Abī Kuḥāfah, Omar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, Othmān ibn 'Affān, Abū Dardā'i, Abū Hurairah, Abdallāh ibn Mas'ūd, al-'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Faḍl ibn 'Abbās, al-Zubair ibn al-'Awwām, and twelve more of Muḥammad's entourage. The writing is claimed to be that of 'Alī and the copy to have been made from a copy of the copy of the copy of the original, as is stated in the colophon. Synagogues were usually disguised as private houses, or with false dates put with a bold front upon the outer part.<sup>20</sup> The synagogue of the Palestinians in Fustāṭ had a wooden tablet affixed, which bore a legend to the effect that it had been built in the year 336 of the Seleucid Era, forty-five years before the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem; and the tradition was spread abroad that the famous synagogue in Damwah had been erected forty years after the destruction of the first temple.

Upon the part of the Moslems, traditions were invented to

<sup>18</sup> al-Bilādhuri, p. 172. It is a question in how far the Moslems followed Roman precedent. In a law of Honorius and Theodosius (423 A. D.) it is expressly said, "Synagogae de cetero nullae protinus extruantur, veteres in sua forma permaneant." Quoted by Sachau, "Von den rechtlichen Verhältnissen der Christen in Sasanidenreich," *Mitt. des Sem. für or. Sprachen*, X, Sonderabdruck, p. 10.

<sup>19</sup> I possess a photographic copy of it. The agreement came to light not earlier than the year 1517 A. D., and is on a line with a similar document stated to have been drawn up in the year 4 A. H. See Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Litteratur*, p. 186. According to Suhrawardi (*As. Quart. Rev.*, XIX, 1905, p. 156) this chart was published in 1630 by Gabriel Sionita. Similar agreements with Zoroastrians exist (*ibid.*, p. 158).

<sup>20</sup> *JQR.*, XIX, p. 507.

prove the early age of various later restrictions;<sup>21</sup> and in the interpretation of early procedure a door was opened for later fanatical casuists to incite the people to destroy the religious edifices of both Christians and Jews. The distinction was made between countries and places which had become Moslem by treaty and such as had been taken by force of arms; naturally a frequent subject of debate. It was a moot point whether such a building might be wholly rebuilt or only repaired; or whether new ones might be erected in villages and in places where there were no outward signs of Muḥammadan worship. And, finally, it was held to be a contravention for non-Moslem edifices to tower above those of Moslems. The history of Muḥammadan countries is full of incidents connected with this subject; and the orthodoxy of a ruler was at times measured by the zeal which he exhibited in taking the strictest view of these provisions.

The Fetwas and the decisions which have come down to us upon this subject are all based upon the supposed pact made by the Caliph Omar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb with the Dhimmis. Many scholars have doubted the later tradition which ascribes this famous pact to the first caliph of that name. The doubt seems in a large measure justified. According to al-Siūṭī, the earliest authorities to mention it are Ibn Zabr of Damascus who died in the year 164 A. H. (780/1 A. D.) and Abū 'Abdallāh ibn Ishāq ibn Minda who died in 395 A. H. (1004 A. D.).<sup>22</sup> We are so well acquainted with the life of the caliph, that so famous an instrument would undoubtedly have been mentioned by his biographers had they known of it. Of still greater force is the fact that its provisions show us a character that accords ill with the uprightness that shines through all the acts of his reign and with the simplicity and the truly religious character of his life.<sup>22a</sup> It is

<sup>21</sup> 'Āsim ibn al-Nabil does not scruple to say: "I have learned by experience that the pious are liable to prevaricate in nothing as much as in the Ḥadīth," Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, II, p. 47. A forged ḥadīth is called موضوع. See the *Takrīb* of al-Nawawī, tr. M. Marcais, in *J.A.*, XVII (1901), p. 121.

<sup>22</sup> De Goeje, *Mémoire sur la conquête de la Syrie* (2d ed.), Leyden, 1900, p. 143. De Goeje, Muir (*The Caliphate*, p. 213), and Arnold (*The Preaching of Islam*, p. 52) do not believe in Omar's authorship. The latest translation of the document is by E. Amar in the *Revue du monde musulman*, II, p. 356.

<sup>22a</sup> See on the "Faḍā'il 'Umar," *Musnad*, IV, p. 367.



true that it was he who drove the Jews out of Khaibar and the Christians out of Najrān.<sup>23</sup> Eminent reasons must have seemed to him necessary for this in the interests of the new state; for even in his testament, which has come down to us in two recensions, he is careful to demand consideration for the Dhimmis. "I recommend to your care the Dhimmis, for they enjoy the protection of the prophet; see that the agreement with them is kept, and that no greater burdens than they can carry are laid upon them."<sup>24</sup>

As the Umayyad dynasty grew in importance, Omar's followers were not all as fine-minded or as far-seeing as he was. In the second Omar (99-101 A. H.) we have a prince very much after the pattern of the first Omar, pious and well intentioned, frugal and upright.<sup>25</sup> It is customary to suppose that in his zeal for orthodoxy it was he who made his peace with the orthodox in Medina, and drew up the limitations imposed upon the Dhimmis and registered in the pact.<sup>26</sup> But it is hard to imagine that a man of his generous nature would have allowed even his religious

<sup>23</sup> A tradition is reported from the prophet: **اخرجوا يهود من الحجاز واهل نجران من جزيرة العرب**. al-Ramli, *Nihāyat al-Muhtāj ila Sharḥ al-Minhāj*, Cairo, 1886, VII, p. 223; but unsupported by an Isnād. Two traditions are ascribed to Omar: **1. لاخرجن اليهود والنصارى من جزيرة العرب حتى لا ادع الآ 2. لئن عشت ان شاء الله لاخرجن اليهود والنصارى من جزيرة العرب**. Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, Cairo, 1893, V, p. 362. For Khaibar, see Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 779; al-Ṭabari, I, p. 1591; Ibn al-Athīr, II, p. 171, and for the later views of his policy in general, al-Abshahī, *Kitāb al-Mustaṭraf*, I, 105.

<sup>24</sup> Sachau, "Ueber den zweiten Chalifen Omar," *Sitzungsber. der preuss. Acad.*, March 13, 1902, p. 321 (off-print, p. 30). That he advised his viceroys not to use Jews and Christians in state offices (al-Ṭurṭūshī, *Sirāj al-Mulūk*, Cairo, 1901, p. 118 below) was dictated by state reasons. Other conditions ascribed to him were not especially burdensome, al-Hindī, *Kanz al-'Ummāl*: **عن الاحنف ابن قيس ان عمر بن الخطاب كان يشترط على اهل الذمة ضيافة يوم وليلة وان يصلحوا القناطر وان قتل في ارضهم قتيل من المسلمين فعليهم ديته** (*Musnad*, II, p. 309, margin).

<sup>25</sup> See Ibn Jauzī, *Manāqib 'Omar ibn 'Abd el 'Azīz*, ed. C. H. Becker, Berlin, 1900.

<sup>26</sup> A letter is quoted in the *Sirāt 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz* and in the responsum of al-Nakḥāsh which breathes hatred to all non-Muḥammadans; see *J.A.*, 1851, p. 431; al-Ṭurṭūshī, *Sirāj al-Mulūk*, p. 120 middle. This, as well as other directions ascribed to Omar, has little verisimilitude.



zeal to carry him as far as this. Was it not he who decreed that the Dhimmis who had come over to Islam should no longer be called upon to pay the capitulation tax, which meant a large loss to the treasuries of the state?<sup>27</sup> Is it not expressly stated that it was he who allowed the Christians and Jews to constitute Waḳfs (mortmain) for churches and synagogues?<sup>28</sup> The only tradition of an unfavorable disposition in this respect that has come down to us is found in a letter sent by him to 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Nu'aim: "Do not destroy synagogues or churches or fire temples in regard to which we have made an agreement; but do not allow new churches or fire temples to be built."<sup>29</sup>

It was really under Abbāsīd rulers at Bagdād that the theologians completely gained the upper hand.<sup>30</sup> Al-Manṣūr removed all Dhimmis in the administration<sup>31</sup>—a work continued by al-Mahdi and by Hārūn al-Rashīd, the one for whom Abū Yūsuf had written his *Kitāb al-Kharāj*. It was al-Mutawakkil who, privately living a life of riot but outwardly a most zealous man for all things Muḥammadan,<sup>32</sup> increased the duress under which the Dhimmis lived, and who ordered all the churches and the synagogues that had been built in the time of Islam to be pulled down.<sup>33</sup> It seems probable, therefore, that in this Abbāsīd period

<sup>27</sup>The attempt is evident in many subjects of later legislation to refer the beginnings of such legislation to the early heroes of Islām. At a very early time Omar II became a center around which traditions of all sorts gathered. See Becker, *loc. cit.*, p. 1.

<sup>28</sup>Ibn Sa'ad, *Biographien*, V, p. 262, 15.

<sup>29</sup>Ṭabarī, II, p. 1371 below.

<sup>30</sup>The view held by orthodox theologians may be seen from the saying attributed to their protagonist Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110 A. H. = 728 A. D.):

من السنة ان تهدم الكنائس التي في الامصار القديمة والحديثة ويمنع اهل الذمة من بناء ما حرب

<sup>31</sup>A provision also carried back to Omar I; *Sirāj al-Mulūk*, p. 118 below; al-Muttaḳī, *Kanz al-'Ummāl* margin of *al-Musnad*, VI, 231; al-Ḳalkashandī, *Subḥ al-A'sha*, I, 39; *J.A.*, 1851, p. 454, *et al.* The retention of Christians in the administrations of Egypt, Syria, and Irāk became a fruitful source of complaint. The *Fetwa* published by Belin (*loc. cit.*) gives a number of instances; but they were needed, especially in the earlier times. In Egypt, the Copts have always been well represented in the government offices. For the earlier times see Carl H. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens unter dem Islam*, Strassburg, 1903, II, pp. 114 ff.

<sup>32</sup>Eutychius, ii, p. 448 (Migne, *loc. cit.*, p. 1136); Von Kremer, *Herrschende Ideen*, II, pp. 62 ff.; Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, II, p. 58.

<sup>33</sup>Ṭabarī, III, p. 1390, 2 = Ibn al-Athīr, VII, p. 34 below; al-Ya'ḳūbī, II, 595, 10; al-Ṭurṭūshī, *Sirāj al-Mulūk*, p. 118 middle; *J.A.*, 1851, p. 450.

the so-called Pact of Omar was drawn up; and that in order to invest it with greater authority it was foisted upon Omar, the First.<sup>34</sup>

All this was, of course, meat for the legislators and the codifiers of Muḥammadan law. The chief authorities differed in minor points and the traditions vary in themselves. For this reason it was easy to raise the whole question from time to time and to harass the Dhimmis upon minor points of procedure. Abū Ḥanīfah seems to have held a more liberal opinion. In the *Hidāyah* of al-Marghinānī (d. 593 A. H. = 1197 A. D.) he is said<sup>35</sup> to hold that, though it is unlawful to construct churches and synagogues in Muḥammadan territory, those already existing can be repaired if they have been destroyed or have fallen into decay; though they must not be removed from one place to another. Places of prayer may be built in private houses, and such places of prayer may be turned into a Waḳf and handed down as such.<sup>36</sup> In villages and hamlets, churches and synagogues may be erected, since the tokens of Islam do not appear there. The Shāfi'ite view, as represented by al-Shirāzī (1061 A. D.), holds<sup>37</sup> that in places taken by force, no new houses of prayer may be erected by Dhimmis; but opinion differs, he says, in regard to the permissibility of repairing them. If a special treaty has been made, even the building of new synagogues and temples is allowed. Al-Nawawī (631–76 A. H. = 1233–78 A. D.) holds a stricter view. If a place has been taken by assault, infidels must abstain not only from building new churches but also from employing the edifices already existing. If the place has capitulated, the action of the

وَأَمَّا لِكِنَائِس فَاَمَرُ اَنْ  
تَهْدَم كُلَّ كَنِيسَةٍ لَمْ تَكُنْ قَبْلَ الْاِسْلَامِ وَمَنْعُ اَنْ تُخْدَثَ كَنِيسَةٌ  
وَاَمَرُ اَنْ لَا تُظْهَرَ عَلَيْهِ خَارِجَةٌ مِنْ كَنِيسَةٍ وَلَا يُظْهَرَ صَلِيبٌ خَارِجٌ  
مِنْ كَنِيسَةٍ الْخِ Sirāj al-Mulūk, p. 120 middle.

<sup>34</sup> Al-Turṭūshī goes even further, and relates of Omar I:

<sup>35</sup> Book IX, chap. viii.  
<sup>36</sup> Book LII, chap. vi; though the authorities seem to be divided upon this point. See Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shaibānī, *al-Jāmi' al-Saghīr*, on the margin of Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharāj* (Cairo, 1885), p. 127.

<sup>37</sup> *Al-Tanbūh*, ed. de Jong, p. 297.

Dhimmis in regard to their place of worship depends upon the conditions made; if the Dhimmis are to remain proprietors of the soil, they may even build new places of worship.<sup>38</sup> Mālik holds<sup>39</sup> that in places taken by force, new houses of worship may be erected and old ones repaired only when a stipulation to that effect has been made in the treaty. Where the inhabitants have capitulated, new edifices may be erected<sup>40</sup> and portions of the property may be sold. In countries Moslem in their origin, no new churches are to be built.

The severest view seems to have been held by Ibn Ḥanbal (164–241 A. H. = 780–855 A. D.); even in the neighborhood of Muḥammadan cities such houses of prayer cannot be erected, nor can they be restored when damaged or ruined.<sup>41</sup> Minor authorities went still further in making all manner of subtle distinctions. Thus, according to Abū Saʿīd al-Istakhrī (d. 320 A. H. = 932 A. D.) a wall might be repaired on the inside but not on the outside; though al-Ramlī (d. 1596 A. D.) would prohibit even this.<sup>42</sup> In general it was stipulated that such buildings could be as high as those of the Moslems but not higher; though this was not the view of all the legal authorities.<sup>43</sup> That theoretically at least these restrictions applied, may be seen from what follows as well as from the fact that they are expressly mentioned in the diploma which it was customary to give to the Raʾīs al-Yahūd as cited by Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿUmārī and in the *Kitāb al-Inshāʾ*. These provisions are

<sup>38</sup> *Minhāj al-Ṭalibīn*, ed. Van der Berg, III, p. 284. See, also, the Comments of al-Ramlī (Cairo, 1886), VII, p. 229.

<sup>39</sup> Khalīl ibn Ishāq (d. ca. 1422 A. D.) *al-Mukhtaṣar* (Fez, 1882), p. 115. and the comments of al-Kharashī (ca. 1680), Bulak, 1882, p. 171. A translation of the passage can be found in Perron, *Précis de jurisprudence Musulmane* [Explor. scientifique de l'Algérie, XI, Paris, 1849], p. 295.

<sup>40</sup> The commentator adds, "restore ruined churches."

<sup>41</sup> See the excellent exposé of this whole question in al-Shaʿrānī's *Mizān*, II, p. 211, translated by Goldziher in *ZDMG.*, XXXVIII, p. 673.

<sup>42</sup> VII, p. 230 top. See, also, Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Khirshī, *Sharḥ al-Muḥaḳiḳk*, Bulak, 1882, III, p. 171.

<sup>43</sup> Al-Ṭurṭūshī, *Sirāj al-Mulūk*, p. 120 middle; Goldziher in *REJ.*, XXX, p. 19 top. Various special treatises have been written upon the subject, e. g., by Taḳī al-Dīn ibn Taimiyyah (707 A. H. = 1307 A. D.), the fanatical Cadi of Damascus (Brockelmann, *Gesch.*, II, p. 100), and by Aḥmad al-Damanhūrī (ca. 1759 A. D.); cf. *JQR.*, XIX, p. 491. Ḥājī Khalifah (VI, p. 364) mentions **النفائس في هدم الكنائس** by Najm al-Dīn al-Rifāʾah (Brockelmann, *Gesch.*, II, p. 133). Taḳī al-Dīn al-Subkī wrote, **كشف الدسائس في ترميم الكنائس**. See Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Litteratur*, p. 78.

referred to in the early capitulations and have remained in force even down to our own days. In the celebrated Ḥatti-Humāyūn of 1856, it is expressly stated that repairs could be made in the churches according to their original plan, but not exceeding their original extent.<sup>44</sup>

## II

In view of what has preceded we can readily understand why the question was so largely debated whether the Moslems had become possessed of Egypt by treaty or by force. Al-Maḡrīzī has a whole chapter on the taking of Fustāt from this point of view,<sup>45</sup> and so has al-Siyūṭī.<sup>46</sup> The doubts that really existed as regards the first and the second capture of the fortress of Babylon paved the way for lengthy disputes. In Egypt, for the most part, an express stipulation, though vague in its terms, was entered into. In the treaty made with the Copts in October, 640,<sup>46a</sup> it was stated: this is the security which 'Amr ibn al-'Āsī gave to the people of Egypt, "for themselves, their religious bodies, their possessions, their churches and their crosses."<sup>47</sup> The bishop John of Nikiu is the best witness to the statesmanship that guided these pioneers of the new régime. He says expressly that as long as Omar lived he preserved the churches from pillage.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>44</sup> F. Eichmann, *Die Reformen des osmanischen Reiches*, 1858, p. 250. Text in Young, *Corps de droit ottoman*, Oxford, 1905, II, p. 5. G. Pélisse du Rausas, *Le régime des capitulations*, Paris, 1902, I, p. 200.

<sup>45</sup> Khīṭaṭ, I, p. 294.

<sup>46</sup> *Ḥusn al-Muḡāḍarah* (Cairo, 1903-4), I, p. 69; cf. Bilādḥurī, p. 214; al-Ya'kūbī, II, p. 169; Yāḡūt, III, p. 897; Abū al-Maḡāsīn, I, p. 23, and Butler, *Arab Conquest of Egypt*, pp. 275, 322. Siyūṭī, *Hist. of the Califs*, tr. H. S. Jarrett, Calcutta, 1881, p. 136. Muḡaddasī, ed. de Goeje, p. 212; ibn Rushd in *Homenáje à D. Francisco Codera*, p. 75.

<sup>46a</sup> At the fortress of Babylon and not at Alexandria, as Butler, *loc. cit.*, p. 324, says. See Lane-Poole, "Mohammedan Treaties with Christians," *Proc. Royal Irish Acad.*, 1904, pp. 227 ff.

<sup>47</sup> Ṭabarī, I, p. 2588; Abū al-Maḡāsīn, I, 26. This was in the year 28 A. H. (Nov. 8, 641). See Guest, "Fustat and its Khittahs," *JRAS.*, 1907, p. 32.

<sup>48</sup> John of Nikiu, ed. Zotenberg, p. 262; cf. Butler, *loc. cit.*, p. 320. Severus ibn al-Muḡaffah, however, speaks of the destruction of churches in Alexandria, and especially of that of St.

Mark in 643 4: وفي سنة ثلثمائة وستين لديقلاديانوس في شهر الدركطس الاول من بعد ان ملك عمر مصر ثلثة سنين ملكت المسلمين مدينة الاسكندرية وهدموا سورها واحرقوا بيع كثير بالنار وبيعة مري مرقس الذي هي مبنية على البحر (MS Bibl. Nat., 302, I, p. 92).

In regard to Fustāṭ, the preliminary negotiations guaranteed safety only for those in the fortress and for their possessions.<sup>49</sup> But this was a military and not a political convention, and no mention was made of churches or synagogues.

In respect to the City of Cairo itself no real doubt could exist. It was in every way a Muḥammadan foundation; and all the schools and all the legists were in accord that no house of prayer could be built there by the Dhimmis.<sup>50</sup> Yet, in spite of the distinct provisions, there can be no doubt that the regulation was honored very often in the breach. The Copts were too important a part of the population, and their assistance in the building-up of Muḥammadan rule was too necessary to warrant any great interference with their church liberty.<sup>50a</sup> The Jews also were left in the enjoyment of their synagogues; and eyes were closed by considerations of policy even when the clearest provisions of the treaty were set at naught. Butler has called attention to the fact that the patriarch Benjamin received moneys for the purpose of building a church in Alexandria; that the patriarch John of

<sup>49</sup> In Fustāṭ quite a number of the churches were in existence before the conquest—all of them upon the bank of the Nile. See Guest, *loc. cit.*, p. 62. The actual words in the agreement were: *وان نقر اموالهم وكنوزهم في ايديهم*. Biladhuri, p. 215;

cf. p. 218. Al-Maḥrizī has: *ارضكم ودمائكم واموالكم*. *al-Khiṭaṭ*, I, p. 292; cf. Abū al-Maḥāsin, I, p. 20.

<sup>50</sup> Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, p. 88 top: *واما مصر مصرته العرب فليس بان الكنائس التي بمصر لم تبني الا في الاسلام في زمن الحجابة والتابعين*. Abū al-Maḥāsin, I, p. 462, has the same words. In a responsum of the year 846 we read: *ان كل ما بايدي اليهود من الكنائس محدث لم يصالحوا عليه ولا على شيء منه*, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tibr al-masbūk fi dhail al-Sulūk*, Bulak, 1897, p. 38. The consequences of this stricter view are drawn by 'Alī al-Shabramilī (ca. 1640 A. D.) in his super-commentary to Nawawī (on the margin of al-Ramlī), p. 229 below: *وبه نعلم وجوب هدم ما في مصرنا ومصر القديمة من الكنائس الموجودة الآن*. But see note 49.

<sup>50a</sup> Abū Ṣāliḥ "is full of instances of benevolence shown to the Copts and practical favours conferred upon them by Mahometan rulers and officials;" *Introd.*, p. xx. See, also, Casanova in *Bulletin de l'inst. français*, I, 126.

<sup>51</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 449.

Samanūd (680-89) did indeed build such a church; and that in 693 the ruler of Egypt, 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Marwān actually gave orders that a church should be erected in the newly built city of Ḥulwān.<sup>52</sup> In spite of the facts mentioned above, during the governorship of 'Uḡbah ibn Muslim (104 A. H. = 722 A. D.), "the churches were destroyed and the crosses broken," upon the express order of the Caliph Yazīd.<sup>53</sup> Abū Ṣāliḥ tells us that at some time between 775 and 779 the "Churches of Fuṣṭāṭ" had been destroyed; but that some time later they were restored again with the express permission of the governor, whose name, however, is not mentioned.<sup>54</sup>

As time went on and the Muḥammadan power grew stronger over Egypt, things changed for the worse. Every now and then the fanaticism of the rulers or of the populace called to the mind of both Christians and Jews that they were subject races. Abū Ṣāliḥ tells us that in the year 725 a bake-house near to the church of St. Mennas was turned into a church of St. George; that much opposition to this change manifested itself upon the part of the populace, and that the Christians were forced to explain "that the bake-house rightfully belonged to this great church and was not a new building."<sup>55</sup> In 169 A. H. (785 A. D.) the church of St. Mary in Fuṣṭāṭ was pulled down by the Governor 'Alī ibn Sulaimān;<sup>56</sup> but was rebuilt under Mūsa ibn 'Isa two years later.<sup>57</sup> About the year 330 A. H. (942 A. D.) Abū Muḥammad ibn Tughj, the Ikhshīd had the Melkite church in Tinnīs closed.<sup>58</sup> The mad al-Ḥākim did not, of course, spare the Dhimmis. In one of his momentary aberrations he ordered the church

<sup>52</sup> "The Church of the Chamberlains." See the account in Eutychius, ii, 369 [Migne, CXI, p. 1119]. At a later time it was called "Church of Ste. Mary," *ibid.*, p. 430 [Migne, p. 1132]. Cf. also, Abū Ṣāliḥ, *Churches and Monasteries of Egypt*, tr. B. T. A. Evetts, p. 157.

<sup>53</sup> *Khīṭaṭ*, II, p. 493 top; Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Copten*, p. 55. Abū al-Maḥāsīn (I, p. 278), however, says nothing about the churches. Becker tries to find the reason for this attack upon the churches in matters relating to the taxing of the monks; *Beiträge zur Gesch. Aegyptens*, II, p. 105.

<sup>54</sup> Tr. Evetts, pp. 84 ff.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 106.

<sup>56</sup> *Khīṭaṭ*, II, p. 511; Abū al-Maḥāsīn says merely (I, p. 456), *وهدم كنائس*; cf. p. 461 below.

<sup>57</sup> *Khīṭaṭ*, II, p. 494 below.

<sup>58</sup> Ibn Sa'īd in his life of Ibn Tughj says that in the year 323 A. H. (935 A. D.) part of the church of Abū Shanūdāh (Sinuthius) in Fuṣṭāṭ had fallen in. The Christians contributed money to repair it. The doctors of the law were asked whether this was permissible. The



in the Khaṭṭ Rashīdah outside Fustāṭ to be destroyed and the church in al-Maks to be burnt.<sup>59</sup> He had at one time the intention of razing all the churches in Egypt, or of turning them into mosques. He even caused the Adhān to be recited from the top of the church of Shenūdi in Fustāṭ and the Muallaḡah church in Ḳaṣr al-Sham' to be walled in.<sup>60</sup> The tale is told that between the years 403–5 A. H. more than 1,030 churches were thus destroyed in Egypt and in Syria.<sup>61</sup> The Jews were treated with a similar harshness. Al-Ḥākim cleared out the whole Jaudariyyah quarter where the Jews dwelt, and turned their synagogue into a mosque.<sup>62</sup> He did the same with the synagogue of the Karaites near the Ḥārat al-Rūm, named after Sām ibn Nūḡ.<sup>63</sup> And yet, it is during this whole period that a number of churches and synagogues were built and rebuilt both in Fustāṭ and in Cairo. The orthodox al-Ghazālī was worried by this fact; and he accounts for it by saying that for nearly two hundred years Egypt was in

Shāfi'ite Ibn Ḥaddād and the Mālikite Cadi were against the rebuilding; but Muḥammad ibn 'Alī held that permission might be accorded the Christians to raze the church and to rebuild it. The populace, however, strongly objected; and Ibn Tughj sent Ibn Ḥaddād with certain architects to see if the building was really in a ruinous state. It was found to be in a better condition than had been represented and it was allowed to remain as it was. See *Kitāb al-Mughrib*, Book IV, ed. Tallqvist, Leyden, 1899, p. 63. For the church, see *Khīṭaṭ*, II, p. 511 middle.

<sup>59</sup> *Khīṭaṭ*, II, p. 495 middle.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 497. Among others, he turned part of the monastery and church of St. John the Baptist into a mosque. Abū Ṣāliḡ, ed. Evetts, p. 130; de Sacy, *Les Druses*, I, pp. 330, 336. Cf. Siyūṭī, *Hist. of the Califs*, tr. H. S. Jarrett, Calcutta, 1881, p. 434.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*; Wüstenfeld, *Gesch. der Copten*, p. 26. In 411 A. H. (1019 A. D.), however, he gave orders that the churches which had been destroyed should be rebuilt; and he even restored to the Christians the property which had been taken from them; Ibn Khallikan, tr. de Slane, III, p. 431.

<sup>62</sup> Severus ibn al-Muḡaffah, MS Bibl. Nat., 302, II, p. 105; *Khīṭaṭ*, II, pp. 5, 464; al-Ḳalkashandī, tr. Wüstenfeld, p. 73; Ibn Iyās, *Ta'rikh Miṣr*, I, p. 51. The occasion is thus related by Sambari (MS Alliance Isr. Univ., Paris, fol. 27a; Neubauer's ed. has omitted the passage):

והרס בתו כנסיות של היאודים ולאחר שבעה ימים חזר אותם לדתם  
איש איש על עבודתו ועל משאו ובה פעם שנית הכנסיות שלהם ובליל פסח  
שרס היאודים במחוז שלהם נקרא אלגידריוא. והסיבה שהיה עובר בהחבא  
בליל פסח ושמע קול היאודים מקרים את ההגדה לבניהם ומפרשים להם  
בלשון ערבי. ויהי כאשר שמע שהיו אומרים וימות מלך מצרים ויאנחו בני  
ישראל השב שהיו מקללים אותו שימות. ויחר אפו עליהם ויאמר להם למה  
שלמתם רעה תחת טובה. זה הדבר אשר החזרתו אותם לדתם. ותנח דת על  
היאודים אשר במצרים וסגר המחוז שבהם ושרס אותם בלילה אחד והנשארים  
ברחו ונמלטו. ומזה הסיבה החריומו חכמי מצרים שלא ולמדו עוד את בניהם  
בלשון אלשרת.

<sup>63</sup> See my remarks in *JQR.*, XIX, p. 510.

the hands of Schismatics—Ismailians, Carmathians, Bāṭinites, and Nuṣairies, who outwardly were Rāfidites, but who ought not to be considered as orthodox.<sup>64</sup>

During the period which saw Saladin and his family in possession of Egypt (564–650 A. H. = 1169–1252 A. D.) we have no record of any annoyance having been caused to the Dhimmis in this respect. Only occasionally were churches pillaged by the mob; as the church of the angel Gabriel in 564 A. H. (1168–69 A. D.), the church of St. Mennas, of St. Onuphrius and the church of St. Mercurius at about the same time.<sup>65</sup> It was especially during the Mameluke rule that the Dhimmis were many times seriously threatened, largely because of fanatic Ulamas and others whose hot words incited the dormant power to act. In the year 700 A. H.<sup>66</sup> (1300 A. D.) during the reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir, and largely upon the advice of a perferbid convert from Judaism, Saʿīd ibn Ḥasan of Alexandria,<sup>67</sup> the so-called pact of Omar was solemnly renewed by representatives of both Jews and Christians and in the presence of the chief cadis of the four rites; though not before a number of synagogues had been destroyed and others closed for a whole year.<sup>68</sup> The matter was taken up by the Christian king of Barcelona who in the year 703 A. H. (1303–4 A. D.) sent an embassy to secure the reopening of the churches. Embassies with similar purposes in view came from Georgia and from Constantinople.<sup>69</sup> Two of the confiscated

<sup>64</sup> *REJ.*, XXXI, p. 216. But see, also, de Sacy, *Les Druses*, I, p. 399. De Sacy (*ibid.*, p. 401) has a note to the effect that al-Makrizī had read in the chronicles of the Christians how the Jacobite patriarch Michael had been forced by the exactions of Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn (254–70 A. H.) to sell the Church al-Muallaḡah in the Ḳaṣr al-Sham'. But the passage (*Khīṭaṭ*, I, p. 103 top) says only that he sold "the church near to the Muallaḡah." This was probably the church of St. Michael; see Butler, *Ancient Coptic Churches*, p. 168. In the Paris MS of Severus ibn al-Muḡaffah (*Bibl. Nat.*, 302, p. 248) there is an account of the destruction of a number of churches in the year 808 of the Martyrs (= 1091–92), especially of the al-Zuhri and al-Ḥamrā churches. Professor Derenbourg, however, is inclined to emend the date to 880 (1163–64).

<sup>65</sup> Evetts, *Abū Ṣāliḡ*, pp. 95, 106, 111, 119.

<sup>66</sup> This is the date (end of Rajab) as given by al-Makrizī, *Khīṭaṭ*, II, p. 498 below. See Ibn Iyās, *Ta'riḡh Miṣr*, I, p. 143; Quatremère, *Sultans Mamlouks*, II, 2, p. 177.

<sup>67</sup> Goldziher in *REJ.*, XXXI, p. 8; S. A. Weston, "The Kitāb Masālik an-Nāzar of Saʿīd ibn Ḥasan," *JAOS.*, XXIV, pp. 312 ff.

<sup>68</sup> The increased severity in the conditions imposed is seen in the details given by al-Nawairi. See Quatremère, *Sultans Mamlouks*, II, 2, p. 178.

<sup>69</sup> *Khīṭaṭ*, II, p. 499; Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, IV, pp. 268 ff.; Lane-Poole, *Egypt*, p. 301 (cf. Sambari in Neubauer, *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles*, I, pp. 135, 22). The affair is fully related in Quatremère, *Sultans Mamlouks*, II, 2, pp. 179, 229.

churches were now opened; but the severity of the edicts was not wholly relaxed until the year 710 A. H. (1310 A. D.).

To this period belongs the collection of Fetwas published by Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Ḥaḡḡ and contained in MS Berlin No. 928 of the Landberg collection. From these Fetwas it appears that the synagogues had been closed at some time previous to this in Cairo. In order to circumvent the law, the Jews had held services in a large building which they used as a synagogue, although on the outside it had the appearance of a simple dwelling-place. Ibn al-Raḡ'ah had given a responsum to the effect that they should be closed; and so had the ill-famed Ibn Taimiyyah. The matter was brought before the vizier Sulaimān, on the charge that such reunions were equivalent to the building of new synagogues. We are not informed what the outcome of the affair was.<sup>70</sup> A little later, in the year 720 A. H. (1320 A. D.) and under the rule of the same al-Nāṣir a number of churches were destroyed; but this was against the will and contrary to the wishes of the Sultan. On a Friday, the ninth of Rabī', the second, and evidently at a pre-concerted signal, the cry "destroy the churches" was raised in the mosque of the citadel, in the Azhar and in other places. Not only did the churches Bumana, al-Zuhri, al-Ḥamra, al-Banāt, etc., suffer; but the cry was taken up at Alexandria, at Kūs, and at other places. It does not seem that the synagogue suffered at this time.<sup>71</sup> In 752 A. H. (1351 A. D.) during the reign of Ṣāliḥ, some churches were again devastated.<sup>72</sup> A few years later, in 755 A. H. (1354 A. D.) on account of the arrogant bearing of the Dhimmis (this at least is the Moslem account), the "pact" was once more solemnly affirmed in the presence of the representatives of these Dhimmis; which, however, did not stay the hands of the destroyer, many churches being destroyed not only in Fuṣṭāṭ and in Cairo but also in upper Egypt.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>70</sup> See the fetwa published by Schreiner in *REJ.*, XXXI, p. 218; another one by Abū al-Barakāt Aḥmad al-Dardīr (Brockelmann, *Gesch.*, II, p. 353) is mentioned in *J.A.*, 1852, p. 110.

<sup>71</sup> *Khīṭaṭ*, II, pp. 512, 513 (Wüstenfeld, *Copten*, text, p. 51). A lengthy account is given by al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Tibr al-Mashūk*, pp. 72 ff. Cf. also Quatremère, *Memoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Egypte*, II, pp. 225 ff.; Weil, *loc. cit.*, IV, p. 498.

<sup>72</sup> Weil, *loc. cit.*, IV, p. 498.

<sup>73</sup> *Khīṭaṭ*, II, p. 499 below. See also the remark of Joseph ibn Ḥabīb upon the difficulties experienced by the Jews in these matters, cited by Goldziher, *REJ.*, XXX, p. 7, n. 6.

How slight an incident might lead the populace to a fanatical outburst was seen in the following century. In the year 823 the Jews had constructed a new lane in their quarter, and a wall around a number of houses that had formerly belonged to Moslems. The populace thought this to be an unwarranted assumption of rights, and prepared to destroy the synagogue near by. They were prevented from doing this by the strategy of the historian and writer Aḥmad ibn Ḥajar who must already have occupied some judicial position, and who had the new construction pulled down secretly so as to do away with the cause of complaint.<sup>74</sup> It was during the rule of Bars Bai 825–42 A. H. (1422–38 A. D.), known for his harshness against both Jews and Christians, that the various edicts against the Dhimmis were renewed.<sup>75</sup> The Sinaitic Peninsula had from time immemorial been, as it were, an appanage of the Egyptian power; and the question of the churches and monasteries there had been raised from time to time. In the year 849 A. H. (1445 A. D.), the whole question regarding these religious edifices was brought to the notice of the Sultan Jaḥmaḡ by the Ḥanafite Cadi Sharaf al-Dīn al-Kibānī and the Ḥanbalite preacher Shams al-Dīn ibn 'Alī Omar.<sup>76</sup> Measures were then concerted to prevent further buildings of such nature being erected, and especial care was taken that none of them should be higher than were the mosques in their neighborhood.

A few years previous to this in 846 A. H. (1442 A. D.) the above-mentioned Ibn Ḥajar<sup>77</sup> was concerned in a matter which has direct bearing upon the document published below.<sup>78</sup> It seems that a

<sup>74</sup> Quatremère, *Sultanes Mamlouks*, I, 1, p. 214, in the life of Ibn Ḥajar.

<sup>75</sup> Muir, *The Mameluke or Slave Dynasty of Egypt*, p. 137.

<sup>76</sup> Al-Sakhāwī, *loc. cit.*, p. 124.

<sup>77</sup> Shihāb al-Dīn Abū-l-Faḍl Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥajar, the celebrated authority on Ḥadīth and Fiqh and the voluminous writer on these and also upon biographical subjects. See Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Lit.*, II, p. 67, *J.A.O.S.*, XXVII, pp. 227 ff.; Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss der arab. HSS. der K. Bibl. zu Berlin*, X, p. 125; al-Sakhāwī, *loc. cit.*, pp. 230, 273. Goldziher (*ZDMG.*, XXXV, p. 148) has called attention to the valuable material to be found in Ibn Ḥajar's historico-biographical works.

<sup>78</sup> See an account of the whole matter in al-Sakhāwī, *loc. cit.*, pp. 35 ff. Codex 663 in the university library at Leipzig, fol. 22b, contains the text of the pact as it was renewed at this

time: هذا عهد كتب على أهل الذمة في دولة السلطان الملك الظاهر  
جقمق بسؤال أهل الذمة وانقرار مولانا قاضي القضاة الشيخ شهاب

charge had been brought against the Karaites that a building known as the Dār Ibn Sumaikh, and situated in the Zuwailah quarter had been used for some time as a school-house and as a dwelling-place for children. This had been turned into a synagogue.<sup>79</sup> The gate leading to this building on the western side faced the property of one Samau'al al-Naḥīk.<sup>80</sup> The title of the Karaites to the property was questioned before Afdal al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd ibn Sirāj al-Dīn Omar al-Karmī, on the ground that Ibn Sumaikh had died without leaving any heirs, and that the property legally reverted to the fiscus. The Karaites had no document to validate their possession of the building, and on Muḥarram 12 a decree was rendered against them. The Sultan Jaḥmaḥ intervened, ordered that the matter should be laid before him, and summoned Johannis,<sup>81</sup> the Jacobite patriarch, Philoteus,<sup>82</sup> the Melkite, 'Abd al-Laṭīf, head of the Rabbinite Jews, Faraj Allāh, a Karaite sheikh, and Abraham, the head of the Samaritans. These, unfortunately, knew nothing at all about the "pact," which was solemnly renewed and its provisions affirmed. Jaḥmaḥ was known as a scrupulous Moslem and in 851 A. H. (1447 A. D.) had before him the question of the Melkite church in Fustāt, the wall of which had been raised higher than the mosque at its side.<sup>83</sup> A certain Aḥmad ibn Ḥasan al-Ḳonstantīnī a Shāfi'ite,<sup>84</sup> is especially noted for his zeal in the

الدين أحمد بن حجر العسقلاني الشافعي في سابع ربيع الأول سنة  
 الست وأربعين وثمانى مئة . Professor A. Fischer has kindly sent me a copy of the

passage. In his *Kitāb inbā al-ghumr bi-ibnā al-'umr*, dealing with the events that happened during his own lifetime, Ibn Ḥajar gives a detailed history of the affair. I have copied the text from MSS Bibl. Nat. 1602, and Berlin 9461, s. v. "Muḥarram 846," and hope to return to it at some future time.

<sup>79</sup>This must be the synagogue referred to by al-Makrizī (*Khitaṭ*, II, p. 368) as the كنيسة ابن شميخ near to the Madrasah al-Āshūriyyah in the Zuwailah quarter.

Sambari (in *Med. Jewish Chronicles*, I, p. 136) calls it בניסאן צומח . See *JQR.*, XIX, p. 512.

<sup>80</sup>Al-Sakhāwī, *loc. cit.*, p. 37, 1; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā al-ghumr*, MS Bibl. Nat. 1602, fol. 262b. Evidently this must be "Samuel ha-Nagid." In the *Jewish Encycl.* V, s. v. "Egypt," I have put together all that is at present known of these Egyptian Negidim. Samuel's name, however, does not occur there!

<sup>81</sup>Text has مؤسس!

<sup>82</sup>Text has فتوتاولس.

<sup>83</sup>Al-Sakhāwī, *loc. cit.*, p. 145.

<sup>84</sup>Born ca. 754 A. H. (1353 A. D.); d. 852 A. H. (1448 A. D.). See *ibid.*, pp. 229 ff.

destruction of the religious edifices of the Dhimmis. Under his direction the church in the *Ḳasr al-Sham'* was turned into a mosque; and his religious vengeance was wreaked upon the synagogues and churches both in *Fusṭāṭ* and in *Damwah*. In the year 858 A. H. (1454 A. D.) certain repairs had been made by the Karaites to one of their synagogues. The permission requisite for this had been acquired from the authorities; but it was supposed that this permission was general in its character and applied equally to the churches of the Christians and to the synagogues of the Jews. The Christians therefore commenced to make the repairs needed in their churches. This general activity on the part of the Dhimmis seems to have angered the strict Moslems; and in the year 860 the matter was brought to the attention of the Sultan *Ashraf Saif al-Dīn Īnāl*. A careful examination was twice made, not only of the synagogue in question, but also of the religious edifices in *Fusṭāṭ*. It was found that the Karaites had not exceeded the permission granted to them, but that the Christians had. The demand was made by the Moslems that all the churches should be torn down as an example; because the agreement entered into by the patriarch with the Moslems had not been observed. Judgment was given to the effect that only those parts of the churches should be torn down which had been repaired without the necessary permission from the authorities. The Karaites were confirmed in the possession of their synagogue, and the whole status of the Dhimmis was traversed; a document being drawn up giving an account of what had happened in the year 846 A. H., of the decisions that had been reached, of the renewal of the "pact" made at that time, and the action taken in the year 860.

A copy of this document has been preserved in the archives attached to the office of the Karaite *Ḥakam Basha* in Cairo, and is published in the following. It is written upon a paper scroll many yards in length and over a foot in breadth.<sup>85</sup> The original, I suppose, was deposited in the state archives; but it has probably

<sup>85</sup> It is surprising how few documents from the Egyptian chancelleries have come down to us — a fact remarked also by Van Berchem (*Corpus Inscript. Arabic.*, p. 441). For many reasons they have a distinct value; especially, because they are seldom given in their entirety by the Muḥammadan annalists. In the earlier documents, there is a great waste



gone the way of most of such documents. Even this copy has been roughly handled and not carefully guarded, so that portions of it are illegible. How many lines are wanting at the beginning it is impossible to tell; but citations made in the body of the document show that a lengthy introduction preceded what has been preserved. A transcript was made for me by Abū Naṣr al-Nabulsi, one of the sheikhs of the Azhar.

In the translation I have followed the original somewhat slavishly. I have, however, in most cases omitted the honorific designations with which the official scribes were accustomed to adorn the names of dignitaries in such documents.<sup>86</sup> In the case of rulers and sultans these designations have a direct value as indicating the possession or supposed possession of certain rights.<sup>86a</sup> But in the case of jurists and cadis, they are nothing more than ballast. The official style of the kātibs is perhaps no worse and no more crabbed than is the style usually found in our own legal documents; but it is difficult to translate into readable English, and if the thread is interrupted by long lists of titles, it becomes perfectly unintelligible.

### III

. . . . as the honorable law decides on the opinion of the one who has brought the action . . . . as this was explained in the decision given on the twenty-third of Dhū-l-Ḥijjah 858. The above-mentioned indorsement was given of our Lord and Master<sup>87</sup> the Sheikh al-Islām, the learned al-Kinānī al-Bulḳinī,<sup>88</sup> the Shāfi'ite above mentioned, May God prolong his

of space, the letters being written in a large hand and the lines being far apart. Omar the first tried to remedy this; but without success (Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt*, I, p. 25). In later times the scribes became wasteful of words, and the documents attained unheard-of lengths. The form of such documents seems to be modeled upon the old Egyptian papyrus.

<sup>86</sup> Titles of rulers and other officials have been studied with great care and with much profit by Van Berchem in his numerous publications on Arabic epigraphy; especially in his *Corpus*, pp. 441 ff. See also his "L'Épigraphie musulmane en Algérie," in *La revue africaine*, 1905, No. 257.

<sup>86a</sup> Especially in Mameluke times great stress was laid upon such titles. The *Dirān al-Inshā'* (MS Paris. Arabe. 4439) contains much material upon the subject, and was written in Egypt about the time of our document.

<sup>87</sup> According to Van Berchem (*Corpus*, p. 384) the title, مولانا, was given only to sultans and princes in early times. It was only in the fifteenth century that it commences to be used for functionaries and sheikhs. To say مولانا سيدنا before مولانا, as is here the case, is an Egyptian practice, dating from the time of Muḥammad ibn Ḳalā'ūn (*ibid.*, p. 386).

<sup>88</sup> Probably Šāliḥ ibn 'Umar ibn Raslān al-Bulḳinī, 791 A. H. (1389 A. D.)-868 A. H. (1463); Brockelmann, *Gesch. der arab. Lit.*, II, p. 96; Ibn Iyās, *Ta'rikh Miṣr*, II, pp. 9 ff. (see Index s. v. "al-Šāliḥ").

days, his power and his grace, and may he watch over his judicial substitute our master, the servant who is desirous of Allāh the Most High, the Sheikh, the Imam the very wise Shihāb al-Dīn, the glory of the Ulamas, the most excellent one, the Mufti of the Muḥammadans, Abū al-'Abbās al-'Aṣḥalānī, al-Shāfi'ī,<sup>89</sup> the judicial deputy in Egypt (May God aid his judgment, recompense him . . . crown his purpose with success!).

The contents were established before him in a legal manner; and in conformity with this he rendered a legal judgment, as his signature shows that is put on the outside of the document referred to, and which is dated in his own handwriting<sup>90</sup> the fourth day of the blessed month Ṣafar in the year given there.

There was presented to our Master and Lord the Chief Cadi, the Sheikh al-Islām, chief of all the wise men, the learned al-Kinānī al-Bulkīnī al-Shāfi'ī and to our Master and Lord the Chief Cadi, Sheikh al-Islām al-Sa'dī al-'Abbāsī al-Dairī the Ḥanafite above mentioned<sup>91</sup> (May God prolong their days, establish them in opulence, show them kindness and cover them with blessings in both worlds) the holy pact which was renewed with the Dhimmis in the glorious Zahirite dynasty,<sup>92</sup> the provisions of which are explained in it—each one having pondered over it sufficiently—as well as that which was written upon its border and attributed to our Lord and Master, the Chief Cadi Badr al-Dīn, Cadi of the Muḥammadans, friend of the Commander of the Faithful, Abū al-Akhlāṣ Muḥammad al-Zubairī al-Tinnīsī<sup>93</sup> the Mālikite, the inspector of justice in Egypt and the other Islamic provinces (May God cover him with mercy and faith); as well as whatsoever the decision contained which is written upon the margin of the copy of the pact aforementioned, which has reference to our Lord and Master the Chief Cadi Badr al-Tinnīsī the Mālikite mentioned in it (the explanation of which will be given); and the testimony in regard

<sup>89</sup> I. e., Ibn Ḥajar.

<sup>90</sup> I do not know whether الكبير is simply a honorific adjective, or whether reference is made to a *large* script as opposed to a *small* one. Al-Ḳalkāshandī (tr. Wüstenfeld, p. 189) distinguishes between التوقيع بالقلم الدقيق and التوقيع بالقلم الجليل.

<sup>91</sup> I. e., Sa'd al-Dīn ibn al-'Abbās al-Dairī. See Ibn Iyās, *Ta'rikh Miṣr*, II, pp. 33, 35, etc.; 'Abd al-Ḥayy al-Hindī, *Al-Fawā'id al-Bahiyyah*, Cawnpore, 1876, p. 35.

<sup>92</sup> This evidently refers to Jaḳmaḳ, whose title was al-Zāhir Saif al-Dīn. The Mamelukes called themselves or their various parties according to the titles of the sultans to whom they belonged. They used the same designations for the reigns of the various princes. See Muir, *The Mameluke or Slave Dynasty of Egypt*, p. 149, note; Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt*, p. 253, note; Van Berchem, *Corpus*, p. 76.

<sup>93</sup> Or, al-Tannasī. See al-Dhahabī, *al-Mushtabih*, p. 42, 1. It will be seen that relative adjectives are frequently used here in place of proper names or of titles; these, according to Van Berchem (*Corpus*, pp. 443 ff.), are always addressed to a functionary and not to a sovereign. Al-Badrī = Badr al-Dīn; Saifi = Saif al-Dīn; al-Sa'dī = Sa'd al-Dīn. If the person was a Mameluke, the relative may be derived from the name of the man's owner. Ibn Iyās, *loc. cit.*, pp. 35, 36, has التنويسي; but see al-Siyūṭī, *Ḥusn*, II, 124.

to the Dhimmis—to wit: Yuhannis ibn Yuḥanna ibn Dawūd, the Jacobite patriarch of the Christians<sup>94</sup> and his followers, Naṣr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Yuḥanna al-Bazzār<sup>95</sup> known as Al-Ḳumṡās,<sup>96</sup> Hibat Allāh ibn Yuḥanna ibn Abī al-Faraj, the scribe known as Ibn Ḳārūrāh, Faḍl Allāh ibn Hibat Allāh ibn Isrā'īl the scribe and Ishāk ibn Faḍā'il the scribe<sup>97</sup> known as al-Khursī,<sup>98</sup> as well as others whose names have not been mentioned in it. The whole of the decree which follows—reference to which is made above—and the testimony mentioned in it, were placed before our Lord and Master the Chief Cadi, the Shāfi'ite Sheikh al-Islām and our Lord and Master the Chief Cadi the Ḥanafite Sheikh al-Islām.

A request concerning the matter was brought before our Lord and Master the Chief Cadi, the Sheikh al-Islām al-Sa'dī al-'Abbāsī al-Dairī the Ḥanafite afore mentioned; the substance of which is—after the Bas-mallah and after the enumeration of those who are mentioned in it: that in every house of prayer existing in Cairo and Fustāt (May they be well guarded!<sup>99</sup>) there were portions that had fallen into ruin. A general permission had been given . . . to restore that which had become ruined in every house of prayer and a decree to this effect had been written by . . . and given them signed by their lordships the chief Cadis, the Shāfi'ite and the Ḥanafite Sheikhs al-Islām. An order had come to the Chief Cadis, the Shāfi'ite and the Ḥanafite Sheikhs al-Islām to examine the matter. This was found to be well grounded in law. They asked also for an order that one of the judicial substitutes should examine the matter and see whether the repairs of the aforementioned place which had fallen into ruin had been made according to law and according to the decision of his court. The Mameluke 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ, Sheikh of the Karaite Jews and Ishāk, Ra'īs of the Karaite Jews<sup>100</sup> agreed to this restoration . . . according to the aforementioned account and the pact above mentioned, the legal ordinance above mentioned and the attested legal permission reference to which has been made above.

All this was read out in the hearing of our Lord and Master, the Chief Cadi, the Ḥanafite Sheikh al-Islām. He looked into the matter as well as

<sup>94</sup> This is evidently the Jacobite patriarch mentioned above, p. 369.

<sup>95</sup> البزاز or البزار. See al-Dhahabī, *loc. cit.*, pp. 38, 39.

<sup>96</sup> I. e., the arch-priest. Lane, *Modern Egyptians* (1846, II, p. 317), punctuates قُبص and Sambari (fol. 135) writes קובס.

<sup>97</sup> Text has الكاتب بالعاص. Is this the name of a place or of an office?

<sup>98</sup> Al-Dhahabī, *loc. cit.*, p. 102.

<sup>99</sup> Van Berchem (*Revue africaine*, 1905, p. 175), has shown conclusively that this is the true rendering of the term.

<sup>100</sup> It is peculiar that we find here a Ra'īs for the Karaite Jews. In the documents and in the secretaries' manuals of the time, it is distinctly said that the Ra'īs of the Rabbinite Jews had jurisdiction over Rabbinites, Karaites and Samaritans, though a special form of commission to the Ra'īs of the Samaritans is also given. See *JQR.*, XIX, pp. 500 f.

into the presentment of our Lord and Master the Chief Cadi, the Sheikh al-Islām, the Ḥāfiẓ Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās al-'Askalānī, in which he confirmed the Dhimmis in the pact mentioned above, the explanation of which occurs in it. He was of opinion that the presentment of Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Askalānī in regard to the aforementioned pact was a legal judgment. Al-Ḳinānī al-Bulḳinī agreed with him in this—that the permission which issued from the sultan, the ruler al-Malik al-Ashraf who is mentioned by name above is a legal document; and that the decision of the Mālikite Chief Cadi Badr al-Dīn al-Tinnisi in regard to the testimony of the Dhimmis whose names are above mentioned (the explanation of which is in the document) does not contradict the edict above mentioned nor the judgment of the Ḥanafite judge nor the work permitted to be done by his opinion.

He has signed<sup>101</sup> the above account with his own hand, commissioning the Cadi Afḍal al-Dīn to consider the matter from the legal point of view, after having made a complete examination. This was put in the hands of Afḍal al-Dīn the Mufti, Abū al-Faḍl Maḥmūd ibn Sirāj al-Dīn, the Mufti, Abū Khafs Omar al-Karmī,<sup>101a</sup> the Ḥanafite the judicial substitute in Egypt. He attended to it at once; discussing the matter several times with his superior al-Sa'di al-'Abbāsī al-Dairī the Ḥanafite. The latter ordered him to carry out the work in accordance with his decision and after the fullest investigation.

Then Afḍal al-Dīn, together with the judicial scribes who were to put their signatures to the document and the architects proficient in building and ordering, in putting up and tearing down and who had been invited to do this work by the Court, went to where the houses of prayer in al-Ḳāhirah and in Fustāt were which belonged to the Karaite Jews. One of them was the synagogue in al-Ḳāhirah inside the Ḥārāt Zuwailah . . . . they studied it carefully and acquired a knowledge that removes ignorance . . . . a side destroyed by one of the mob, its length was three hundred cubits . . . . In its . . . .<sup>102</sup> on the side already mentioned touching the west, are places which need examining for repairs below and above. On this side is a broken down wall, the bricks of which have fallen out in front . . . . and a side is destroyed before . . . . This needs repairing below and above. On the inside of the court of the synagogue is a vestibule, through which one reaches the gate of the synagogue. In it (the vestibule) is a wall, the top part of which has been destroyed, and its gate has been taken out. At present, the aforementioned gate is to be found in the synagogue. The wall needs

<sup>101</sup> I do not understand the text, which seems to read: وتترج; perhaps ونأخ.

<sup>101a</sup> Al-Sakhāwī and Ibn Ḥajar: Afḍal al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Sirāj al-Dīn 'Omar (ibn Manṣūr) al-Karmī.

<sup>102</sup> Text has وفي قبة. Is this قبة = قبة, Dozy, II, p. 402b?

repairing and the gate must be returned . . . .<sup>103</sup> Inside the synagogue is a ruined place, one side of which has been repaired round about to a height of eight cubits by six; this needs further repairing by building upward and downward. On the eastern side, within it (the synagogue) are damaged supports and a high roof. This needs repairing, and the roof surrounding it must be remade. One of its sides needs adjusting; and the supports on the western side down to the foundation need repairing with wood, before they fall to pieces and need to be entirely replaced. Inside (the synagogue) on its western side is a second ruin in which are repairs. In the front, near to the Kiblah<sup>104</sup> repairs have been made to the timber of the roof. This needs restoring and further repairing. Round about this court-yard, above its pillars of marble are ruined supports . . . . a small restoration near to which is a gate, the supports of which need restoring and rebuilding.

One goes through the aforementioned gate to a place in which there are three broken basins, needing repairing and restoration at the bottom and at the top. And in the passage-way leading from it to the synagogue, both sides—right and left—need repairing all around above and below. In the aforementioned passage is a staircase by means of which one mounts to the upper part of the synagogue; to the right and to the left as one goes up is the door of a private room,<sup>105</sup> the supports of which are in a broken condition. Opposite to it is a ruined wall resting upon a wooden foundation; this needs repairing. On the top part of the above-mentioned synagogue are overlaid woods and overlaid . . . .<sup>106</sup> resting upon wooden supports. These need repairing as well as the wood which is between the two roofs.

In the upper part near to . . . . on the eastern side and resting upon the wooden supports. These need renovating and restoring. On the aforementioned staircase at the top there are repairs. In this there is a crenelated parapet, which needs renovating and repairing below and above. On the upper story of the synagogue there is a damaged roof that needs repairing. In the upper story toward the east and on the side mentioned is a fallen wall. On the top are ruined layers<sup>107</sup> on the third

<sup>103</sup>Text, **من المتعرضين** "by those who have caused the damage"? But it is expressly stated that the gate is in the synagogue, and therefore in the possession of the synagogue. The text is uncertain, as possibly there is a break between this word and the one preceding it. Perhaps, "by the mob," as I have translated the word above.

<sup>104</sup>Evidently "the ark."

<sup>105</sup>How is this possible, unless the door was so large as to have two wings?

<sup>106</sup>Text has **بنل**?

<sup>107</sup>**طباق** pl. of **طبقة**. The word must have some special meaning here which escapes me. Perhaps "rafters"?



story. These must be demolished and cleared of the rubbish in them in order to lighten the weight upon that which is below, and in order that the materials mentioned may be used for repairing whatsoever needs repairing.

The aforementioned synagogue is comprised within the following four bounds: The southern side borders on a waste place; the western side borders on a waste place also. On this side is the mosque mentioned above which needs repairing and renovating, as has also been aforementioned. The eastern side borders on a waste place. On this side is the gate to the synagogue aforementioned; and the gate of the court which is the property of the aforementioned synagogue called the *Ḳā'at al-Jaban*. The western side borders on a waste place; so that there is not near to this synagogue upon its four sides either building or dwelling-place. It stands today in the midst of waste places and of heaps of rubbish.

The result of the official examination here mentioned, together with what has been reported above, were verified before our Master Afḍal al-Dīn in a lawful manner and with legal proof. The attestation of our Lord Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad was attached to it in regard to his own person<sup>108</sup> in the matter of the proofs and the judgment in accordance with the warrant which issued from the Sultan<sup>109</sup> al-Malik al-Ashraf, according to the permission of the same referred to above. There was attached to it also the action taken by Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Aṣḥalānī, in regard to the aforementioned pact concerning the recognition by the Dhimmis of their duties and his confirming them in the privileges of the pact—in clear language and taking the place of a judgment, in accordance with the aforementioned permission, as has been stated above. There was attached to it also the judgment given by the Mālikite Chief Cadi al-Badr ibn al-Zubair al-Tinnisi, which is recorded upon the margin of the pact above mentioned, together with the obligation recorded in a special section upon the margin of the pact mentioned. All this was brought before him in a perfectly legal manner, to be respected, satisfactory and with full legal proofs.

He (Afḍal al-Dīn) gave permission to repair what was needed in the above-mentioned places of worship according to the decision explained above, i. e., more specifically the two synagogues mentioned above—to do as much as is sufficient to carry this out. He forbade them to do more than this; both the permission and the inhibition being perfect in law, and after note had been taken of what had been done contrary to

<sup>108</sup> I. e., that he had taken the testimony.

<sup>109</sup> The title *Sultān* in Egypt seems first to have been adopted by Saladin—in full, *Sultān al-Islām w-al-Muslimīn*. It was commonly born by the Mameluke rulers, who had themselves invested by the shadowy caliph whom they kept near to them for that purpose. See Van Berchem, *Corpus*, pp. 261, 767.



this.<sup>110</sup> He had his decision attested by witnesses, as well as the fact that both the permission and the inhibition explained above took the place of a judgment, together with the note of what had been done contrary to this, as this is explained in the document relating to the inquest which is dated Ramaḍān 27, 859, done in the handwriting of our Lord, the learned judge above mentioned, completed by the signatures of those who had been present at the aforementioned inquest in company of the judge aforementioned — signatories and architects.

This having happened and a long period having elapsed, displeasure having manifested itself against the Dhimmis because they had built their places of prayer and their convents in Fuṣṭāṭ, contravening the law in this, the matter was brought to the attention of our Lord the Sultan Malik al-Ashraf. He ordered the convening of a Majlis in his own presence. Such a Majlis was convened in his presence, consisting of the Chief Cadis, the Sheikhs al-Islām of the four rites. There was much discussion and controversy between those present at the Majlis in regard to the above-mentioned pact, and in regard to the decision of the Mālikite Cadi Badr al-Dīn Abū al-Akhlāṣ Muḥammad ibn Zubair al-Tinnīsī. The order was given to the Chief Cadis, the Sheikhs al-Islām, to betake themselves to the houses of prayer mentioned.

An order came from the Sultan<sup>110a</sup> to the Chief Cadis, the Sheikhs al-Islām, to go upon an appointed day to Fuṣṭāṭ to examine the places of worship. Then the Chief Cadis, the Sheikhs al-Islām of the four rites, to wit: The Sheikh al-Islām Abū al-Thiḡah Ṣāliḥ al-Kinānī al-Bulḡinī al-Shāfi'i, the Sheikh al-Islām al-Sa'd ibn 'Abbās al-Dairī al-Ḥanafī, the Sheikh al-Islām Abū al-Bakā Muḥammad al-Ḳurashī al-Amawī<sup>111</sup> al-Mālikī, Abū al-Barakāt Aḥmad al-Kinānī al-Ḥanafī, the procurators of justice in Egypt and in the rest of the Islamic countries; together with Abū Zakariyya Yahya al-'Aḳsarā'i al-Ḥanafī, and all the honorable judicial substitutes in al-Ḳāhīrah and Fuṣṭāṭ (May the two be well guarded!) went and an examination was made of the places of worship existing in Fuṣṭāṭ. One of these was the Jewish synagogue in the Khaṭṭ al-Muṣāṣah<sup>112</sup> in the ruins of Fuṣṭāṭ. The inquest was made in the presence of the Sheikh al-Aḳsarā'i al-Ḥanafī mentioned above, and a number of the judicial substitutes among whom was the Sheikh Afdal al-Dīn the Ḥanafite judge aforementioned, a number of judicial scribes, a number

<sup>110</sup> I am not certain of this translation. **عالم بخلاف من ذلك** may be simply a legal formula: "Knowing the consequences of contravening this order."

<sup>110a</sup> The addition of the words, **شرفه الله وعظمه**, shows that reference is here to an order from the Sultan. Cf. Yan Berchem, *Corpus*, p. 135.

<sup>111</sup> Or al-Umawī; al-Dhahabī, *loc. cit.*, p. 15; Ibn Khaṭīb al-Dahsha, *Tuhfah Dhawi-l-'Arab*, ed. T. Mann, p. 137.

<sup>112</sup> On this synagogue see my remarks in *JQR.*, XIX, p. 505.

of Muḥammadans and a number of architects, to wit: the Master 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Sutūḥ, the Master Khalil ibn Ibrāhīm known as Ibn Bashshār, the Master Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd Allāh known as Akrūt,<sup>112a</sup> the Master Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad known as Ibn al-Fākhūrī. These made a complete examination. They found there what had been restored in accordance with the permission given for such restoration in the permit which had issued from the Sheikh Abū al-Faḍl Maḥmūd al-Karmī al-Ḥanafī, the judge already mentioned, enabling them to make such restoration; as well as that which had been restored in excess of this and to which the permit did not attach. Imagining that the permit was a general one, while it was only specific, they had built in the house of prayer in Fuṣṭāṭ in the churches belonging to the Christians both what the permit allowed, as well as what had not been allowed.

Thereupon the Chief Cadis, the Sheikhs al-Islām, together with our Lord the Sheikh Amīn al-Dīn al-Aḳṣarā'ī al-Ḥanafī returned to our Master, the ruler al-Malik al-Ashraf, and informed him of what had been found in the religious edifices known as the Christian churches already mentioned; both the excess of repair that had been undertaken in some of the churches of the Christians, and that which had been done in them in accordance with the permission to repair. They also reported that in the synagogues of the Jews in Fuṣṭāṭ nothing had been done more than had been permitted; with the exception that in the synagogue known as the Muṣāṣah Synagogue, which was in the ruined part of Fuṣṭāṭ and which belonged to the Jews, there had been found some building material—clay, lime, sand and wood—thrown upon the ground inside the building for making the repairs permitted in it.

Whereupon our Master the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf published an edict that a second examination should be made; that whatsoever had been done in excess of the repairs permitted should be removed, but that which had been done in accordance with the permission to repair should remain untouched; and that in regard to the whole matter a legal judgment should be rendered.

Then the Chief Cadis, the Sheikhs al-Islām mentioned above, together with our Lord the Sheikh Amīn al-Dīn al-Aḳṣarā'ī al-Ḥanafī, and al-'Alī' al-Kabīrī al-'Aḳudī<sup>113</sup> al-Nāṣirī al-Saifī al-Ḥāḡib<sup>114</sup> Amir of al-Malik al-Ashraf and al-'Ālī al-Amīrī al-Kabīrī al-'Aḳudī al-Nāṣirī al-Saifī<sup>115</sup>

<sup>112a</sup> A peculiar designation; **عكروت** is used in Turkish for our "son of a gun"! I,

<sup>113</sup> I. e., 'aḳud al-daulah or 'aḳud amīr al-Mu'minīn. On al-Aḳṣarā'ī see Siyūṭī, *Ḥusn*, I, 227.

<sup>114</sup> The real name seems to be omitted; all the terms used are mere titles. He must have had some official position, as he is called "Amir of al-Ashraf." The title al-Ḥāḡibī (= al-Ḥāḡib?) the chamberlain is also evidence of this. See Blochet in *Rev. l'or. Latin*, IX, p. 90.

<sup>115</sup> All these relative adjectives are taken presumably from those born by the sultan in whose services these men were, Malik Ashraf Ināl, Al-Nāṣirī=Abū al-Naṣr on the inscrip-

Tagrī Bardī al-Bardabakī,<sup>116</sup> al-Ḥājibī, and many of those attached to the Court in al-Ḳāhirah and Fustāt, among whom was the Sheikh Afdal al-Dīn, went to Fustāt to examine a second time the places of worship mentioned there. A complete examination was made in the presence of the Sheikh Amīn al-Dīn al-Aḳṣarā'i and of the Sheikh Afdal al-Dīn, of many of the Court procurators and the chamberlains<sup>116a</sup> mentioned above, the Court attendants, the architects and a number of Muḥammadans. In consequence, there was pulled down in the churches belonging to the Christians whatsoever had been done in excess of the work permitted: namely, they had built in the church known as Abū Jurj<sup>117</sup> supports, and an arch had been built, instead of the sides the repair of which had been permitted. The head of that church Michael ibn Sergius made the request that this be permitted. But the Sheikh Afdal al-Dīn, the senior judge mentioned in the above-cited writ, ordered the Christians aforementioned to be beaten severely and painfully in the presence of the Amīr Ḥājibī. He was beaten severely and painfully, and in a state of nudity, as a reprimand to himself and to those who were like him. He was carried around the streets as a criminal, and clapped into the Dailam prison<sup>118</sup> in al-Ḳāhirah for some days, as a punishment for that which had been reported about him in connection with the building that went beyond the permission and beyond the writ of the judge aforementioned, and because of the permission that he had given to those who had wrongly done this.

Some of those who had been present at the examination wished that all that had been repaired in the places of worship mentioned should be destroyed; basing this wish upon the testimony given in reference to the Dhimmī—i. e., Yuhannis and his followers—mentioned in that part of the testimony which is written upon the margin of the copy of the pact which issued in the days of the Zāhirite dynasty, the first part of which testimony was dated Ramaḍān 19, 840, and the last part of which was dated Shawwāl 6 of the aforementioned year 846. It contained the testimony indicated above written on the margin of the pact, the testimony of Yuhannis the Patriarch and his followers, as well as that of others whose names are not mentioned, which was to wit: that he put constraint upon himself in a manner legally binding not to restore anything in his

tion in the Madrasah (Van Berchem, *Corpus*, p. 402). Al-'Ālī ought perhaps to be al-'Alā'i, if it is not merely another form of derivative from the proper name 'Alī. See especially his titles in the inscription on his mausoleum, *ibid.*, p. 395.

<sup>116</sup> The whole name is unpointed in the text. I take the word, البردكي, to be a *nisbah* of Bardabak. (See index to Ibn Iyās, *Ta'rikh Miṣr*, p. 21.)

<sup>116a</sup> On the functions of the حاجب الديوان see al-Ḳalkāshandī, *Subḥ al-A'shā*, Cairo, 1903, I, p. 85.

<sup>117</sup> I. e., of Saint George; *al-Khiṭaṭ*, II, p. 511 below; Wüstenfeld, *Copten*, p. 119.

<sup>118</sup> Perhaps in the Dailam street. See de Sacy, *Chrestomatie arabe*, I, p. 103.

own church nor in a monastery nor in a cloister, nor in a cell, nor in a chapel in the lands belonging to the Sultan al-Malik al-Ẓāhir, nor through any one who should ask his assistance in such or in similar building operations; that whatsoever had become ruined or damaged of its walls and its beams, etc., in its ancient <sup>119</sup> or otherwise, should not be repaired; that he would not give wine to Moslems either by selling it or in any other fashion whatsoever, nor would he cause a Moslem to drink it. Should he contravene this or any part of it, or go beyond it or any part of it, his punishment should be that the Sultan al-Malik al-Ẓāhir should destroy all the churches, monasteries, cloisters, cells, and chapels in which such had been done; and that the Sultan mentioned above should act as he pleased in this matter. He accepted this as an obligation for his own person; annexing it to the conditions aforementioned to which he had bound himself previous to this, which are explained in the copy of the aforesaid pact, made in the days of the Ẓāhirite dynasty according to his own request and for his own satisfaction; because he recognized that it would benefit and aid himself, Islām, and the Muḥammadans, and after each party had understood the meaning of this agreement, and the additions that had been made in a legal manner and relying upon the responsum given by Badr al-Dīn Abū al-Akhlāṣ Muḥammad al-Zubairī al-Tinnīsī the Mālikite Chief Cadi relying upon all those mentioned above who had testified according to the personal testimony which each one had given for himself—a legal decision, asked for, fulfilling the legal provisions, in a case brought against them by a plaintiff whose case can be accepted; and after evidence had been given by him to the issue thereof, and he had been summoned to a sitting of the court aforementioned in clear language and in other ways compelling his attention, and after he had become acquainted with the consequences of contravening this, and with the fact that this pact prohibited the repairs of the religious edifices mentioned therein and in others, necessitating the demolition of the religious edifices mentioned.

A discussion was raised whether the demolition should be partial or complete; and if the judgment were that it must be partial, nothing should be done contrary to what the judgment calls for; also if any one, whosoever he might be, should take a lease of the ruins of a place of worship which was not his property, would such a lease be sound? The Court busied itself with this question and when rendering a decision heard the report of those who had been present in the committee of inquest mentioned in <sup>120</sup> a part of the testimony; heard also its decision in the matter and the examination to which attention has been called and noted in the decision of Mālikite judges. The question was asked, does the judgment

<sup>119</sup> Text **بالآلات القديمة**?

<sup>120</sup> The word **في** seems to have dropped out.

mentioned touch anyone who has not been actually summoned to appear in the matter?

Our Lord the Chief Cadi, the Sheikh al-Islām al-Sa'dī al-Badrī al-Ḥanafī took into consideration that which had issued from his substitute Afḍal al-Dīn in regard to the inquest mentioned. He found it to accord with the principles of his own rite, which stipulates that the Dhimmis might repair that which was ruined of their houses of prayer and their monasteries; that it agreed with that which had been assured to them by our Lord the Chief Cadi Sheikh al-Islām the Ḥāfiẓ al-Shihābī al-Shāfi'ī, in the pact which he had written with the Dhimmis in the days of the Zāhirite dynasty according to the order of the Sultan al-Malik al-Zāhir; and because, also, it agreed with the legal opinion in regard to the renewal of the pact with those of the Dhimmis who have been named; and further, because it agreed with the pact of Omar taken as authority for the case of the Dhimmis in the days of al-Ṣalāḥ<sup>121</sup> and in the days of al-Nāṣir.<sup>122</sup>

He opined that the action taken in this matter during the last eight hundred years, without any question having been raised as to its change, was the action that ought to be taken in this case; and that the judgment of our Lord the Chief Cadi al-Badrī al-Tinnisī the Mālikite, together with the obligation which had issued in the Zāhirite dynasty, did not contravene the permission given by the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Abū Naṣr Ināl, as mentioned above, nor the judgment rendered by the Ḥanafite judge which permitted repairs to be made in the old places of worship, and which allowed that which had been repaired in them to be preserved. This is what ought to be done in this case.

Afḍal al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl Maḥmūd al-Karmī, the Ḥanafite judge, then intrusted to us to deal with the Dhimmis in the matter of their houses of prayer, their monasteries, their cells, and their dwellings in conformity with the decision of the law and according to the precepts of his court and to issue a writ in the matter in accordance with the precept of his rite.

Thereupon our Master Afḍal al-Dīn went to where the above-mentioned places of prayer were, together with those of the court scribes whose duty it was to affix their signatures to the document dealing with the matter; also with the Master Sammāl Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad the architect known as al-Ḳarāfi,<sup>123</sup> the Master Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, the architect known as Ibn al-Fākhūrī<sup>124</sup>—architects of al-Ḳāhirah. They went to the place where stood the synagogue in the Ḥārat Zuwaylah belonging to the Karaite Jews within the Karaite quarter

<sup>121</sup> Does this refer to the proceedings of the year 755 A. H. (1354 A. D.) mentioned above p. 367? If so, it ought to come after the following.

<sup>122</sup> I. e., Nāṣir ibn Ḳalā'ūn. See above p. 367.

<sup>123</sup> So called from one of the *Khittāhs* in *Fuṣṭāṭ*, *Yāḳūt*, IV, p. 48, *JAOS.*, XXVII, p. 233.

<sup>124</sup> He was present at the first inquest.



of al-Ḳāhirah mentioned.<sup>125</sup> It was found, both according to the previous and the present description, to have been repaired according to the terms regarding it granted by the Ḥanafite judge who had been delegated for this purpose by his chief; as has been explained in the legal permit referred to above, and without anything beyond what the permit called for having been done.

The foregoing was attested before our Lord the Sheikh Afḍal al-Dīn in a legal manner with legal proofs witnessing to it and referring specifically to it. Whereupon the one whose right it was by law to make the request, i. e., 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ, Sheikh of the Karaite Jews, the relator above mentioned, asked our Lord the Sheikh Afḍal al-Dīn the Ḥanafite judge to respect that which had been repaired in the synagogue aforementioned according to the permission and the writ explained above, to prevent any opposition to this, as well as to permit the remaining repairs to be made which had been allowed in the religious building mentioned above, and finally to have his document properly witnessed to.

Our Lord the Judge asked the blessing of God, answered the questioner, and gave in the matter asked for a just, legal, complete and satisfactory judgment as demanded—its conditions satisfying the law and with a full cognizance of the dissenting opinion.<sup>126</sup> He had his answer witnessed to. Then the Sheikh Afḍal al-Dīn, the Ḥanafite judge, returned to his chief our Lord the Chief Cadi al-Sa'dī al-'Abbāsī al-Dairi al-Ḥanafī, in order to transmit to him the judgment of the Sheikh Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Burḥī<sup>127</sup> al-Shāfi'i, the legal deputy in Egypt, according to the testimony dealing with the permission given by the Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf; and in order to transmit the judgment arrived at by the regretted Chief Cadi Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Asḳalānī al-Shāfi'i, in the form of a patent which is equivalent to the judgment, recorded in the pact mentioned above, the wording of which is specifically affixed to it. He recalled the terms laid down for them and against them—the text of the demand made by the Dhimmis being:

“We ask your protection for ourselves, our posterity, our possessions and our coreligionists. We covenant to you as regards our own persons, that we will not build in our city nor in its neighborhood any convent, church, cell, or hut for a monk nor will we rebuild them should they fall into ruin. We will not replace that which has been demolished in the quarters where Muḥammadans live. We will not prevent any Muḥammadans from entering our places of prayer or our convents by night or by day. We will open our doors for those that pass by and for the traveler. If a Muḥammadan traveler should take refuge in them we will

<sup>125</sup> This may be on the same site on which the present Karaite synagogue stands; though the Ḥārat Zawailah is applied to a more restricted area than it was then. See *JQR.*, XIX, p. 520.

<sup>126</sup> A similar phrase to the one used above.

<sup>127</sup> Or al-Baraḥī; see al-Dhahabī, *loc. cit.*, p. 32.



feed him as a guest for three nights.<sup>128</sup> We will not teach our children the Koran. We will not openly vaunt our religion, nor try to convert any one to it. We will not seek to prevent any of our relatives from accepting Islām, if he should wish. We will show respect for Muḥammadans. We will rise up from our seats when one of their prominent men wishes to sit down.<sup>129</sup> We will not copy them in their manner of riding and addressing — not even in their head-gear,<sup>130</sup> their sandals, or in their way of parting the hair. We will not use their peculiar expressions of speech nor their surnames. We will not ride upon saddles, nor gird on swords, neither possess nor carry any weapons. We will not engrave in Arabic upon our seals. We will not further the sale of wine. We will shave the front part of our heads. Wherever we may be we will put a restraint upon ourselves. We will tighten the girdles about our loins.<sup>131</sup> We will not exhibit our crosses and our holy books in any assembly<sup>132</sup> of Muḥammadans, in their public places, or in their streets. We will not raise our voices while reading in our place of worship or elsewhere when Muḥammadans are present. We will not go out in companies upon Palm Sunday nor on other festivals.<sup>133</sup> We will not raise our voices in bewailing our dead, nor carry lights when accompanying them either in the streets where Muḥammadans live or in their places. We will not bury our dead near to theirs. We will not take as slaves any that have fallen by lot to the Muḥammadans nor look upon them from our dwellings.<sup>134</sup> We will not strike a

<sup>128</sup> The text in *Sirāj al-Mulūk* and in the *Kanz al-'Ummāl* (see, also, Arnold) adds here: "We will not harbor in our churches or our dwellings a robber, or conceal any enemy of the Muḥammadans."

<sup>129</sup> *Sirāj al-Mulūk*, *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, Hamaker "We will rise up for them (هم in place of 'their prominent men'), when they wish to sit down."

<sup>130</sup> The other texts have "in their dress, either in the cap, turban, etc."

<sup>131</sup> Some texts add. "We will not show the cross upon our churches, and only strike the bells in our churches lightly."

<sup>132</sup> The other texts, "in the streets of the Muḥammadans or in their market-places."

<sup>133</sup> Other texts, "we will not carry palm-branches or our images in procession."

<sup>134</sup> Other texts, "nor spy into their houses." After this, Hamaker, *Sirāj* and *Kanz al-'Ummāl* and al-Siyūṭi: "Now when I brought this letter to Omar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, he added to it "And we will not strike any Muḥammadan." The following clause is entirely omitted. Whether these omissions are due entirely to the scribe, or whether certain modifications were made in the original, it is impossible to decide. The earlier literature upon the "Pact" will be found in Steinschneider, *Polemische und apologetische Litteratur*, pp. 165 ff. I have also consulted the text published by H. A. Hamaker in his notes to *Incerti auctoris liber de Expugnatione Memphidis et Alexandriae*, Leyden, 1825, p. 165; Muḥammad ibn Walid al-Ṭurṭūshī, *Sirāj al-Mulūk*, Cairo, 1319, p. 118; al-Siyūṭi, *Kanz al-'Ummāl* on the margin of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*, II, p. 310. Aḥmad al-Abshahī, *Kitāb al-Mustaṭraf*, I, 103. A translation of Hamaker's text is given in T. W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*, p. 52; of the text according to Ibn Khaldūn and others by Amari, *Histoire des Musulmans de la Sicile*, p. 477; of the text of Ibn Asākir by Von Kremer, *Culturgeschichte des Islams*, I, p. 102. The text in Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Siyūṭi's *Iṭḥāf al-akhṣā*, is translated in James Reynolds, *The History of the Temple of Jerusalem*, London, 1836, but in a faulty manner (see Guy le Strange in *JRAS.*, XIX, p. 247). The pact is also quoted with many explanations by Joseph ibn Isaac Sambari in his "Chronicle" (MS Alliance Isr. Universelle, Paris, pp. 12 ff.; omitted in Neubauer's ed., *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles*, I).

Muḥammadan nor curse him. We will not buy anything from the captives of the Muḥammadans. We covenant this for our own persons and for our coreligionists. In exchange, we receive security that you will grant us the protection of Allāh and the protection of the Muḥammadans; that no one will be forced to do that which he is unable to fulfil, nor what is beyond that which is specified; that no one of us shall be wronged in his person, his family, his children, his followers, his possessions or in any of our places of worship. Should any one of us be wronged, it is the duty of the Muḥammadans to repel such wrong and to punish the evil-doers. Should any one of us violate this pact, he shall forfeit protection and pact; and you are permitted to treat him as enemies and rebels are treated."

The chief of the Dhimmis whose names are aforementioned to wit: Yuhannis and his council mentioned above, Philoteus, Patriarch of the Malkite Christians; 'Abd al-Laṭīf ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Shams, Ra'īs of the Rabbinite Jews; Faraj Allāh ibn Mūsa, one of the Sheikhs of the Karaite Jews; and Ibrāhīm ibn Salāmah ibn Ibrāhīm, chief of the Samaritans, asked the Chief Cadi al-Ḥāfiẓ Shihāb al-Dīn-'Asḳalānī the Shāfi'ite to confirm them in the conditions mentioned above which they accepted for themselves, and the provisions of which they engaged themselves to observe.

Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Asḳalānī the Shāfi'ite answered their questions saying distinctly "I confirm you in the right to dwell in any country of Islām except the Ḥijāz and to journey through it except holy Mecca, in accordance with these conditions, if you pay the capitulation tax according to established custom." In the *ensemble* of what is written in the copy of the pact above mentioned are some things that need explanation and specification, e. g., that the meaning of the word "renewing" in a city in which their residence is established, is to be taken in a general sense as comprising both small and large cities; and the meaning of "if any part of them should become ruined" is that if the place of worship should become ruined, it may not be renewed, only that when its wall is damaged, no prohibition shall stand against repairing that wall together with what is below it." The Chief Cadi, the Sheikh al-Islām al-Sa'dī al-Badrī al-Ḥanafī, granted the request asked for in regard to the execution of the document.

Then our Lord the Sheikh Afḍal al-Dīn invoked the aid of God, and took as witnesses for himself those that had been present at his court and at his decision—he being the one to carry out the judgment and the decision and to render them. On the ninth day of Ṣafar 860 (May it come to an end with goodness and victory!) he proclaimed the judgment of our Lord Shihāb al-Dīn abū 'Abbās Aḥmad al-Burḥī the Shāfi'ite judge, given in the document mentioned above, the date of which is also given above. He proclaimed also the confirmation which

is equal to a judgment of the Chief Cadi Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Asḳalānī al-Shāfi'ī, and given in the copy of the pact mentioned above—a perfectly legal proclamation, complete, accredited, acceptable, demanded, its legal provisions being adequate. This he authorized and ratified and commanded that it should be carried out. He had witnesses countersign it, on the date mentioned above, written by his own hand. Praise be to God first and last!

In it is the addition<sup>135</sup> Sa'ala-wafihī su'āl ahl-il-dhimmatī fihī and the correction māni'an al-taḥarrī biman'ī ikhdār dhawū to the phrase hā māni'an. In the addition are the words binā'un saḥḥihun. All these changes have been made in their proper place. God is sufficient and a pleasant advocate!

Has taken us as witness our Lord and Master, the servant longing for God the most high, the Sheikh, the Imām, the wise, the energetic, the wonderful, the pontiff, the munificent, the learned, the intelligent, the erudite, the devout, the pious, the saintly.<sup>136</sup> Sa'd al-Ḥanafī, for his own person as far as concerned that part of the aforementioned that has reference to himself, as well as for his judicial substitute our Lord the Sheikh Afḍal al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl Maḥmūd al-Karmī al-Ḥanafī, as far as concerns that part of the aforementioned having reference to him. I was present at the inquest made of the religious edifices mentioned above, together with those designated above on the various occasions as is explained above. Signed Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Jabarī al-Shāfi'ī.

Has taken us as a witness our Lord the Chief Cadi Sa'd ibn al-'Abbās al-Dairī al-Ḥanafī in respect of his own person in regard to that which has reference to himself above. I witness to it for him and for his substitute our Lord the Sheikh Afḍal al-Dīn, in regard to that which has reference to him. I was present at the examination of the churches belonging to the Jacobite Christians which were in Fustāt (May it be well guarded!) i. e., the last examination—with the exception of the Mu'allakah church<sup>137</sup> and the church of Abū Sarjah<sup>138</sup> and the church St. Barbara,<sup>139</sup> as is explained above. Signed: Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Nabih. He has told me this in the terms used by a witness.<sup>140</sup>

<sup>135</sup> These last sections call attention to certain additions made to the document after it had been written. They had also to be attested. The same practice was common in writing Hebrew documents; cf. R. Gottheil, "Some Spanish Documents," in *JQR.*, XVI, p. 704, note 5. On the word, ملحق, in this sense, see de Sacy in *Notices et extraits*, XI, p. 17, 4.

<sup>136</sup> Probably for the fuller حجة الاسلام والمسلمين, Van Berchem, *Corpus*, p. 97. See also de Slane, *Ibn Khallikan*, I, p. 587, for the explanation.

<sup>137</sup> In the Kaṣar al-Sham'. Wüstenfeld, *Copten*, p. 119; Butler, *Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, p. 216.

<sup>138</sup> St. Sergius; Wüstenfeld, *loc. cit.*, p. 120.

<sup>139</sup> Near Abū Sarjah, *ibid.*; Butler, *loc. cit.*, p. 181.

<sup>140</sup> Evidently, the witness was unable to sign his own name.

Has taken me as a witness the Chief Cadi Sa'd Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥanafī for his own person. I witness for him in regard to that which has reference to him; also for his judicial substitute our Lord the Sheikh Afdal al-Dīn al-Karmī in regard to that which has reference to him. I was present at the examination of the above-mentioned places of worship together with those mentioned above at the various times. Signed:<sup>141</sup>

Afdal al-Dīn has taken me as a witness for his own person in regard to that which in the above has reference to him. I so witness. Signed: Aḥmad.

Praise be to God! I testify for Sammāl Muḥammad ibn Sammāl Muḥammad ibn Khalf, the architect known as al-Ḳarāfī, in a legal manner, that he examined the churches mentioned above at the last building inquest mentioned above . . . : as is related . . . above.

Khalil ibn 'Alī, the architect known as ibn Bashshār, testified to the inquest mentioned as related above.

'Alī ibn Aḥmad known as ibn Sutūḥ testified to the inquest mentioned as related above.

I was present at the inquest mentioned in the service of the Chief Cadis, the Sheikhs al-Islām mentioned above, the matter passing off as related above, and together with our Master Afdal al-Dīn at the second and the last inquest as is related above. Signed: Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, architect, known as al-Fākhūrī.

## IV

.....  
بما يقتضيه الشرع الشريف على مذهب من يرفع ..... به منها.  
وذلك ان تاشر حسبما شرح ذلك في ..... بالثاني والعشرين  
من ذى الحجة سنة ثمان وخمسين وثمانمائة.

5 وعرض الاشهاد المشار اليه على سيدنا ومولانا شيخ الاسلام  
العلمي الكنائسي البلقيني الشافعي المشار اليه باعالية ادام الله  
تعالى ايامه وعزه وانعامه وعينه على نائبه في الحكم العزيز سيدنا  
العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى الشيخ الامام العالم العلامة شهاب

<sup>141</sup> The signature is wanting.

الدين شرف العلماء اوجد الفضلاء مفتى المسلمين ابي العباس  
احمد العسقلاني الشافعي خليفة الحكم العزيز بالديار المصرية  
ايد الله تعالى احكامه واحسن . . . . . فيه عنده انجح الله  
تعالى قصده.

- 5 وثبت مضمونه لديه احسن الله تعالى اليه الثبوت الشرعي  
وحكم ايد الله تعالى احكامه واحسن اليه بموجب ذلك حكما  
شرعيا حسبما دل على ذلك اسجالة المسطر بظاهر الاشهاد المشار  
اليه المؤرخ بخطه الكبير بالربع من صفر المبارك سنة تاريخه.  
وأحضر لسيّدنا ومولانا قاضي القضاة شيخ الاسلام ملك العلماء  
10 الاعلام العلمي الكنانى البلقينى الشافعي وليّنا قاضي  
القضاة شيخ الاسلام السعدى العيسى الديري الحنفى المشار  
اليهما اعلاه ادام الله تعالى ايامهما واعز اوقاتهم واحسن اليهما  
واسبع نعمه في الدارين عليهما العهد الشريف الذي جدد على  
اهل الذمة في الدولة الشريفة الظاهرية الآنى شرح مقاصده فيه.  
15 وتامله كل منهما التامل الشافي وما سطر بهامشه مما نسب  
لسيّدنا ومولانا قاضي القضاة بدر الدين قاضي المسلمين خالصة  
امير المومنين ابي الاخلاص محمد الزبيرى التنسى المالكى الناظر  
في الاحكام الشرعية بالديار المصرية وسائر الممالك الشريفة  
الاسلامية كان تعمده الله تعالى بالرحمة والرضوان وما تضمنه  
20 الفصل المسطر بهامش نسخة العهد المشار اليه فيه مما نسب  
لسيّدنا ومولانا قاضي القضاة البدرى التنسى المالكى المشار اليه

تَعَبَّدَهُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى بِرَحْمَتِهِ مِنَ الْحُكْمِ الْآنِي شَرْحَهُ وَالْأَشْهَادَ عَلَى  
 أَهْلِ الذِّمَّةِ وَهُمْ يُوْنُسُ بْنُ يُوْحَنَّا بْنِ دَاوُدَ بِطَرِيْرِكَ النَّصَارَى  
 الْيَعْقُوبِيَّةِ كَانَ وَجَمَاعَتُهُ نَصَرَ اللَّهُ بْنَ إِبْرَاهِيْمَ بْنَ يُوْحَنَّا الْبَرَّارِ كَانَ  
 الْمَعْرُوفَ بِالْقَمَصِ وَهَبَةَ اللَّهِ بْنَ يُوْحَنَّا بْنَ إِبْنِي الْفَرَجِ الْكَاتِبَ  
 5 عَرَفَ بَابْنَ قَارُوْرَةَ وَفَضَلَ اللَّهِ بْنَ هَبَةَ اللَّهِ بْنَ إِسْرَائِيْلَ الْكَاتِبَ  
 كَانَ وَاسْحَاقَ بْنَ فُضَائِلَ الْكَاتِبَ بِالْمَعَاصِرِ الْمَعْرُوفَ بِالْخُرْسِيِّ  
 وَغَيْرَهُمْ مِمَّا لَمْ يَسَمَّ فِيهِ.

وَعَرَضَ كُلٌّ مِنَ الْمَرْسُومِ الشَّرِيفِ الْمُنْتَبِعِ الْمَشَارِ إِلَيْهِ بِأَعَالِيَةِ  
 وَالْأَشْهَادِ الشَّرِيفِ الْمَذْكُورِ فِيهِ عَلَى كُلِّ مَنْ سَيِّدْنَا وَمَوْلَانَا قَاضِي  
 10 الْقَضَاةِ شَيْخِ الْإِسْلَامِ الشَّافِعِيِّ وَسَيِّدْنَا وَمَوْلَانَا قَاضِي الْقَضَاةِ شَيْخِ  
 الْإِسْلَامِ الْحَنْفِيِّ الْمَشَارِ إِلَيْهِمَا فِيهِ آدَامُ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى إِيَامَهُمَا وَاعِزَّ  
 أَحْكَامَهُمَا وَاسْبَغَ فَضْلَهُ وَانْعَامَهُ عَلَيْهِمَا. وَرَفَعْتَ قِصَّةَ بِسَبَبِ ذَلِكَ  
 لِسَيِّدْنَا وَمَوْلَانَا قَاضِي الْقَضَاةِ شَيْخِ الْإِسْلَامِ السَّعْدِيِّ الْعَبْسِيِّ  
 الْدِيْرِيِّ الْحَنْفِيِّ الْمَشَارِ إِلَيْهِ بِأَعَالِيَةِ آدَامُ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى مُعَالِيَهُ الَّتِي  
 15 مَضْمُونُهَا بَعْدَ الْبَسْمَلَةِ الشَّرِيفَةِ أَنْهَاءٌ مِنْ يَذْكُرُ فِيهِ أَنَّ بَكَنَائِسَهُمْ  
 الْكَائِنَةَ بِالْقَاهِرَةِ وَمِصْرَ الْحُرُوسَتَيْنِ أَمَاكُنَ تَهْدَمَتْ وَقَدْ  
 شَمِلَتْهُمْ . . . . . بِأَعَادَةِ مَا تَهْدَمَ مِنْ كَنَائِسِهِمْ. وَكُنْتُ لَهُمْ بِذَلِكَ  
 . . . . . شَرِيفٌ وَشَمِلَ بِخَطِّ السَّادَةِ الْمَوَالِي قَضَاةَ الْقَضَاةِ مَشَائِخَ  
 الْإِسْلَامِ الشَّافِعِيِّ وَالْحَنْفِيِّ وَحَصَلَ أَذْنُ شَرِيفٍ لِلْسَّادَةِ الْمَوَالِي قَضَاةَ  
 20 الْقَضَاةِ مَشَائِخَ الْإِسْلَامِ الشَّافِعِيِّ وَالْحَنْفِيِّ بِالنَّظَرِ فِي ذَلِكَ. وَثَبِتَ  
 ذَلِكَ فِي الشَّرْعِ الشَّرِيفِ وَسَأَلُوا فِيهَا الْأَذْنَ الشَّرِيفَ لِأَحَدِ نَوَابِ



الحكم العزيز بالنظر في ذلك واعادة ما تهدّم من الاماكن المذكورة على الوجه الشرعى على مقتضى مذهبه الشريف اخذوا بذلك الاعادة وبذيلها المملوك عبد الحق شيخ طائفة اليهود القرائين واسحاق رئيس اليهود القرائين القصة المذكورة العهد المذكور اعلاه والمرسوم الشرعى الشريف المشار اليه باعالية 5 والاذن الشريف الثابت بالحكوم به المنبّه عليه اعلاه.

وقرى ذلك على مسامع سيّدنا ومولانا قاضى القضاة شيخ الاسلام الحنفى المشار اليه اعلاه ادام الله تعالى ايامه وعلاه. وتأمّل ذلك وما صدر من سيّدنا ومولانا قاضى القضاة شيخ الاسلام 10 المحافظ شهاب الدين قاضى المسلمين خالصة امير المؤمنين ابى العباس احمد العسقلانى الشافعى الناظر في الاحكام الشرعية بالديار المصرية وسائر الممالك الشريفة الاسلاميّة كان تغمّده الله تعالى بالرحمة والرضوان ممّا اقرّ اهل الذمّة عليه في العهد المذكور اعلاه الآتى بيانه فيه. ورأى ادام الله تعالى 15 ايامه واسبغ عليه فضله وانعامه ان ما صدر من مولانا قاضى القضاة شيخ الاسلام الشهابى العسقلانى الشافعى المشار اليه فيه تغمّده الله تعالى برحمته في العهد المذكور حكم شرعى ووافقه على ذلك سيّدنا ومولانا قاضى القضاة شيخ الاسلام ملك الاعلام العلمى الكنانى البلقينى الشافعى المشار اليه باعاليه ادام الله 20 تعالى ايامه الزاهرة وجمع له بين خيرى الدنيا والآخرة. وان الاذن الشريف الصادر من مولانا السلطان الملك الملك الاشرف

المنوّه باسمه الشريف اعلاه نصره الله تعالى نصرا عزيزا وفتح له  
 فتحا مبينا المنبّه عليه باعالية معتبر شرعا. وانّ حكم سيّدنا  
 ومولانا قاضى القضاة البدرى التنسى المالكيّ المشار اليه باعالية  
 تغمّده الله تعالى برحمته بالاشهاد على اهل الذمّة المذكورة  
 5 اسماؤهم اعلاه الآتى شرحه فيه ليس هو مانعا من الاذن الشريف  
 المشار اليه اعلاه ولا من حكم الحاكم الحنفى ولا من العمل بما  
 يقتضيه مذهبه الشريف في ذلك.

وتوجّ القصة المذكورة اعلاه بخطّه العالى اعلاه الله تعالى بما  
 مثاله القاضى افضل الدين اعزّه الله تعالى بنظر في ذلك على الوجه  
 10 الشرعى بعد الكشف التام. وعرض ذلك على سيّدنا العبد الفقير  
 الى الله تعالى الشيخ افضل الدين شرف العلماء اوحد الفضلاء  
 مفتى المسلمين ابي الفضل محمود بن سيّدنا العبد الفقير الى  
 الله تعالى الشيخ الامام العالم العلامة سراج الدين شرف العلماء  
 اوحد الفضلاء مفتى المسلمين ابي حفص عمر القرمي الحنفى  
 15 خليفة الحكم العزيز بالديار المصريّة ايّد الله تعالى احكامه  
 واحسن اليه وامثّل ذلك بالسمع والطاعة وراجع مُسْتَنَبِيهِ سيّدنا  
 ومولانا قاضى القضاة شيخ الاسلام السعدى العيسى الديري الحنفى  
 الناظر في الاحكام الشرعيّة بالديار المصريّة المشار اليه باعالية  
 ادام الله تعالى ايامه واسبع عليه فضله وانعامه واعلا معاليه في  
 20 ذلك المرّة والمرتين.

وخواص له العمل في ذلك بما يقتضيه مذهبه الشريف بعد

الكشف الشافي. فتوجه سيدنا العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى الشيخ  
افضل الدين الحاكم المشار اليه ايد الله تعالى احكامه واحسن  
اليه ومحبته من يضع خطه فيه من موقعي الحكم العزيز اجله  
الله تعالى وادام بركة متولييه وايامه والمهندسين ارباب الخبرة  
5 بالعقارات وعيوبها والبنية واحلالها المندوبين لذلك من مجلس  
الحكم العزيز بالديار المصريه اجله الله تعالى الى حيث الكنائس  
الكائنة بالقاهرة ومصر الحروستين المنسوبين لليهود القرائين  
ومنها الكنيسة الكائنة بالقاهرة الحروسة داخل حارة زويلة  
..... احاطوا بها علما وخبرة  
10 نانية للجهالة ... جنب هدم باليد من المتعرضين طوله ثلاثة  
اذرع ..... وفي قمته للجنب المذكور مآلى الغربى  
مواضع يحتاج الى افتقادها بالمرمات سفلا وعلوا. وفي هذا الجنب  
جدار مخرب قلع طوبه قبل ... وجنب تهدم قبل ... يحتاج الى  
مرمة ذلك سفلا وعلوا. وبرحاب الكنيسة ظاهرها دهليز يتوصل  
15 منه الى باب الكنيسة به جدار تهدم عاليه وقلع بابه. والباب  
المذكور للآن موجود بالكنيسة يحتاج الى مرمة الجدار واعادة  
الباب المذكور .. من المتعرضين وبداخل الكنيسة خرابة بها  
جنب به مرمات دائرة ارتفاع ثمانية اذرع فى ستة اذرع يحتاج الى  
مرمته بالبناء علوا وسفلا. وفي حدها الشرقى داخلها كتف  
20 معيب وسقف علو ذلك يحتاج الى مرمته واعادة سقفه بجواره مرتب.  
بها جنب يحتاج الى اصلاحه ومرمة الكتف الذى بالحد الغربى

والى سده بالاخشاب قبل سقوطه واعادته. وبها خرابة ثانية من داخلها فى حدها الغربى بها مرّمات ويصدها من جهة القبلة مرّمة لطبقة يحتاج الى اصلاحها ومرّمته وبدور قاعته علو الاعمدة الرخام كتف معيب وسب . . . مرّمة يسيرة يجاوره باب 5 به كتف يحتاج الى اصلاح ذلك ومرّمته بالبناء. ويدخل من الباب المذكور الى مكان به ثلاثة مراحيض معيبة يحتاج الى المرّمة والاصلاح سفلا وعلوا. وبالحجاز المتوصّل منه الى الكنيسة جنبان يمينه ويسرة يحتاجان الى مرّمات دائرة علوا وسفلا. وبالحجاز المذكور سلّم يصعد منه الى علو الكنيسة على يمينه الصاعد وعلى 10 يسرة الصاعد باب خلوة به كتف مفسّخ ويقابله جنب معيب محمول على اخشاب السدّ يحتاج الى مرّمة ذلك. وبعلو الكنيسة المذكورة اخشاب مكسوّة وتدلّ مكسوّ ومحمول على اخشاب السدّ يحتاج الى اصلاح ذلك واصلاح اخشاب ما بين السقفين. وبعلو كتف مجاور . . . فى الحدّ الشرقى محمول على اخشاب السدّ 15 يحتاج الى اصلاح ذلك ومرّمته. وبالسّلّم المذكور مرّمات فى العلو به دائرة منفردة يحتاج الى اصلاحها ومرّمته سفلا وعلوا. وبعلو الكنيسة سقف معيب يحتاج الى مرّمته. وبعلو فى الجهة الشرقيّة بالجانب المذكور جدار سقط. وبعلو طباق خراب فى الدور الثالث يحتاج الى تقريعها وسرب الانقاص التى بها لتخفّ عن السفلى وليرمّ 20 بالانقاص المذكورة ما يحتاج الى مرّمته ممّا يدار فيه. ويحيط بالكنيسة المذكورة حدود اربعة الحدّ القبلى ينتهى الى الخرائب.

والحدّ البجرىّ ينتهى الى الخرائب ايضا. وفي هذا الحدّ المسجد  
المقدم ذكره اعلاه المحتاج الى المرمّة والاصلاح مقدّما مرمّته على  
ما ذكر. والحدّ الشرقىّ ينتهى الى الخرائب وفيه باب الكنيسة  
المذكورة وباب القاعة النى هى من حقوف الكنيسة المذكورة  
5 المعروفة بقاعة الجبن. والحدّ الغربىّ ينتهى الى الخرائب. ولم يكن  
بجوار هذه الكنيسة المذكورة من جوانبها الاربع بناء ولا سكن بل  
هى فى وسط الخرائب والكيان الآن.

وثبت مضمون الكشف المذكور مع قدم ما كشف اعلاه لدى  
سيّدنا العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى الشيخ افضل الدين شرف  
10 العلماء اوحده الفضلاء مفتى المسلمين الحاكم الآذن المشار اليه  
باعالية آيد الله احكامه واحسن اليه الثبوت الشرعىّ بالبيّنة  
الشرعية. واتصل به احسن الله تعالى اليه اشهاد سيّدنا العبد  
الفقير الى الله تعالى الشيخ الامام العلامة شهاب الدين شرف  
العلماء اوحده الفضلاء مفتى المسلمين ابى العباس احمد . .  
15 الشافعىّ خليفة الحكم العزيز بالديار المصرية آيد الله تعالى  
احكامه واحسن اليه على نفسه الكريمة بما نُسب اليه من الثبوت  
والحكم بموجب الاشهاد الشريف الصادر من مولانا السلطان  
المالك الملك الاشرف سلطان الاسلام والمسلمين المنوّه باسمه  
الشريف اعلاه نصّره الله تعالى نصرا عزيزا وفتح له فتحا مبينا  
20 وخلّد ملكه وسلطانه ونصّر جيوشه واعوانه بالآذن الشريف  
المشار اليه باعالية شرفه الله تعالى وعظمه. واتصل به ايضا ما

نُسب لسيّدنا ومولانا العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى قاضي القضاة شيخ الاسلام ملك العلماء الاعلام الشهاب العسقلاني الشافعي المشار اليه باعالية تغبده الله برحمته واسكنه فسيح جنّته في العهد المشار اليه اعلاه من اقرار اهل الذمّة وما اقرّهم عليه بصريح اللفظ القائم للاقرار المذكور مقام الحكم كما تقدّم باعاليه. 5

وما نُسب لسيّدنا ومولانا العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى قاضي القضاة شيخ الاسلام البدرى الزبيرى التنسى المالكي المشار اليه باعالية تغبده الله تعالى برحمته ورضوانه من الحكم المسطر بهامش نسخة العهد المشار اليه باعاليه بالالتزام المسطر بالفصل المسطر بهامش نسخة العهد المذكور اتصالا صحيحا شرعيا تاما معتبرا 10

مرضيا بالبيّنة الشرعيّة على الوجه الشرعيّ واذن ايّد الله تعالى احكامه واحسن اليه لهم في ترميم ما يحتاج اليه الكنائس المذكورة اعلاه على الحكم المشروح اعلاه التي من جملتها الكنيستان المذكورتان اعلاه بما يكفي ذلك من المؤن الصالحة لذلك.

ومنع ايّد الله تعالى احكامه واحسن اليه من الزيادة على ذلك اذنا ومنعا صحيحين شرعيّين عالما بالخلاف في ذلك. واشهد على نفسه الكريمة بذلك وبأنّ كلّاً من الاذن والمنع المشروحين اعلاه قائم مقام الحكم مع العلم بالخلاف في ذلك حسبما شرح ذلك في محضر الكشف المؤرّخ بالسابع والعشرين من شهر رمضان المعظم قدره وحرّمته سنة تسع وخمسين وثمانى مائة مشمول بخط سيّدنا الحاكم الآذن المشار اليه باعاليه احسن الله تعالى 20



اليه بما مثاله الله احمد على انعامه مكمل برسوم من حضر  
الكشف المذكور محبة الحاكم المشار اليه من الموقعين  
والمهندسين.

ولما جرى ذلك ومضى عليه مدة طويلة وحصل بذلك الشناعة  
5 على اهل الذمة بانهم بنوا كنائسهم واديرتهم بمصر المحروسة  
مخالفين في ذلك الشرع الشريف ورفع الامر في ذلك لمولانا  
السلطان المالك الملك الاشرف والامام الاعظم المنوّه باسمه  
الشريف باعاليه نصره الله تعالى نصرا عزيزا وفتح له فتحا مبينا.  
وامر بعقد مجلس شريف بحضرته الشريفة. وعقد مجلس شريف  
10 بسبب ذلك بحضرته الشريفة لقضاة القضاة مشائخ الاسلام ذوي  
المذاهب الاربعة ادام الله تعالى ايامهم واعز احكامهم واحسن  
اليهم واسبع نعمه في الدارين عليهم. وحصل في ذلك تنازع وكلام  
كثير بين السادة الحاضرين بالمجلس الشريف بسبب العهد  
المذكور اعلاه وبسبب ما نسب لسيّدنا ومولانا قاضي القضاة بدر  
15 الدين قاضي المسلمين خالصة امير المؤمنين ابي الاخلاص  
حمد الزبيرى التنسى المالكى المشار اليه باعاليه تغمّده الله  
تعالى برحمته.

وقرر المرسوم الشريف شرّفه الله وعظّمه للسادة الموالى قضاة  
القضاة مشائخ الاسلام ادام الله تعالى ايامهم واسبع عليهم الفضل  
والانعام بالنوّه الى الكنائس المذكورة ووقع التوافق بين السادة  
20 الموالى قضاة القضاة مشائخ الاسلام ادام الله تعالى ايامهم واعز

احكامهم على يوم معدوم يتوجهون فيه لمصر المحروسة لكشف  
 الكنائس بها. فتوجه السادة الموالى قضاة القضاة مشائخ الاسلام  
 ذوو المذاهب الاربعة امتنع الله بوجودهم الانام هم سيدنا ومولانا  
 العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى الامام العالم العلامة الحبر البحر  
 5 الفهامة المجتهد للامة الحافظ الرحلة المحقق العمدة المدقق  
 الحجة علم الدين لسان المتكلمين حجة المناظرين بقیة  
 المجتهدين رحلة الطالبين قدوة العلماء العالمين شيخ الاسلام  
 مفتى الانام محقق القضايا والاحكام صدر مصر والشام حسنة  
 الدبالي والایام خطيب الخطباء امام الفححاء والبلغاء والادباء قاضى  
 10 المسلمين خالصة امير المؤمنين ابو الثقا صالح الكنائى البلقبنى  
 الشافعى وسيدنا ومولانا العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى الشيخ الامام  
 العامل العالم العلامة الحبر البحر الفهامة المجتهد للامة الحافظ  
 الرحلة المحقق العمدة المدقق الحجة سعد الدين لسان المتكلمين  
 حجة المناظرين بقیة المجتهدين رحلة الطالبين قانع المبتدعين  
 15 شيخ الاسلام مفتى الانام محقق القضايا والاحكام صدر مصر  
 والشام حسنة الليالى والایام ناصر الحف مؤيد الشريعة قاضى  
 المسلمين خالصة امير المؤمنين ابى السعادات سعد العيسى  
 الديرى الحنفى. وسيدنا ومولانا العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى الشيخ  
 الامام العالم العامل العلامة الاوحد الحجة الحافظ الرحلة المحقق  
 20 العمدة المجتهد للامة ولّ الدين لسان المتكلمين حجة المناظرين  
 بقیة المجتهدين رحلة الطالبين قانع المبتدعين حصى السنة

مؤيد الشريعة قاضي المسلمين خالصة امير المؤمنين ابو البركات  
احمد الكنانى الحنبلى النظار فى الاحكام الشرعية بالديار المصرية  
وسائر الممالك الشريفة الاسلامية ادام الله تعالى ايامهم واعز  
احكامهم واحسن اليهم واسبع نعمة فى الدارين عليهم. وسيدنا  
5 العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى الشيخ الامام العالم العامل العلامة  
الاوحد الحجة المحقق العمدة امين الدين لسان المتكلمين حجة  
المنظرين عمدة المحققين اوحد المجتهدين عالم المسلمين  
ابو زكرياء يحيى الاقصرآى الحنفى اعز الله تعالى به الدين ونفع  
ببركته وعلومه المسلمين وجماعة من السادة النواب فى الحكم  
10 العزيز بالقاهرة ومصر المحروسين ايد الله تعالى احكامهم  
واحسن اليهم.

وكشف الكنائس الكائنة بمصر المحروسة ومن جملتها كنيسة  
اليهود بخط المصاصة بخرائب مصر المحروسة بحضور سيدنا العبد  
القيصر الى الله تعالى الشيخ امين الدين مفتى المسلمين الاقصرآى  
15 الحنفى المشار اليه باعالية احسن الله تعالى اليه وجماعة من  
النواب فى الحكم العزيز اجله الله تعالى منهم سيدنا العبد  
الفقيه الى الله تعالى الشيخ افضل الدين الحاكم الحنفى المشار  
اليه باعاليه ايد الله تعالى احكامه واحسن اليه وجماعة من  
موقعى الحكم العزيز وجم غفير من المسلمين وجماعة من  
20 المهندسين هم المعلم على بن محمد بن سطوح والمعلم خليل  
بن ابراهيم المعروف بابن نمار والمعلم ابراهيم بن عبد الله

المعروف بعكروت والمعلم أحمد بن محمد المعروف بابن الفاخوري  
 كشفا شافيا. فوجد بها ما رُمّ بها حسب التمكين من مرمتها  
 حسب الاذن الصادر من سيّدنا العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى  
 الشيخ افضل الدين شرف العلماء اّوحد الفضلاء مفتى المسلمين  
 5 ابي الفضل محمود القرميّ الحنفّي الحاكم المشار اليه ايّد الله تعالى  
 احكامه واحسن اليه في التمكين من المرّة وما رُمّ بها زيادةً على  
 ذلك ممّا لم يحصل فيه اذن ظانين أنّه اذن عامّ وهو اذن خاصّ  
 فبنوا بالكنائس الكائنة بمصر المحروسة المنسوبة للنصارى ما  
 حصل الاذن فيه وما لم يصدر اذن فيه.

10 وعاد السادة الموالى قضاة القضاة مشائخ الاسلام وسيّدنا الشيخ  
 امين الدين الاقصرآيّ الحنفّي المشار اليه باعاليه ادام الله تعالى  
 ايامهم واحسن اليهم واسبع فضله وانعامه عليهم لمولانا السلطان  
 المالك الملك الاشرف المنوّه باسمه الشريف اعلاه نصّره الله تعالى  
 نصرا عزيزا وفتح له فتحا مبينا واخبروه بما وُجد في الكنائس  
 15 المعروفة بكنائس النصارى المذكورة فيه من القدر الزائد الذى رُمّ  
 ببعض كنائس النصارى وبالقدر المأذون فيه بالتمكين من ترميمه  
 وبأنّ كنائس اليهود الكائنة بمصر المحروسة لم يكن زيد بها  
 شيء ممّا اُذن فيه غير انّ الكنيسة المعروفة بالمصاصة الكائنة  
 بجرائب مصر المحروسة المنسوبة لليهود وجد بها بعض مؤونة  
 20 من الطين والجير والرماد والاختشاب مطروحة على الارض بداخلها  
 بسبب الترميم المأذون فيه.

وبرز مرسوم مولانا السلطان الامام الاعظم المقام الشريف المالك الملك الاشرف المنوّة باسمه الشريف اعلاه شرّفه الله تعالى وعظّمه ونصّر مولانا السلطان المشار اليه نصرا عزيزا وفتح له فتحا مبينا بان يعاد الكشف المذكور ثانيا وان يزال ما تعدوا بفعله 5  
مّا لم يؤذن في ترميمه وان يبقى ما حصل الاذن والتكمين في ترميمه وان يفعل في ذلك حكم الشرع الشريف.

فتوجّه السادة الموالى قضاة القضاة مشائخ الاسلام المشار اليهم اعلاه ادام الله تعالى ايامهم واعزّ احكامهم واحسن اليهم واسبغ نعمه في الدارين عليهم وسيّدنا العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى الشيخ 10  
الامام العالم العامل العلامة امين الدين عالم المسلمين عمدة المحققين الاقتصاريّ الحنفى المشار اليه باعاليه اعزّ الله تعالى به الدين ونفع بعلمه المسلمين وصحبتهم الجنا ب العالى الكبيرى العضدى الناصرى السيفى الحاجبى امير صاحب الملكى الشرفى والجنا ب العالى الاميرى الكبيرى العضدى الناصرى السيفى تغرى 15  
بردى الرردكى الحاجبى الملكى الاشرفى اعزّهما الله تعالى وجماعة من السادة المتولين فى الحكم العزيز بالقاهرة ومصر الحروستين ايد الله تعالى احكامهم واحسن اليهم ومنهم سيّدنا العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى الشيخ افضل الدين سيف العلماء اوحّد الفضلاء مفتى المسلمين الحاكم الاكبر المشار اليه اعلاه الى مصر 20  
الحروسية لكشف الكنائس المذكورة بها ثانيا.

وكشفت الكشف الشافى بحضور سيّدنا الشيخ امين الدين

الافصرآى المشار اليه احسن الله تعالى اليه والشيخ افضل الدين  
المشار اليه وجماعة من نواب الحكم العزيز والحاجبين المشار اليهما  
اعلاه وجماعة من موقعى الحكم العزيز والمهندسين وجم غفير  
من المسلمين. وهُدم من الكنائس المنسوبة للنصارى ما تعدوا  
5 بفعله وهو انهم بنوا بالكنيسة المعروفة بكنيسة ابو جرج كنتفا  
وقنطرة بنيت ... عوضا عن الاجناب المآذون فى ترميمها وطلب  
القائم بالكنيسة المذكورة وهو ميخائيل بن شركيس ... بها.  
وامر سيدنا الشيخ افضل الدين الحاكم الاكبر فى التمكين  
المشار اليه باعاليه بضرب النصرانى المذكور الضرب المؤلم المبرح  
10 بحضرة الاميرين الحاجبين المشار اليهما اعلاه. فضرب الضرب  
المبرح المؤلم الزاجر له ولا مثاله حاسرا عن اثرابه. واشهر بالقاهرة  
ومصر المحروستين واعتقل بسجن الديلم بالقاهرة المحروسة اياما  
تعزيرا له على ما حدثت منه من البناء الزائد على القدر الذى  
صدر فيه الاذن والتمكين من الحاكم المشار اليه وعلى ما صدر  
15 منه من تمكين من تعاطى فعل ذلك.

وقصد بعض من حضر الكشف المذكور ان يهدم جميع ما رُم  
بالكنائس المذكورة فيه متمسكا بما صدر به الاشهاد المتقدم على  
اهل الذمة وعم يُؤتس وجماعته المذكورون فى فصل الاشهاد المسطر  
بها مش نسخة العهد الشريف المشار اليه الصادر فى ايام الدولة  
20 الظاهرية سقى الله تعالى عهد ملكه وتغمد بالرحمة والرضوان  
واسكنه فسيح الجنان المورخ الاشهاد المذكور فيه بتواريخ اولها



التاسع عشر من شهر رمضان المعظم قدره وحرمته من شهور سنة ست وأربعين وثمانمائة وآخرها السادس من شوال المبارك من السنة المذكورة اعلاه وهى سنة ست وأربعين وثمانمائة. ومضمون

الاشهاد الموعود بذكر المنبّه عليه باعاليه المكتتب بهامش العهد المذكور اشهاد يؤنس البطريك كان وجماعته المذكورين اعلاه 5 وغيرهم ممّا لم يسمّ في الاشهاد المذكور فيه أنّه الزم نفسه الزاما شرعيّا أنّه لا يجدّد في كنيسة له ولا في دير ولا في قلاية ولا في صومعة ولا في بيعة الكائن ذلك كلّه في مملكة السلطان الملك الظاهر المشار اليه فيه سقى الله تعالى عهده بنفسه ولا بمن

يستعين به في ذلك بناء ولا غيره ولا يرمّ ما خرب او تعيب من 10 جدرانها واخشابها وغير ذلك بالالات القديمة ولا غيرها. ولا يرفع لمسلم خمرًا ببيع ولا بغيره بوجه من الوجوه ولا يستقيه لمسلم. ومتى خالف ذلك او شيئًا منه او خرج عن ذلك او عن شيء منه كان جزاؤه بان يخرب السلطان الملك الظاهر المشار اليه 15 جميع الكنيسة او الدير او القلاية او الصومعة او البيعة التى يفعل فيها ذلك وان يرى مولانا السلطان المنبّه باسمه الشريف اعلاه رأيه الشريف بحسب ما يختار. وجعل ذلك شرطًا على نفسه والحقه بالشروط المتقدّمة التى عهد عليه قبل تأريخه المشروحة في نسخة العهد المذكور في الايام الظاهريّة حسب سؤاله لذلك ورضاه به لما 20 علم لنفسه وللإسلام والمسلمين في ذلك من الحظّ والمصلحة.

[و]بعد ان عرف كلّ منهم معنى ذلك وما يترتب عليه شرعا

ومتمسكا بالحكم الصادر من سيدنا ومولانا قاضى القضاة بدر الدين قاضى المسلمين خالصة امير المؤمنين ابى الاخلاص محمد الزبيرى التنسى المالكى المشار اليه تغمده الله تعالى بالرحمة والرضوان على كد من المشهود عليه المذكورين اعلاه بموجب ما اشهد به على نفسه الحكم الشرعى المسول فيه المستوفى فى شرائطه 5 الشرعية من دعوى صدرت عليهم من مدعى شرعى مسموعة دعواه شرعا واقامة بيّنة بصدور ذلك منه واعذار منه لمجلس الحكم العزيز المشار اليه بصريح اللفظ وغير ذلك مما يجب اعتباره شرعا مع العلم بالخلاف فى ذلك وان ذلك مانع من ترميم الكنائس المذكورة فيه وغيرها مقتضى ان تخرب الكنائس المذكورة. 10 ودار الكلام فى الحكم المذكور هل هو جزئى او كلى. واذا كان الحكم جزئيا فلا يتعدى الى غير ما صدر الحكم عليه واذا التزم الملتزم ايا كان بحراب كنيسة لم تكن جارية فى ملكه هل يكون هذا الالتزام صحيحا. فيسوغ الحكم به ويعمل بمقتضاه. ونأمل من 15 حضر مجلس انكشف المذكور فصل الاشهاد المذكور والحكم به وما اشير اليه من الاعذار الذى هو شرط فى الحكم عند السادة المالكية.

وسأل هل يتعدى الحكم المذكور لمن لم يعذر اليه فيه ام لا. وتأمل سيدنا ومولانا قاضى القضاة شيخ الاسلام السعدى البدرى 20 الحنفى الحاكم المشار اليه باعاليه ادام الله تعالى ايامه واعز احكامه واعلا معاليه واحسن اليه واسبغ نعمة فى الدارين عليه ما

صدر من نائبه سيّدنا الشيخ افضل الدين مفتى المسلمين الحاكم الاكبر المشار اليه اعلاه ايّد الله تعالى احكامه واحسن اليه في محضر الكشف المذكور. فوجده مصابقا لقواعد مذهبه الشريف من ان لاهل الذمّة ترميم ما خرب من كنائسهم واديرتهم وموافقا لما اقترههم عليه سيّدنا ومولانا العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى قاضي القضاة ملك العلماء شيخ الاسلام الحافظ الشهابي العسقلاني الشافعي الناظر في الاحكام الشرعية بالديار المصرية وسائر الممالك الشريفة الاسلاميّة كان تغمّده الله تعالى بالرحمة والرضوان في العهد الذي جدّده على اهل الذمّة في الايام 10 الظاهريّة حسب الامر الشريف السلطاني الملكي الظاهري المشار اليه سقى الله تعالى عهده له في ذلك ولموافقته مذهب الشريف في تجديد العهد على من يحدث من اهل الذمّة ولموافقته العهد العمري المأخوذ على اهل الذمّة في الايام الصلاحيّة والاّيام الناصريّة. فرأى انّ العمل في ذلك على ما سلف من نحو ثمانمائة سنة الى تاريخه من غير تعقّب بنكير هو المعمول به. وانّ حكم سيّدنا 15 ومولانا قاضي القضاة البدري التنسي المالكي المشار اليه باعاليه تغمّده الله تعالى برحمته ورضوانه بالالتزام المذكور اعلاه الصادر منه في الدولة الظاهريّة ليس هو مانعا من الاذن الشريف الصادر من مولانا السلطان المالك الملك الاشرف ابي النصر اينال المشار اليه باعاليه نصره الله تعالى نصرا عزيزا وفتح له فتحا مبينا 20 المشروح ذلك باعاليه ولا من حكم الحاكم الحنفّي من التمكن

في الترميم بالكنائس القديمة وتبقيّة ما رّموه فيها وان هذا هو المعمول به.

وفوض لنا بيد سيّدنا العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى الشيخ  
افضل الدين شرف العلماء اوجد الفضلاء مفتى المسلمين ابي  
5 الفضل محمود القرّمى الحنفى الحاكم المشار اليه باعاليه ايّد الله  
تعالى احكامه واحسن اليه النظر في ذلك من معاملة اهل الذمّة  
في كنائسهم واديرتهم وصوامعهم واماكنهم بما يقتضيه حكم  
الشرع الشريف على قاعدة مذهبه الشريف. وان يحكم في ذلك  
على قاعدة مذهب الشريف.

10 فعند ذلك توجه سيّدنا العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى الشيخ  
افضل الدين الحاكم المشار اليه باعاليه ايّد الله تعالى احكامه  
واحسن اليه الى حيث الكنائس المذكورة اعلاه وصحبته من يضع  
خطه فيه من موقعى الحكم العزيز بالديار المصريّة اجلّه الله  
تعالى وادام بركة متوليّه وايامه والمعلّم سبال محمّد بن احمد  
15 المهندس المعروف بالقراقى والمعلّم شهاب الدين احمد بن محمّد  
المهندس المعروف بابن الفاخورى المهندسين بالقاهرة الحروسية  
الى حيث الكنيسة الكائنة بحارة زويلة المنسوبة لليهود القرائين  
بداخل حارة القرائين بالحارة المذكورة بالقاهرة الحروسية. فوجدت  
بالصفة القديمة والحادثة بالترميم المأذون فيه من سيّدنا  
20 الحاكم الحنفى المفوض له ذلك من مستنبيه المشار اليه  
باعاليه ادام الله تعالى ايامه واعلا معاليه كما شرح ذلك

باعاليه بالاذن الحكيمى المشار اليه باعاليه من غير زيادة على ذلك.

وثبت ذلك لدى سيدنا الحاكم الشيخ افضل الدين المشار اليه اعلاه ايّد الله تعالى احكامه واحسن اليه الثبوت الشرعى بالبيّنة الشرعية والمشاهدة لذلك والتشخيص له.

ف عند ذلك سأل من صار سؤاله شرعا وهو عبد الحق شيخ طائفة اليهود القرائين رافع القصة المنبّه عليها اعلاه سيدنا العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى الشيخ افضل الدين مفتى المسلمين الحاكم الحنفى المشار اليه اعلاه ايّد الله تعالى احكامه واحسن اليه الحكم باحترام ما رُمّ بالكنائس المذكورة بالاذن والتمكن 10 المشروحين اعلاه ومنع المعارضة في ذلك وبالتمكن من ترميم ما بقى مما اذن في ترميمه بالكنائس المذكورة اعلاه والاشهاد على نفسه الكريمة بذلك. فاستخار الله سبحانه وتعالى سيدنا الحاكم المشار اليه باعاليه ايّد الله تعالى احكامه واحسن اليه واجاب 15 السائل الى سؤاله وحكم بما سأل الحكم به فيه حكما صحيحا شرعيا تاما معتبرا مرضيا مسولا في ذلك مستوفيا شرائطه الشرعية مع العلم بالخلاف في ذلك واشهد على نفسه الكريمة بذلك.

ثم راجع سيدنا العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى الشيخ افضل الدين الحاكم الحنفى المشار اليه باعاليه ايّد الله تعالى احكامه واحسن اليه مستنبيه سيدنا ومولانا العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى 20 الشيخ الامام العالم العامل العلامة ناضى القضاة شيخ الاسلام

السعدى العيسى الديرى الحنفى المشار اليه باعاليه ادام الله  
 تعالى ايامه واعز احكامه فى تنفيذ الحكم المنسوب لسيّدنا العبد  
 الفقير الى الله تعالى الشيخ شهاب الدين شرف العلماء اوجد  
 الفضلاء مفتى المسلمين ابي العباس احمد البرحى الشافعى  
 5 خليفة الحكم العزيز بالديار المصرى ايد الله تعالى احكامه واحسن  
 اليه بموجب الاشهاد بالاذن الشريف السلطانى الملكى الاشرفى  
 المشار اليه فيه شرفه الله تعالى وعظمه وفى تنفيذ ما نسب لسيّدنا  
 ومولانا العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى المرحوم قاض القضاة شيخ  
 الاسلام ملك العلماء الاعلام الشهابى العسقلانى الشافعى المشار  
 10 اليه باعاليه تغمّده الله تعالى بالرحمة والرضوان من الترميم  
 القائم مقام الحكم المشروح فى العهد المشار اليه باعاليه الموعود  
 بذكره فيه وذكر مقاصده المشروط لهم وعليهم الذى من نصّه  
 سؤال اهل الذمّة فيه

سألناكم للامان<sup>1</sup> لانفسنا وذرائنا واموالنا واهل ملّتنا وشرطنا  
 15 لكم على انفسنا ان لا نحدّث فى مدينتنا ولا فيها حولها<sup>2</sup> ديرا  
 ولا كنيسة ولا قلاية ولا صومعة لراهب<sup>3</sup> ولا نجدد<sup>4</sup>ها اذا خربت ولا  
 نحى ما دثر<sup>5</sup> منها فى حطط المسلمين<sup>6</sup> ولا نمنع كنائسنا ولا

[H=Hamaker; K=Kanz al-'Ummāl; S=Sirāj al-Mulūk; B=Bolin (JA., 1852, p. 128).]

راهب HKSB<sup>3</sup> حولنا H<sup>2</sup> الامان HKB<sup>1</sup>

ولا نجدد ما خرب منها HKSB<sup>4</sup>

كان مختطّا منها S; كان HKB<sup>5</sup>

المسلمين S > by mistake to next<sup>6</sup>



اديرتنا<sup>7</sup> ان ينزلها احد من المسلمين في ليل او<sup>8</sup> نهار وان  
 توسع ابوابها للمارة<sup>8a</sup> وابن السبيل وان نُفْزَلَ بها من مَرٍّ من  
 المسلمين نطعمهم ضيافةً ثلاث ليال<sup>10</sup>. ولا نعلم اولادنا القرآن ولا  
 نظهر شركا<sup>11</sup> ولا ندعوا اليه احدا ولا نمنع احدا من ذوى<sup>12</sup> قرابتنا  
 5 الدخول في الاسلام<sup>13</sup> ان اراد. وان نوقر المسلمين ونقوم لا كابرهم<sup>14</sup>  
 من يجالسنا اذا ارادوا الجلوس ولا نتشبه بهم في شيء<sup>15</sup> من مركوبهم  
 وملبوسهم حتى العمامة والنعلين وفرق الشعر. ولا نتكلم بكلامهم  
 ولا نتكلم بكناهم. ولا نركب السروج ولا نتقلد السيوف<sup>16</sup> ولا  
 نتخذ شيئا من السلاح ولا نحمله<sup>17</sup> ولا فنقش على<sup>18</sup> خواتمنا بالعربية  
 10 ولا نظهر بيع الخمر. وان فجزّ مقدم<sup>20</sup> رؤسنا.<sup>21</sup> وان نلزم زيننا

ولا اديرتنا > HK<sup>7</sup>

ونهار B ; ولا HK<sup>8</sup>

للمارين B<sup>8a</sup>

; وان فنزل من نزلها من المسلمين ثلاث ليالى نطعمهم H<sup>9</sup>  
 ; وان فنزل من مَرٍّ بنا من المسلمين ثلاثة ايام [ليال B] نطعمهم KB  
 وان فنزل من مَرٍّ بنا S as text, but

ولا ناوى [نؤمن K] في كنائسنا ولا [في BS+] منازلنا HKBS<sup>10</sup>  
 جاسوسا ولا [B >] نكتم غشا للمسلمين

شرعنا B ; شرعا S<sup>11</sup>

> K<sup>12</sup>

لهم HKSB<sup>14</sup> ان اراده S ; اذا اراده K ; ان اراده HB<sup>13</sup>

من لباسهم [ملابسهم B] من [في B] قلنسوة ولا عمامة HKS<sup>15</sup>

معنا HKSB<sup>17</sup> بالسيوف S<sup>16</sup>

> K<sup>18</sup>

ولا نبيع المحمور HKSB<sup>19</sup>

مقاديم K<sup>20</sup>

ونلزم SB<sup>21</sup>

حيث ما كنّا.<sup>21a</sup> وان نشد زنايبرنا<sup>22</sup> على اوساطنا.<sup>23</sup> ولا نظهر  
 صلباننا وكتبتنا في شيء من مجامع<sup>24</sup> المسلمين واسواقهم<sup>25</sup> وطرقهم.<sup>26</sup>  
 ولا نرفع اصواتنا بالقراءة في كنائسنا<sup>27</sup> ولا في غيرها بحضرة  
 المسلمين.<sup>28</sup> ولا نخرج في الشعانين والاعباد جميعا. ولا نرفع اصواتنا  
 مع موتانا.<sup>5</sup> ولا نظهر النيران<sup>29</sup> معهم في طرق المسلمين<sup>30</sup> ولا في  
 اسواقهم.<sup>31</sup> ولا نجاورهم<sup>32</sup> موتانا. ولا نتخذ من الرقيق من<sup>33</sup> جرت  
 عليه سهام المسلمين.<sup>34</sup> ولا نطلع عليهم في منازلنا<sup>35</sup> ولا نضرب

كان B<sup>21a</sup>

الزنايبر KSB<sup>22</sup>

وان لا, B; وان لا نظهر الصليب على كنائسنا + HKS<sup>23</sup>  
 وان لا نضرب بنافوس في كنائسنا بين حضرة  
 المسلمين, omitting all that intervenes.

طرق HSB<sup>24</sup>

ولا اسواقهم HSB<sup>25</sup>

ولا نضرب بنوافيسنا في كنائسنا الا ضربا خفيفا + HSB<sup>26</sup>;  
 for K see note 23.

بحضرة المسلمين B; في شيء من حضرة المسلمين HS<sup>27</sup>

ولا نخرج شعانينا ولا باعوثنا H [ولا نخرج . . . . . جميعا]<sup>28</sup>  
 ولا نرفع شعانينا ولا طاغوتنا B; ولا نخرج في شعانينا ولا باعوثنا S

معهم في شيء من HK; في شيء من طرق المسلمين BS<sup>29</sup>  
 طرق المسلمين

ولا اسواقهم HB; ولا في اسواقهم K<sup>30</sup>

بموتانا SB<sup>32</sup> ولا نجاورهم موتانا H<sup>31</sup>

ما جرت B; ما جرى HKS<sup>33</sup>

ولا نطلع عليهم في بنيان لهم K; ولا نتطلع على منازلهم KSB<sup>34</sup>

فلما اتيت عمر بن الخطاب رض بالكتاب زاد فيه + KSB<sup>35</sup>

احدا من المسلمين<sup>36</sup> ولا نشتمه ولا نشترى من سبايا المسلمين شيئا وقد شرطنا لكم<sup>36a</sup> ذلك على انفسنا واهل ملتنا وقبلنا عليه<sup>37</sup> الامان<sup>38</sup> على ان تعطونا ذمّة الله وذمّة المسلمين ان لا يكلف احدٌ منّا ما لا طاقة له به ولا غير ما شرط. وان لا يظلم 5 احدٌ منّا في نفس ولا اهل ولا ولد ولا اتباع ولا مال ولا معبد من معابدنا وان من ظلم احدا منّا كان على المسلمين ردة وردّ المظلمة على صاحبها. ومن خالف ذلك منّا فلا ذمّة له ولا عهد وحلّ لكم منه ما حلّ لاهل المعاندة والشقاق.

وسأل اكابرهم اى اهل الذمّة المذكورة اسماؤهم باعاليه وهم يُؤتَسَّ 10 وجماعته المذكورون اعلاه وقيلوتناوس بطريك النصارى الملكيين وعبد اللطيف بن ابراهيم بن شمس رئيس طائفة اليهود الربانيين وفرج الله بن موسى احد مشايخ طائفة اليهود القرائين وابراهيم بن سلامة بن ابراهيم كبير طائفة السمرّة سيّدنا ومولانا قاضي القضاة شيخ الاسلام الحافظ الشهابي 15 العسقلاني الشافعي المشار اليه باعاليه تغبّده الله تعالى برحمته

<sup>36</sup> HKS B > ولا نشتمه . . . . . وقد > HKS B

<sup>37</sup> K عنهم B ; ولنا عليه الامان

<sup>38</sup> HKS end as follows after الامان : فان نحن خالفنا في شيء K > [في شيء B] ممّا شرطناه لكم وضمتنا [وضمتناه B] على انفسنا فلا ذمّة لنا وقد حلّ لكم ما يحلّ [حلّ B ; لكم + K] من اهل المعاندة والشقاق

ورضوانه ان يقرّهم بالشروط المذكورة اعلاه ورضوا بها والتزموا احكامها.

فاجاب سيّدنا ومولانا قاضى القضاة شيخ الاسلام الشهابى العسقلانى الشافعى المشار اليه فيه تغمّده الله برحمته سؤالهم 5 وقال لهم بصريح لفظه اقررتكم ببلاد الاسلام الآ الحجاز استيطاناً وحرم مكة مروراً على هذه الشرائط اذا بذلتكم الجزية على العادة المستمرة ومن جملة ما شرح في نسخة العهد المذكور خاتمة في الشروط المذكورة اعلاه ما يحتاج الى حلّ مشكل وتبيين هجمل. ومن ذلك المراد بالاحداث في المدينة التى اقرّوا في سكنها اعم 10 من ان تكون صغيرة او كبيرة والمراد بها اذا خرب منها ان تخرب الكنيسة فلا تعاد بخلاف ما اذا تعيب جدار منها فلا يمنع من ترميمه بما هو دونه.

فاذن له سيّدنا ومولانا قاضى القضاة شيخ الاسلام السعدى الديرى الحنفى المشار اليه باعاليه ادام الله تعالى ايامه واعزّ 15 احكامه واحسن اليه واسبع نعمة في الدارين عليه فيها سألته في تنفيذه.

فعند ذلك استخار الله تعالى سيّدنا العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى الشيخ افضل الدين مفتى المسلمين الحاكم المشار اليه باعاليه آيد الله تعالى احكامه واحسن اليه واشهد على نفسه 20 الكريمة من حضر مجلس حكمه وقضائه وهو نافذ القضاء والحكم ماضيها. وذلك في اليوم المبارك التاسع من صفر ختم بالخير

والظفر سنة ستين وثمانمائة أنّه نفذ حكم سيّدنا العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى الشيخ الامام العلامة شهاب الدين شرف العلماء اوجد الفضلاء مفتي المسلمين ابي العباس احمد البرحّي الشافعيّ الحاكم المشار اليه باعاليه ايّد الله تعالى احكامه واحسن اليه المنسوب اليه في اجماله المنبّه عليه باعاليه المقدم تاريخه باعاليه .  
 5 ونفذ ايضا ما نسب لسيّدنا ومولانا قاضي القضاة شيخ الاسلام الحافظ شهاب الدين قاضي المسلمين خالصة امير المؤمنين العسقلانيّ الشافعيّ المشار اليه باعاليه تغبّده الله تعالى بالرحمة والرضوان من التقرير القائم مقام الحكم المنبّه عليه باعاليه المشروح بنسخة العهد الشريف المشار اليه اعلاه تنفيذا صحيحا  
 10 شرعيّا تامّا معتبرا مرضيا مسولا في ذلك مستوفيا شرائطه الشرعيّة . اجاز ذلك وامضاه والزم بمقتضاه واشهد على نفسه الكريمة بذلك في التأريخ المقدم ذكره باعاليه المكتتب بخطه الكريم اعلاه شرّفه الله تعالى والحمد لله اوّلا وآخرا .

15 فيه ملحق سأل وفيه سؤال اهل الذمّة فيه وفيه مصلح مانعا التحرّي بمنع اقدار ذروا على المشار اليه هل مانعا . وفي الملحق بناء صحيح . ذلك كلّ معتمد به في موضعه . حسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل .  
 اشهدني سيّدنا ومولانا العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى الشيخ الامام العالم العامل العلامة الحبر البحر الفهامة المحقّق المدقّق  
 20 الرحلة الحافظ المجتهد العمدة الحاشع الناسك الحجّة سعد الدين لسان المتكلّمين حجّة المناظرين رحلة الطالبين امام الاصوليين

قامع المبتدعين والمفسدين يحيى سنة سيد المرسلين بقيّة  
المجتهدين عمدة المحدّثين شيخ الاسلام مفتى الانام محقق  
القضايا والاحكام حسنة الليالى والايتام ناصر الحق مؤيد الشريعة  
بالبراهين قاضى المسلمين خالصة امير المؤمنين ابو السعادات  
5 سعد العيسى الديري الحنفى المشار اليه باعاليه ادام الله تعالى  
ايامه واعز احكامه واحسن اليه واسبع نعمه فى الدارين عليه على  
نفسه الكريمة حرّسها الله تعالى وحماها وصانها بما نسب اليه  
اعلاه . . . عليه به وعلى نائبه فى الحكم العزيز سيدنا العبد  
الفقيه الى الله تعالى الشيخ افضل الدين سيد العلماء اوجد  
10 الفضلاء مفتى المسلمين ابي الفضل محمود القرمى الحنفى  
الحاكم المشار اليه باعاليه ايد الله تعالى احكامه واحسن اليه  
بما نسب اليه وحضرت كشف الكنائس المذكورة اعلاه هبة من  
عين اعلاه فى الاوقات المتفرقة كما شرح باعاليه .

وكتب

محمد بن محمد بن محمد الجعفرى

15

الشافعى .

اشهدنى سيدنا ومولانا قاضى القضاة ملك العلماء شيخ الاسلام  
السعدى العيسى الديري الحنفى قاضى المسلمين خالصة امير  
المؤمنين الحاكم المشار اليه اعلاه ادام الله تعالى ايامه واعز  
20 احكامه واحسن اليه ووالى نعمه عليه على نفسه الكريمة حرّسها  
الله تعالى وضاعف عليها نعمه ووالى بما نسب اليه اعلاه



فشهدت عليه به وعلى نائبه سيدنا الشيخ افضل الدين المشار  
اليه اعلاه ايّد الله تعالى احكامه واحسن اليه بما نسب اليه  
اعلاه. وحضرت كشف كنائس النصارى اليعاقبة الكائنة بمصر  
الحروسية وهو الكشف الاخير خلا المعلّقة وكنيسة ابي سرجة  
5 وكنيسة بربارة كما شرح اعلاه. وكتب

محمد بن محمد النبيه

اخبرنى بذلك بلفظ الشهادة

وبذلك اشهدنى سيدنا ومولانا قاضى القضاة شيخ الاسلام ملك  
العلماء الاعلام حسنة الليالى والاّيام بقيّة السلف الكرام  
10 السعدى الديرى الحنفى المشار اليه باعاليه ادام الله تعالى ايامه  
واعزّ احكامه واحسن اليه ووالى نعمه فى الدارين عليه فشهدت  
عليه بما نسب اليه باعاليه وعلى نائبه فى الحكم العزيز سيدنا  
الشيخ افضل الدين مفتى المسلمين القرمى المشار اليه باعاليه  
ايّد الله تعالى احكامه واحسن اليه بما نسب اليه باعاليه.  
15 وحضرت كشف الكنائس المذكورة باعاليه صحبة من ذكر باعاليه  
فى اوقات متفرقة. وكتب

اشهدنى سيدنا العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى الشيخ افضل الدين  
الحاكم المشار اليه اعلاه ايّد الله تعالى احكامه واحسن اليه  
على نفسه الكريمة بما نسب اليه اعلاه. فشهدت عليه بذلك.

وكتب

احمد

الحمد لله اشهد على سمائل محمد بن سمائل محمد بن خلف  
المهندس المشهور بالقرافيّ شهوده اشهادا شرعيّا أنّه كشف  
الكنائس المذكورة اعلاه الكشف الشافي الكشف الآخر المذكور  
اعلاه .. على ما شرح في .. اعلاه . . . . المأذون فيه .

5 شهد بالكشف المذكور على ما شرح باعالي خليل بن عليّ  
المهندس عرف بابن بشار.

شهد بالكشف المذكور على ما شرح باعالي عليّ بن احمد  
عرف بابن سطوح المهندس.

حضرت الكشف المذكور في خدمة السادة الموالى قضاة القضاة  
10 مشائخ الاسلام المشار اليهم اعلاه ادام الله تعالى ايامهم واعزّ  
احكامهم والامر كما شرح اعلاه وفي حبة سيّدنا افضل الدين  
المشار اليه اعلاه ايّد الله احكامه في الكشف الثاني والاخير كما  
شرح فيه .

وكتب احمد بن محمد

ابن احمد المهندس

عرف بالفاخوريّ

THE STROPHIC STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK  
OF MICAH

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JOHN MERLIN POWIS SMITH



## THE STROPHIC STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK OF MICAH

JOHN MERLIN POWIS SMITH

The poetic form of Micah has received little attention as compared with that given to Amos, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and others of the Prophets. In modern times Ewald (1840) was among the first to attempt a strophical analysis of Micah. Nothing further of any consequence was done till 1891, when H. J. Elhorst, seeking to defend the unity of the book, presented a strophic reorganization of it, characterized by startling novelty, which has thus far met with no general approval. Chaps. 3, 4:6-14, and 7, were treated by D. H. Müller in his *Die Propheten in ihrer ursprünglichen Form* (1896), the value of which is minimized by an uncritical attitude toward the Massoretic text and by his complicated theory of strophe, antistrophe, responsion, concatenation, etc. Sievers included chap. 1 in his *Studien zur hebräischen Metrik* (1901), in which a too cautious attitude toward the Massoretic text prevails. François Ladame applied the theories of D. H. Müller and Zenner to chaps. 4 and 5 in the *Revue de théologie et de philosophie* for 1902. Marti has given the best treatment of the subject thus far in his *Dodekapropheton* (1904), where the poetic and strophic form is made the basis of the arrangement of the commentary. Chap. 3:1-4, 9-12, is presented as a literary and poetic unit by Löhr, in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. LXI (1907), pp. 3-6.

In the following study the text as reconstructed is presented as the best justification of the analysis. Subsidiary matter has been purposely reduced to the minimum. The text is unpointed except in places where some variation from the Massoretic reading was necessary. Emendations already familiar to all scholars through their incorporation in standard works need no explanation in a study of this kind; therefore only such as are here presented for the first time are treated in the accompanying notes.

Questions pertaining to the date and authenticity of the material in the book of Micah lie outside of the scope of this article, except in so far as concerns minor glosses which interfere with the metric or strophic norm of a passage. For full discussion of such matters reference may be made to the author's forthcoming commentary on Micah in the "International Critical Series."

# §1. THE SUPERScription, 1:1

דבר יהוה אשר היה אל מִיכָה הנִבִּישְׁתִּי בִּימֵי יוֹתָם אֹהֶי יְהוֹקִיָּה  
מִלְכֵי יְהוּדָה אֲשֶׁר חָזָה עַל שְׁמֶרֶן וִירוּשָׁלַם:

# §2. THE DOOM OF ISRAEL, 1:2-9

1:2 I שְׁמַעוּ עַמִּים כֻּלָּם

הַקְשִׁיבִי אֶרֶץ וּמִלֵּאָה  
וַיְהִי יְהוָה בְּכֶם לַעַד  
אֲדֹנִי מִהִכָּל קִדְשׁוֹ:

3 II כִּי־חָנָה יְהוָה יֵצֵא מִמִּקְדָּשׁוֹ

וַיֵּרֶד עַל־בְּמוֹתַי אֶרֶץ:  
וַנִּסָּסֵה הַהָרִים תַּחְתָּיו 4a, b  
וְהַעֲמִיקִם יַחֲבִקְעוּ

5 III בַּפֶּשַׁע יַעֲקֹב כָּל־זֹאת

וּבְקִשָּׁאת בֵּית יְהוּדָה  
מִי־פֶשַׁע יַעֲקֹב הֲלוֹא שְׁמֶרֶן  
וּמִי־קִשָּׁאת יְהוּדָה הֲלוֹא יְרוּשָׁלַם:

6 IV וּשְׁמִתִּי שְׁמֶרֶן לְשָׂדֶה

לְמִטְעֵי כֶרֶם  
וְהִגַּרְתִּי לַגִּיָּא אֲבִנֶיהָ  
וַיִּסְדֶּיהָ אֲגִלָּהּ:

8 V עַל־זֹאת אֲסַפְדָּה וְאִילִילָהּ

אֲלַמְּהָ שׁוֹלֵל וְעֵרוֹם  
אֲעִשֶׂה מִסְפַּד כְּתָנִים  
וְאֲבֵל כְּבֹנוֹת יַעֲנָה:



9 VI  
 כִּי אֲנֹשָׁה מִכְתָּהּ  
 כִּי בָאָה עַד־יְהוּדָה  
 נָגְעָה עַד־שַׁעֲרֵי עַמִּי  
 עַד יְרוּשָׁלַם:

This arrangement involves the retention of vss. 2-5*a* as genuine, notwithstanding Stade, Nowack, Marti, *et al.*, and the excision of vss. 4*c, d* and 7 as later accretions. Nowack has attempted to improve vs. 4 by interchanging the positions of 4*b* and 4*c*; but 4*a* and 4*b* belong together, similar cases of later expansion by the addition of a comparison are not wanting (cf. 7:10), and the lines 4*c* and 4*d* burden the strophe. Marti has already stated the case against vs. 7; in addition may be urged its variation from the strophic norm of the context, in that it consists of five lines:

7 וְכָל פְּסִילֶיהָ יִכְתֹּר  
 וְכָל־אֲחַנְיָה יִשְׁרֹפוּ בָאֵשׁ  
 וְכָל עַצְבֶּיהָ אֲשִׁים שִׁמְמָה  
 כִּי מֵאֲתָנָן זֹנָה קָפְצוּ  
 וְעַד־אֲתָנָן זֹנָה יִשׁוּבוּ:

In vs. 2*c* omit אֲדָנִי as dittograph from the following line, or as Qerf for יהוה; in vs. 3 omit וְדָרַךְ with ⑤; and in vs. 5*b* substitute יהודה for יִשְׂרָאֵל.

### § 3. LAMENTATION OVER ISRAEL'S DOOM, 1:10-16

10 I  
 בָּנָתָהּ אֵל תִּגִּידוּ  
 בִּבְכָא בְּכֹו חֲבֹנֹו  
 בְּבֵית־אֵל עָפָר הִתְפַּלְשׁוּ:  
 11*a* עֲבְרוּ לָכֶם מִשְׁפֵּיר עֲרִיָה  
 11*b, c* II  
 לֹא יֵצֵאָה יוֹשְׁבֵת צֹאנָן מִסְפָּרָהּ  
 בֵּית הָאֵצֶל גָּחַח מִמַּעְמָדוֹ:  
 12 מִי יִחַלֶּה לָשׁוּב יוֹשְׁבֵת מְרוֹת  
 כִּי־יִרְדֹּד רַע מֵאֵת יְהוָה לְשַׁעֲרֵי יְרוּשָׁלַם:

רָחֵם הַמִּרְכָּבָה לִרְכֵּשׁ יוֹשֶׁבֶת לִכְשׁ 13a, c III

כִּי בֶךְ נִמְצָאוּ פְּשָׁעֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל:

לֹכֵן תַּחֲנִי שְׁלוּחִים עַל מוֹרֶשֶׁת גֵּת 14

בֵּית אֲבוֹתָם לֵאמֹר לִמְלֹכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל:

עַד הָיִיתָ אֲבִילָה יוֹשֶׁבֶת מִרְשָׁה 15 IV

עַד עוֹלָם יֵאָבֵד כְּבוֹד יִשְׂרָאֵל:

קִרְחֵי וְגוֹי עַל בְּנֵי תַעֲנוּגִיךָ 16

הִרְחִבִי קִרְחָתְךָ כְּנֶשֶׁר כִּי־גָלוּ מִבֶּיךָ:

The uncertain state of the text of 1:10-16 renders any attempt at reconstruction extremely hazardous. In the foregoing arrangement there is to be seen a gradual transition from the simple trimeter of vs. 10, through the tetrameter of vs. 11, to the pentameter, or *Qinah* movement of vs. 12, which prevails throughout the rest of the piece. The most marked variation from the Massoretic text is in the omission of vs. 13b; this is shown to be a gloss by the fact that it interrupts the connection of 13a and 13c, where direct address is employed.

In vs. 10b, for בִּבְנָה see Halévy, *Revue sémitique*, XII; אֵל is omitted as a dittograph from vs. 10a. For vs. 10c see Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, I, 103. In vs. 11a יוֹשֶׁבֶת is omitted as a dittograph from 11b, and בֵּי is restored before שְׁפִיר; בִּשְׁתִּי is omitted, with 𐤀, as a gloss on עִירָה. In vs. 11b מִסְפָּר is conjecturally restored to מִסְפִּירָה; cf. Assyrian supûru, 'inclosure' (of a walled city, e. g., Erech). In vs. 11c the verb is pointed as passive, with Graetz; and מִכֶּם עֲמִידָתוֹ is resolved into מִמִּעֲמִידוֹ, כֵּ and מִ being often confused in the old script; the third מִ is dropped as a dittograph. A similar confusion of כֵּ and מִ has taken place in כִּי of vs. 12a, cf. 𐤀 τῷ; and for the force of מִי here, see Am. 7:2, 5. רָחֵם of vs. 13 is the infin. abs. with the force of an imperative; this furnishes the basis for the second person forms of 13b and 14a. For vs. 15b, see Cheyne, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, X, 577.

## § 4. THE OPPRESSION OF THE POOR, 2:1-11

2:1 I הוֹי חֲשָׁבִי אֶן עַל מִשְׁכַּבּוֹתָם

בְּאוֹר הַבֶּקֶר יַעֲשֶׂה כִּי יִשְׁלַל יָדָם;

וְחֲמָדוֹ שְׁדוֹת וְגִזְלוֹ וּבִתִּים וְנִשְׁאָו

וְעִשְׁקוֹ גִּבֹּר וּבֵיתוֹ אִישׁ וְנִחְלָתוֹ;

3 II [לֵכֶן כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה]

הֲנִי חֲשִׁב רָעָה

אֲשֶׁר לֹא-תִמְשְׁוּ מִצָּנְאוֹתֵיכֶם

וְלֹא תִלְכוּ רוּמָה

כִּי עַתָּה רָעָה הִיא;

4 III בְּיוֹם הַהוּא יִשָּׂא עֲלֵיכֶם מִשַּׁל

וְנִתְּחָה נִדְחִי לֵאמֹר

הֲלֹק עָמִי יָמַד בְּחֶקֶל וְאֵין מִשְׁיָב

לְשׁוֹבֵינִי שְׂדֵינִי וְחֶלֶק שְׂדֵדוֹד נִשְׁחַדְנִי;

6 IV אֵל תִּשְׁקֶה נְטוֹף לֹאֵלֶּה

לֹא יִשְׁיֵג בֵּית יַעֲקֹב כְּלָמוֹת;

7 הַקֶּצֶר רוּחַ יְהוָה אִם-אֵלֶּה מֵעַלְלֹי

הַלּוֹא דִּבְרֵיו יִיטִיבוּ עִם יִשְׂרָאֵל;

8 V וְאַתֶּם לְעַמִּי לְאוֹיֵב תִּקְוִי עַל-שְׁלֵמִים

תִּפְשְׁטוּן מֵעֲבָרִים בְּטַח שְׁבִי מִלַּחְמָה;

9 נָשִׁי עָמִי תִגְרֶשׁוּן מִבְּנֵי תִשְׁגִּיחֶן

מֵעַל עַלְלֵיחֶן תִּקְחוּ הַדָּרִי לְעוֹלָם;

10 VI קוֹבֵנוּ וּלְכֹנוּ כִּי לֹא-זָאת הַמִּנּוּחָה

בְּעִבּוֹר טָמְאָה תִּהְיֶלּוּ הַבַּל נִמְרֵץ;

The prevailing movement here is that of the *Qinah*, except in Strophe II where the announcement of the coming calamity is in short and sharp phrases. The closing strophe containing the final message of dismissal is likewise concise; possibly it should be arranged in four short lines like Strophe II, but vs. 10b seems to show the *Qinah* movement. Verse 11 is plain prose, and is therefore omitted as a misplaced gloss on vs. 6; its relation to

vs. 6 was already recognized by Dathe (1773) and also by Halévy, who transposes it to follow vs. 11. The words introducing the new speaker in Strophe II are no part of the strophe.

In vs. 1, omit **רע ופעלי רע** as a gloss, with Wellhausen, Nowack, Oort, and Marti. In vs. 3, **על המשפחה הזאת** is a gloss (cf. Am. 3:1; Jer. 8:3); so Marti. In vs. 3c the first two letters of **מים** are dropped as a dittograph from **חמישו**, while the final letter is connected as a preposition with the following word; this emendation removes the difficulty of making **שם** refer back to the abstract **רעה**. The reconstruction of vs. 4 is that proposed by Stade (*ZA W*, VI, 122f.); so also Ruben, Nowack; cf. Marti. The prosaic character of vs. 5 marks it as an interpolation; so Nowack and Marti. Corruption and dittography account for the state of MT in vs. 6a. The first word of vs. 7 is to be read **האמר** with G; it is a gloss on **בית יעקב**, which latter originally belonged after **ישיג** as its emphatic object. The proximity of **בית יעקב** perhaps affected the gender of **ישיג**, though agreement of a verb with its subject is, of course, not obligatory when the verb stands first. If the position of **בית יעקב** in MT be correct, the meaning is, "the speaker is the house of Jacob," and the entire phrase is a gloss. In vs. 8a, **אדר** is a gloss on the corrupt **שלמה**.

#### § 5. THE RETURN OF THE EXILES, 2:12, 13

12    אסך אסך יעקב פלו  
 קבץ אקבץ שארית ישראל  
 יחד אשימנו כצאן בצורה  
 כעדר בתוך הדבר;  
 13    עלה הפרץ לפניהם  
 פרצו שער ויצאו בו  
 ויעברו מלכם לפניהם  
 ויהוה בראשם:

The more important variations from MT in this eight-line strophe are, first, the dropping of the last two words of vs. 12 as a corrupt gloss, and, second, the omission of **ויעברו** from vs. 13b as a dittograph from the following line.

## § 6. DENUNCIATION OF THE LEADERS AND PROPHETS,

3:1-8

[ואמר] 3:1 I

שְׂמִיעֲרֵנָה רֹאשֵׁי יַעֲקֹב  
וְקִצְיָנִי בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל  
הֲלוֹא לָכֶם לָדַעַת אֶת־הַמִּשְׁפָּט:

2a שְׁנֵאִי טוֹב וְאֶחָבִי רָע

אֲשֶׁר אָכְלוּ שָׂאֵר עַמִּי 3 II  
וְעוֹרֶם מֵעֲלֵיהֶם הַפְּשִׁיטוּ  
וְאֶת־עֲצָמֹתֵיהֶם פָּצְחוּ וּפָרְשׁוּ  
פְּשָׁאָר בַּסִּיר וּנְבִשָׁר בַּתוֹךְ־קִלְחָת:

אִז יִזְעַקוּ אֱלֹהֵיהֶם 4 III  
וְלֹא יַעֲנֶה אוֹתָם  
וְיִסְתֵּר פָּנָיו מֵהֶם  
כְּאֲשֶׁר חָרְעוּ מֵעַלְלֵיהֶם:

[כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה] 5 IV  
עַל־הַנְּבִיאִים הַמַּתְעִים אֶת־עַמִּי  
הַנִּשְׁלִים בַּשְּׁנִיחָם וְקִרְאוּ שְׁלוֹם  
וְאֲשֶׁר לֹא־יָתִין עַל־פִּיהֶם  
וְקִדְּשׁוּ עֲלֵיו מִלְחָמָה:

לִכֵּן לִילַח לָכֶם מִחוּזָן 6 V  
וְהִשְׁקָה לָכֶם מִקֶּסֶם  
וּבָאָה הַשִּׁמְשׁ עַל־הַנְּבִיאִים  
וְקִדְּרָה עֲלֵיהֶם הַיּוֹם:

וּבִשְׁנֵי הַחֳזִים 7 VI  
וְחָפְרוּ הַקְּסָמִים  
וַעֲטוּ עַל־שֵׁפֶם כָּלֶם  
כִּי אֵין מַעֲנֶה אֱלֹהִים

וְאוֹלָם אֲנִכִּי מִלֹּאֲתִי כֹה 8 VII  
וּמִשְׁפָּט וּגְבוּרָה  
לְהַגִּיד לִיעֲקֹב פִּשְׁעוֹ  
וּלְיִשְׂרָאֵל הַטֹּאֲתוֹ:

This piece consists of three strophes dealing with the judges and princes, three devoted to the false prophets, and a closing strophe setting forth the speaker's own qualifications for the prophetic and judicial office. The climax of the doom upon both judges and prophets is the refusal of Yahweh to hear their cry (Strophes III and VI). In this arrangement vs. 2*b, c* is omitted as a variant of vs. 3; so Wellhausen, Nowack, Marti; Löhr omits all except **גִּזְלֵי**, but supposes these lines were inserted to supply the place of the missing original. In vs. 4 **בַּעַת הַהִיא** is superfluous in meter and in sense, being a mere repetition of **אֵן** at the beginning of the verse. The **וְאָמַר** of vs. 1 and the introductory formula in vs. 5 are extraneous to their respective strophes. In vs. 8 omit **אֵת רוּחַ יְהוָה**, with Wellhausen, Nowack, Marti, *et al.* Löhr's arrangement of this section and the following, with the omission of vss. 5–8, in eight strophes of three lines each, a tetrameter followed by two trimeters, fails to recognize the symmetrical relations between vss. 1–4 and 5–8 and involves too drastic and arbitrary treatment of the Massoretic text. An inflexible meter of 4 + 3 + 3 for each strophe makes too great inroads upon textual integrity. The fact that Löhr's article did not reach me until after my manuscript was sent to the printer prevents more extended discussion here.

#### § 7. THE DOOM OF JERUSALEM, 3: 9–12

9 I שְׁמִיעֲרֹנָא זֹאת רֹאשִׁי בֵּית יַעֲקֹב

וְקִצְיִי בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל

הַמַּחֲעִבִּים מִשְׁפָּט

וְאֵת כְּלִי־יִשְׁרָיָה יַעֲקֹשׁוּ:

10 בְּנֵי צִיּוֹן בְּדַמִּים

יִירוּשָׁלַיִם בַּעֲלֹהָ:

11 II רֹאשִׁיָּה בִּשְׁחַד יִשְׁפֹּטוּ

וְכַהֲנִיָּה בַּמַּחֲדִּיר יִוְרוּ

וְנִבְיָאִיהָ בַּכֶּסֶף יִקְסְמוּ

וְעַל־יְהוָה יִשְׁעֲנוּ לֵאמֹר

חֲלוּא יְהוָה בְּקִרְבָּנוּ

לֹא־תִבּוֹא עֲלֵינוּ רָעָה:



לִכְן בַּגִּלְלָכֶם <sup>12</sup> III  
צִיּוֹן שְׂדֵה תַחֲרֹשׁ  
וִירוּשָׁלַם עַיִם תַּחֲהֶה  
וְהָר הַבַּיִת לִבְמַת יֵרִי:

This is the first section in the genuine Micah material to depart from the norm of the four-line strophe. Marti finds that norm here also. But to organize strophes of four lines here is to separate things that belong together; the **בְּנֵי** of vs. 10 clearly designates the persons already mentioned in vs. 9, and is inseparable from vs. 9. The three groups mentioned in vs. 11 belong together as the constituent elements of the class addressed in Strophe I; chiefs, priests, and prophets form the great triumvirate, from which the prophets may not be separated and considered by themselves.

The text of this portion is well preserved, requiring few emendations and no transpositions or excisions.

#### § 8. AN IDEAL OF YAHWEH'S WORLD-DOMINION, 4:1-5

וְהָיָה בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים <sup>4:1</sup> I  
יְהִיָּה הָר בֵּית־יְהוָה  
נִכּוֹן בְּרֹאשׁ הַהָרִים  
וְנִשְׂא הוּא מִגְבָּעוֹת  
וְנִהָרָו עֲלָיו עַמִּים:  
<sup>2</sup> וְהִלְכּוּ גוֹיִם רַבִּים וְאֻמִּיֹּת

לְכוּ וְנַעֲלָה אֱלֹהֵי־הָרֵי־יְהוָה <sup>II</sup>  
וְאֱלֹהֵי־בֵית אֱלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב  
וְיִירָנוּ מִדְּרָכָיו  
וְנִלְכָּה בְּאַרְחֵתָיו  
כִּי מִצִּיּוֹן תֵּצֵא תוֹרָה  
וְדִבֶּר יְהוָה מִירוּשָׁלַם:

וְשִׁפְטַת בֵּין־עַמִּים רַבִּים <sup>3</sup> III  
וְהוֹכִיחָה לְגוֹיִם עַצְמִים  
וְכַתְּתוּ חֲרִבְתֵּיהֶם לְאֻתִּים

והניחתהם למזמרות  
לאִישָׁאוּ גִי אֶל־גִּי חֶרֶב  
וּלְאִי־לְמִדּוֹן עוֹד מִלְחָמָה:

4 [וְיֵשְׁבוּ אִישׁ תַּחַת גִּפְנוֹ  
וְתַהַת תְּאֵנָתוֹ וְאֵין מִחֲרִיד  
כִּי־פִי יִחוּהַ צְבָאוֹת דְּבַר:  
5 כִּי כָל־הָעַמִּים יִלְכוּ  
אִישׁ בְּשֵׁם אֱלֹהֵיו  
וְאָמְרוּ נֶלֶךְ בְּשֵׁם־יְהוָה  
אֱלֹהֵינוּ לְעוֹלָם וָעַד:]

The original material here stops with vs. 3. Practically all interpreters now concede the separation of vs. 5. Marti also eliminates vs. 4c. But in view of the absence of vs. 4 from the parallel passage in Isaiah, and of the further fact that it is composed of stock phrases which add nothing to the description in vss. 1-3, it seems justifiable to assign the whole of vs. 4 to editorial expansion;<sup>1</sup> עֲדִירְרוֹק of vs. 3b is due to the same cause. The three six-line strophes of vss. 1-3 are logically distinct, and the progress of thought is clear: Strophe I states the fact that the temple of Yahweh is to become the rallying-point of the nations; Strophe II indicates the motive of the nations in coming; Strophe III describes the idyllic peace resulting from the world-wide acceptance of Yahweh and his law.

#### § 9. THE DOOM OF EXILE AND A PROMISE OF RESTORATION, 4: 6-10

9 I עֵתָּה לְבִיָּה תִרְעִי רַע  
הַמֶּלֶךְ אֵין בְּךָ  
אִם יִעֲצֹק אָבִד  
כִּי־הִחְזִיקָךְ חֵיל כִּי־לֹדָה:

<sup>1</sup>This conclusion was reached in entire independence of the discussion by François Ladame, *Revue de théologie et de philosophie*, 1902, pp. 446 ff., in which the same decision is expressed.

חולי וגדי בתציון כולדה <sup>10</sup> II  
 כִּיעָתָה חֲצֵאי מִקְרִיהָ וּשְׁכֵנֹת בַּשּׁוּחַ  
 וּבָאת עַד בָּבֶל שֵׁם חֲנַצְלִי  
 שֵׁם יִגְאַלֵּךְ יְהוָה מִכָּה אִיבִיד:

ביום ההוא נא־יִהְיֶה <sup>6</sup> III  
 אִסְפָּה הַצִּלְעָה  
 וְהִנְדִּיחָהּ אֶקְבְּצָהּ  
 וְאֲשֶׁר הִרְעֵתִי:

וּשְׁמִתִּי אֶת־הַצִּלְעָה לְשֹׁאֲרֵיהֶם <sup>7</sup> IV  
 וְהִנֵּחֶלְהָ לְגֹי עֲצוּם  
 וּמִלֵּךְ יְהוָה עֲלֵיהֶם בְּהֵר צִיּוֹן  
 מֵעַתָּה וְעַד עוֹלָם

וְאַתָּה מִגְדֵּל עֵדֶךָ <sup>8</sup> V  
 עֶפֶל בֵּת צִיּוֹן  
 עֲדִיךָ תֵּאָתֶה הַמִּמְשִׁלָּה הָרִאשֹׁנָה  
 וּבָאָה מִמְּלֶכֶת בֵּית־יִשְׂרָאֵל:

The prevailing measure of this section is trimeter, with sporadic dimeters and Strophe II falling into the dirge movement. In vs. 7c **בְּהֵר צִיּוֹן** is metrically superfluous, and perhaps ought to be dropped as a marginal note; so Marti. Vss. 9–10 are placed before vss. 6–8 in response to the demands of the logical and chronological sense. The resulting movement of thought is clear and straightforward throughout the piece. There is no necessity to posit two authors or differing periods for the two sections, vss. 6–8 and 9, 10; but it may well be that they did not originally constitute one piece, for each section has a measure of completeness within itself. Textually the piece is well preserved; in vs. 8, however, it seems necessary to transpose **וּבָאָה** with Nowack, both on account of meter and sense.

§ 10. THE TRIUMPH OF YAHWEH'S PEOPLE OVER ALL  
ITS FOES, 4: 11-14

ועתה נאספו עליך <sup>11</sup> I  
גוים רבים האמרים  
תחנק ותחזו בציון עינינו;  
והמיה לאיידעו מהשבות־יהודה <sup>12</sup>  
ולא הבינו עצתו  
כִּי־קבצם כעמיר גרמה;  
קומי ודושי בתציון <sup>13</sup> II  
כִּי־קרנך אשים ברזל  
ופרסת־ך אשים נחושה  
והדקות עמים רבים  
וההרבות ליהודה בצעם  
וחילם לאדון כל־הארץ;  
[עתה תגדדי בת־גדוד <sup>14</sup>  
מצור שָׁמוּ עֲלֵינוּ  
בשבט יכו על־הלהי  
את־שפט ישראל:]

Vs. 14 is added here merely for the sake of completeness. There is general agreement that it has no connection with vss. 11-13, but belongs elsewhere. Its closest connection is with 4:9, and it might possibly be placed at the head of that section as the opening strophe; but after all, it seems somewhat superfluous even there, and had better remain unattached. The two strophes of this section present each a phase of the situation which the prophet is depicting, and both together form a complete representation. The text of the passage is practically perfect.

§ 11. THE MESSIANIC KING, 5: 1-3

ואתה בית אפרתה <sup>5:1</sup>  
הַצֶּעִיר בְּאַלְפֵי יְהוּדָה  
מִמֶּךָ לִי יֵצֵא

להיות מושל בישראל  
 ומוצאתיו מקדם מימי־עולם:  
 3 ועמד ורעה בעדיהוה  
 בנאון שסייהוה אלהו  
 כי־עתה יגדל עד־אפסי־ארץ:

This eight-lined strophe is secured by omitting vs. 2 as a gloss interrupting the connection of vss. 1 and 3; so also Duhm (on Isa. 17:14), Wellhausen, Nowack, and Marti. In line 1 להם is omitted as a gloss (cf. 6); so also Roorda, Pont, Wellhausen, G. A. Smith, Nowack, Oort, Marti, *et al.* In line 2 להיות is omitted as a dittograph from line 4. ויִשְׁבֵּי is dropped from the beginning of line 8 as a gloss made in view of vs. 2; it is also superfluous metrically. Verse 2 reads:

לכן יתנם עדיעת יולדה ילדה  
 ויתר אהיו ישובון עליבני ישראל:

§ 12. JUDAH'S FUTURE PROTECTORS FROM ASSYRIA, 5:4, 5

4 והיה זה שלום מאשור  
 כי יבא בארצנו  
 וכי ידרך באֲדָמֵינוּ  
 והקמנו עליו שבעה רעים  
 ושמנה נסיכי אדם:  
 5 ורעו את־ארץ אשור בחרב  
 ואת־ארץ נמרוד בפְּתִיחָה  
 והֶצִילוּ מאשור  
 כי יבוא בארצנו  
 וכי ידרך בגבולנו:

This ten-lined strophe is generally conceded to have no relationship to its immediate context. Reference to any recent commentary will furnish the facts necessary to substantiate the claim of this passage to logical independence. The only new textual element in this arrangement is in the reading מאשור which is

attached to line 1, instead of being read with line 2 as a *casus pendens*. For **שָׁלוֹם בֵּין** in the sense "protection from," see Zech. 8:10; Job 21:9. The sense thus secured furnishes a complete parallel between the three lines at the opening of the strophe and the three at the close.

§ 13. THE DIVINE EMERGENCE AND IRRESISTIBLE MIGHT  
OF THE REMNANT, 5:6-8

וְהָיָה שְׂאִיִּית יַעֲקֹב בְּגוֹיִם 6 I

בְּקֶרֶב עַמִּים רַבִּים  
כְּטֹל מֵאֵת יְהוָה  
כְּרִבִּיבִים עָלָיו עֵשֶׂב  
אֲשֶׁר לֹא־יִקְוָה לֹא־ישׁ  
וְלֹא־יִיחַל לְבִנֵּי אָדָם:

וְהָיָה שְׂאִיִּית יַעֲקֹב בְּגוֹיִם 7 II

בְּקֶרֶב עַמִּים רַבִּים  
כְּאֹרִיָּה בְּבַחֲמוֹת יַעַר  
כְּכַפִּיר בַּעֲדֵרֵי צֹאן  
אֲשֶׁר אִם עֵבֶר  
וְרִמָּס וְטָרַף וְאִין־מִצִּיל:

תָּרַם יָדָךְ עַל־צִרְיֹךְ 8 III

וְכָל־אִיבֶיךָ יִכְרֹתוּ:

The connection of vs. 8 with vss. 6 and 7 is at the best very loose, even with the change of text from the precative to the declarative form of the verb. With vs. 9 connection is entirely lacking. The question must present itself as to whether vs. 8 is not a marginal note on vs. 7. The strophic structure supports an affirmative answer.

§ 14. ISRAEL'S PURIFICATION THROUGH CHASTISEMENT,  
5:9-14

וְהָיָה בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא נִאֲמִי־יְהוָה 9 I

וְהִכֹּרְתִי סוּסֶיךָ מִקֶּרֶבְךָ  
וְהִאֲבֹדְתִי מִרֶכֶבְחֶיךָ:



10 והכרתי ערי ארצך  
והרסתי כל מבצריך:

11 II והכרתי כשפים מידך  
ובעוננים לא יהוילך:  
12 והכרתי פסיליך ומצבותיך מקרבך  
ולא־תשתחוה עוד למעשה יד־ך:

13 [ונתשתי אשיריך מקרבך  
והשמדתי עריך:  
14 ועשיתי באֶז ובחמה נקם  
את־הגוים אשר לא שמעו:]

This piece consists of two four-line strophes, with an introductory prose line (vs. 9a), and two additional verses from the hands of redactors (vss. 13, 14). Wellhausen and Nowack have already set forth the grounds for athetizing vs. 14. It seems equally clear that vs. 13 must likewise be set aside; 13b as it stands is a weak repetition of vs. 10, and if the common correction to **עצביך** be made the case is not improved, for it then becomes superfluous after vs. 12; 13a is an editorial insertion of an additional detail in the description. The real climax and natural stopping-point of the piece is at the end of vs. 12; anything additional weakens the effect. Strophe I foretells the destruction of the munitions of war in which Israel puts confidence instead of trusting to Yahweh; Strophe II deals with idolatrous practices which likewise lead Israel away from Yahweh. The assonance of the piece is remarkable, notably in the repetitions of **והכרתי** and the pronominal suffix **ך**.

§ 15. YAHWEH'S CONTROVERSY WITH ISRAEL, 6:1-5

6:1 I שמע־נא את הַדְּבָר  
אשר יהוה אמר  
קום ריב אל־החרים  
ותשמענה הגבעות קולך:

שִׁמְעוּ הָרִים אֲתִירִיב יְהוָה וְהֶאֱזִינוּ מִסְדֵּי אֶרֶץ כִּי־יִרִיב לִיהוָה עֲסִדְעֻמוּ וְעַם יִשְׂרָאֵל יִתְכַחֵּם:	2	II
עֲמִי מִהֲדַעֲשִׁיתִי לָךְ וּמִה הֲלֹאֲתִיךְ עֲנֹה־בִי: כִּי הֶעֱלִיתִךְ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם וּמִבֵּית עֲבָדִים פִּדִיתִיךְ	3	III
עֲמִי מִהֲדִיעֶץ בִּלְךָ וּמִהֲדַעֲנָה אֲחִי בִלְעָם זִכְרִי־נָא מִן־הַשְּׁטִיִּים עַד־הַגִּלְגָּל לְמַעַן דַּעַת צְדָקוֹת יְהוָה	5	IV

In vs. 1a **הִרְבִּי** is added with 𐤂; so also Marti. Verse 4c\* is eliminated as an editorial expansion of 4b; cf. Marti. The transfer of **זִכְרִי־נָא** from vs. 5a to 5c renders 5a parallel in structure to the corresponding line of Strophe III, and also renders 5c susceptible of sensible interpretation. Nowack's omission (Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*) of **מִלֶּךְ מִזֶּבֶב** in vs. 5a and **בְּיַבְעֹרִי** in 5b is adopted for the sake of the meter.

#### § 16. THE CONTENT OF TRUE RELIGION, 6:6-8

בְּמִה אֶקְדֵּם יְהוָה אֶכֶּךְ לֵאלֹהֵי מְרוֹם הָאֶקְדַּמְנוּ בַּעֲוֹלוֹת בַּעֲגָלִים בְּנֵי שֹׁנָה:	6	I
הִירִצָה יְהוָה בְּאַלְפֵי אֵילִים בְּרִבְבוֹת נְחֹלֵי שֶׁמֶן הָאֲתָן בְּכוֹרֵי פִשְׁעֵי פְּרִי בִטְנֵי הַטֹּאת נַפְשֵׁי:	7	II

\*Viz. ואשלח לפניך את־משה אהרן ומרים

III 8 הגיד־לְךָ אדם מִהֵיטוֹב  
וּמִהֵיחֻהוּ דוֹרֵשׁ מִמֶּךָ  
כִּי־אִם־עֲשׂוֹת מִשְׁפָּט וְאַהֲבַת חֶסֶד  
וְהִצַּנֵּת לִכְתּ עִם־אֱלֹהֶיךָ:

This section lends itself readily to strophic analysis; no textual changes, transpositions, or omissions are necessary. The opening of the second strophe is marked by the change of subject, and the beginning of the third by the change from question to answer.

§ 17. THE SIN OF JERUSALEM AND THE PUNISHMENT  
TO COME, 6:9-16

I 9a, c קוֹל יְהוָה לְעִיר יִקְרָא  
שִׁמְעוּ מִטָּה וּמוֹעֵד הָעִיר:  
12a, b אֲשֶׁר עֲשִׂירֶיהָ מִלֹּאֵי חֶמֶס  
וְיִשְׁבִּיָּה דִּבְרוּ שָׁקֶר

II 10 הָאִשָּׁה בִּית־רֹשַׁע אֲצִרֹת  
וְאִיפֹת רוֹזֵן זְעוּמָה:  
11 הָאֲזֻפָּה בְּמִאֲזֵנֶי רֹשַׁע  
וּבְכִסּוֹ אֲבִנֵי מִרְמָה:

III 13a וְגַם־אֲנִי הִחֲלֹתִי הַכּוֹתֶךְ  
13b, 14b הַשָּׁמַיִם עַל־הַטְּאוֹתֶיךָ וְיִשְׁחָךְ בְּקִרְבְּךָ  
14c, d וְחִסַּג וְלֹא תִפְלִיט  
וְאֲשֶׁר תִּפְלֹט לַחֲרֹב אֶתְךָ:

IV 14a אֶתְּהָ תֹאכַל וְלֹא תִשָּׁבַע  
15 אֶתְּהָ תִזְרַע וְלֹא תִקְצוֹר  
אֶתְּהָ תִדְרֹךְ־זֵית וְלֹא־תִסּוֹךְ שִׁמֶן  
וְתִירוֹשׁ וְלֹא תִשְׁתַּהוִּיךְ:

V 16 וְתִשְׁמַר חֻקֹּת עֲמֹרֵי  
וְכָל מַעֲשֵׂה בִית־אֲהָאָב  
לִמְעַן תִּתִּי אֶתְךָ לְשִׁמָּה  
וְיִשְׁבִּיָּה לְשִׁרְקָה

Strophes I and II denounce the sins of Jerusalem; Strophes III and IV announce the consequent punishment; and Strophe V summarizes both sin and punishment. This arrangement is essentially that of Marti, though certain elements in it (viz., the elision of vs. 9*b* as a late gloss, the transposition of vs. 12*a*, *b* to follow vs. 9, and the transposition of vs. 14*a* to precede vs. 15*a*) had commended themselves to me before seeing Marti's treatment. In vs. 10*a* the final רשע is dropped as a dittograph. Verse 12*c* is a gloss on 12*b*. The transposition of vs. 14*a* leaves 14*b* to be joined to vs. 13*b*, and suggests some meaning for ישהך (or its original) parallel to הטאחך; Marti's conjectural correction to אשר is not felicitous. The glosses, vs. 16*c*, ותלכו במעצוחם, and 16*f*, והרפת עמים תשאו, are also omitted, with Marti.

§ 18. THE TOTAL CORRUPTION OF THE PEOPLE, 7:1-6

אללילי כי הייתי 7:1 I  
כאספריקין כעללת בציר  
אין אשכול לאכל  
בכורה אותה נפשי:

אבד חסיד מן-הארץ 2 II  
וישר באדם אין  
כלם לדמים יארבו  
איש את-אחיהו יצודו חרם:

לחרע פניהם הטיבו 3 III  
השר שאל בשלום  
והגדול דבר הותנפשו  
הוא . . . . . ויעבתוה:

טובם כחדק 4 IV  
ישרם מְמוֹסָכָה  
יום פקדתם באה  
עתה תהיה מבוכתם:

אל תאמינו ברע 5 V  
אל תבטחו באלוק  
משכבת חיקך  
שמר פתחי פיך;

כִּי־בן מנובל אב 6 VI  
בת קמה באמה  
כלה בהמתה  
איבי איש אנשי ביתו;

In this passage vs. 3 has become almost unintelligible according to MT; in 3a להרע is read with Marti and Nowack (in Kittel, *Biblia Hebraica*); כפיהם is the reading of *GSU*; היטיבו is read with *GSU*, Bauer, Taylor, Wellhausen, Nowack, and Marti. In vs. 3b והשפט is omitted as a gloss upon השר; the renderings of the versions point in this direction; it is unnecessary to include the preposition ב in the gloss as do Marti and Nowack, for שאל ב is a good Hebrew idiom. The original reading of vs. 3d seems beyond recovery; Marti's והמשפט makes good sense, but is too remote from נפשו הוא. In vs. 4c מצפך is omitted as a euphemistic gloss on פקדתם.

# § 19. THE DISCOMFITURE OF THE FOE, 7:7-10

אליחשמהי איבתי לי 8 I  
כי נפלתי קמתי  
כי אשב בחשך  
יהוה אור לי;

זקק יהוה אשא 9 II  
כי חטאתי לו  
עדי־אשר יריב ריבי  
ועשה משפטי

יוציאני לאור III  
אראה בצדקתו;  
וחרא איבתי 10  
וחכסה בושה

הַאֲמִירָה אֵלַי      IV  
אִי יִהְיֶה אֱלֹהֶיךָ  
עֵינֵי תְּרַאֲנֶנָּה בָּהּ  
עֵתָּה תִּחְיֶה לְמִרְמָס:

Verse 7 is a three-lined stanza which is omitted here as an interpolation designed to furnish a closer connection between vss. 1-6 and vss. 8-10. Its text runs:

וְאֵי בִיחֻה אֲצַפֶּה  
אוֹחִילָה לְאֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל  
יִשְׁמַעֲנִי אֱלֹהִי:

The dimeter movement is marked in vss. 8-10; the verses might be grouped into two tetrameter strophes, but both metrically and logically the present arrangement seems preferable. The words **כְּשֵׁיט הַרְצוֹת** are omitted from vs. 10 as a gloss; so Marti and Nowack (in Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*).

#### § 20. THE IMMINENT RETURN OF THE EXILES AND THE VINDICATION OF YAHWEH, 7:11-13

יּוֹם הוּא לְבָנוֹת גְּדִידֶיךָ      11  
הַיּוֹם הַזֶּהוּא יִרְחַק־חֶקֶק:  
יּוֹם הוּא וְעֵדֶיךָ יָבֹאוּ      12  
לִמְנֵי אֲשׁוּר וְעֵדֶי מִצְוֹר  
וּלִמְנֵי מִצְוֹר וְעֵד־נֶהָר  
וַיּוֹם מִיָּם וְהָרַ מִקָּהָר:  
וְהִיִּתְּהָ הָאָרֶץ לְשִׁמְמָה      13  
עַל־יִשְׁבִּיָּה מִפְּרִי מַעַלְלֵיהֶם:

The general meaning of this eight-lined strophe is quite clear, and it is complete in itself. It seems therefore unnecessary to convert it into the first person throughout in order to make possible its connection with vss. 7-10, as do Marti and Nowack (but cf. Stade, *ZA W*, XXIII, 164 ff.). Such promises for the future



are usually addressed to the community rather than uttered by the community itself. Connection with vss. 7-10 is, to be sure, impossible without the change of person; but is connection indispensable in such a collection of fragments as chaps. 6 and 7 seem to be?

§ 21. A PRAYER FOR YAHWEH'S INTERPOSITION IN  
ISRAEL'S BEHALF, 7:14-20

- רעה עמך בשבטך צאן נחלתך 14 I  
שכני לבדד יער בחוך כרמל  
ירצו בשן וגלעד כימי עולם:  
כימי צאחך מִמְצָרִים הִרְאֵנוּ נפלאות: 15
- יראו גוים ויבשו מכל גבורתם 16 II  
ישימו יד עליה אֲזִנֵּיהֶם תַּחֲרֹשְׁנָה:  
ילחכו עפר כנחש כזחלי ארץ 17  
ירגזו מִמִּסְגֵּרֹתֵיהֶם יִפְחֲדוּ וִירְאוּ מִמֶּךָ:
- מִי־אֵל כִּמּוֹךְ נִשָּׂא עוֹן וְעֵבֶר עַל־פִּשְׁעֵי 18a III  
וְתִשְׁלִיךְ בַּמַּצְלוֹת יָם כֹּל הַשְּׂאֲתִינוּ 19b  
תִּתֵּן אֲמֶת לִיעֶקֶב חֶסֶד לְאַבְרָהָם 20  
אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּעַת לְאַבְחִינוּ מִיָּמֵי קֶדֶם:

The *Qinah* movement prevails throughout this final section; only three lines need pruning to bring them within the limits of the meter, viz. Strophe I, line 4, from which **צאן נחלתך** is excised, with 6; Strophe II, line 4, from which **אל יהוה אלהינו** is removed as a gloss, with Nowack and Marti; and Strophe III, line 1, from which **לשארית נחלתך** is dropped as an editorial expansion, also with Nowack and Marti. Stade (*ZAW*, XXIII, 164 ff.), followed by Nowack and Marti, rightly recognized that vss. 18b, 19a interrupted the close connection between 18a and 19b, and that discovery is taken advantage of in this arrangement. But these dislodged fragments cannot legitimately be attached to vss. 11-13 as forming the conclusion of the passage,

vss. 7-13. They are better treated as a parallel, or variant, to vss. 18*a*, 19*b*. The text runs as follows:

לא החזיק לעד אפר <sup>18*b*</sup>  
 כי הפץ חסד הוא:  
 ישוב ירחמנו יכבוש עונותינו <sup>19*a*</sup>

This isolated usage of כבש raises the question whether it may not be an error for כבס, which furnishes a good meaning here and an idiom familiar to all readers of the Old Testament (e. g., Ps. 51:4, 9; cf. Isa. 1:16; 4:4), though it is true that כבס itself never appears with a word for "sin" constituting the direct object as here.











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